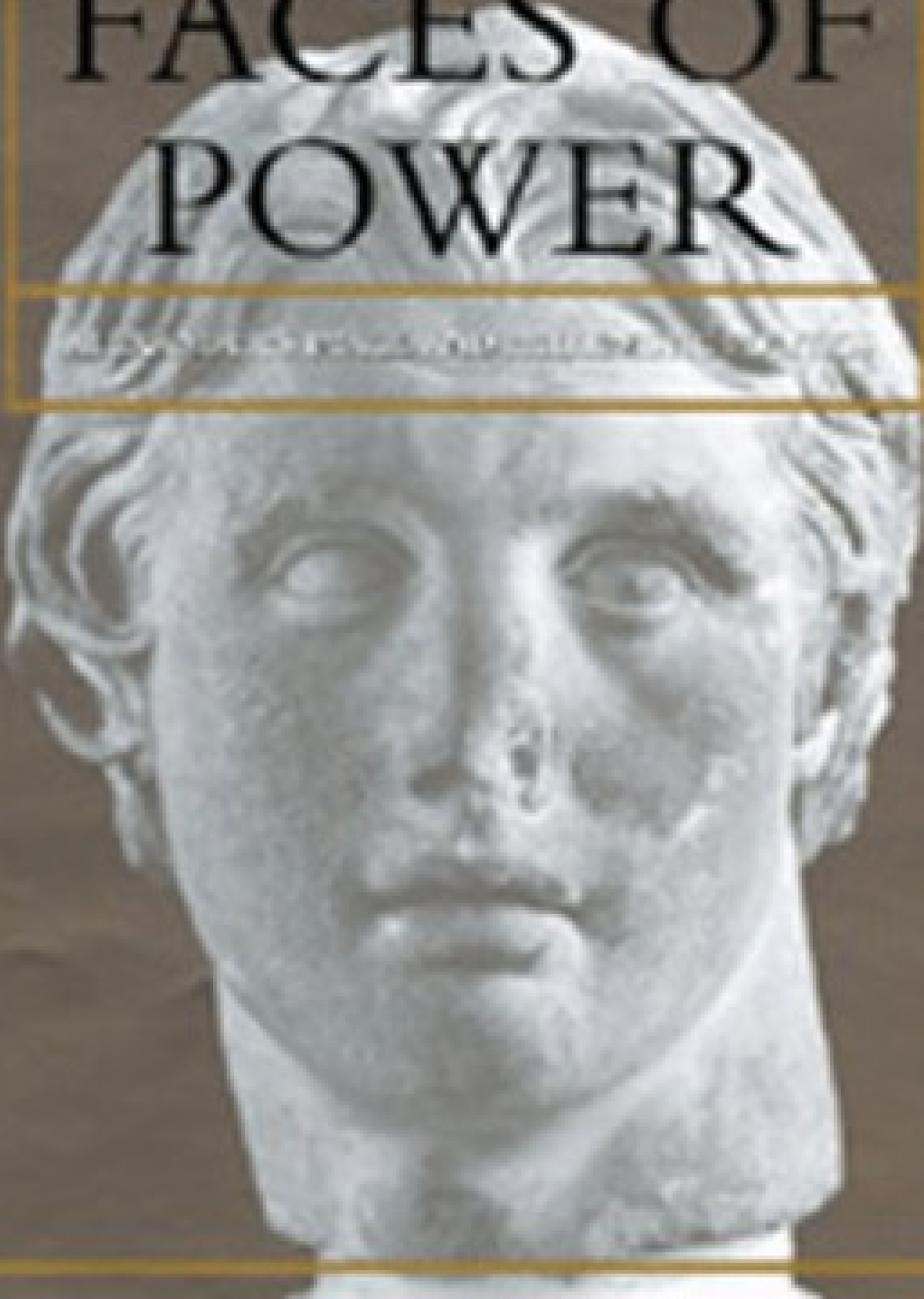
ANDREW STEWART

FACES OF POWER



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FACES OF POWER

FACES OF

Alexander's Image and

POWER

Hellenistic Politics

Andrew Stewart

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VXORI DILECTISSIMAE VALERIAE MEAE

. . . the simple plan:
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.

R. B. Armstrong, *History of Liddesdale*

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92. Mold for an Arretine bowl, from the workshop of M. Perennius Tigranus, from Arezzo. Lion hunt. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.852. H. L. Pierce Fund. Terracotta. Ht. 7.6 cm. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts C36497.

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PREFACE

This study was begun in the fall of 1986 when I was a Museum Scholar of the J. Paul Getty Museum, and was also aided by generous sabbatical grants from the University of California, Berkeley Humanities Research Committee. The main text was written in the academic year 1990–91 during my residence as a Scholar of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities.

The study owes its genesis to an invitation from Arthur Houghton, then Acting Curator of Antiquities at the Getty Museum, to publish a group of fragments of presumed fourth-century date, including an Alexander, which had been bought on the antiquities market in the 1970s (color pls. 2–3; figs. 16, 146–211). Though the manuscript was completed early in 1987, I soon became aware of its inadequacies. I simply did not know enough about Alexander to produce a treatment that satisfied either my critics or myself. During the next three years, though administration occupied much of my time, the present project took shape. The Getty fragments now form a much smaller part of it, though still an important one.

Though Alexander's central importance to the development of Greek (and Western) art is generally acknowledged, and several monographic treatments of his portraits have appeared since the end of the nineteenth century, the most recent of them (Bieber 1964) was published almost thirty years ago and was a partially revised version of a long article produced sixteen years before that. Many new images have appeared in the meantime; opinions about old ones have changed; and judgments about the careers, policies, and impact of Alexander and his Successors have been radically revised. Yet consensus seems as far away as ever.

In addition to taking account of this mass of new material, the present book has two other aims, and it is best to be forthright about them. The first is to remind art historians that there is more to portraiture than likeness, style, and iconography; and the second is to demonstrate to historians of ancient

politics that art is not merely a legitimate species of historical evidence, but that any historical discussion that omits it is liable to be seriously incomplete.

Works of art are neither mere links in a formal or iconographic chain nor simple reflections of a historical reality constituted elsewhere and by other means, but actively comment upon people, events, and situations. They are embedded in the culture of their own time, in what Clifford Geertz (1973: 5) has called the "webs of significance" that man spins around himself. As responses to individual and collective concerns, they may demonstrate strength or betray insecurity, may seek to fortify success or to compensate for weakness. As active ingredients of the social matrix, they are socially formative products in their own right, making statements that can both change perceptions and mold ideas.

As representations of historical individuals, portraits constitute a special case within this general rule. One could argue that a fourth-century portrait of Alexander has more claim to be considered a primary "text" than a passage of his historian Arrian, who wrote almost half a millennium after Alexander's death. Unlike Arrian's *Anabasis*, the portrait is firmly embedded in the political culture of Alexander's own time, in the fabric of meaning that he and his contemporaries wove around his life and deeds, in diverse ways and for diverse ends. The fact that its message may be difficult to fathom is no excuse for not trying.

The chronological limits of my study, though broad, are more restricted than I would ideally like: essentially, I discuss those portraits that can be attributed to the Hellenistic period, their Roman copies, and the responses that they provoked. Yet, as my fellow Getty scholar Johannes Fabian warns me, "chronology can pass for history only if applied to a known and unproblematical referent. Any attempt to reverse the process, i.e., to use chronological limits to define a historical phenomenon, is bound to be arbitrary without the benefit that arbitrariness may have as an element in statistical operations." If this is true, all I can do is to plead guilty: Alexander portraiture is problematical as almost none other, but it is also a vast subject. I cannot tackle everything and so offer this study as a limited, incomplete, and therefore flawed contribution to a century of debate.

My iconographical horizons are also more limited than I would like. After looking into the vast subject of Alexander imitation in the Hellenistic world, I reluctantly decided to confine myself to images of the king himself. On the few occasions that I have broken this self-imposed restriction, it is because I felt that to discuss an imitator—usually a Hellenistic monarch—was necessary in order to elucidate the Alexander portrait under discussion. Others, from Olympian gods to Delian merchants, have been left aside. This is not to denigrate their importance, but simply to affirm that one must look at the

center before the periphery—and to declare that this is work enough for me. To write the history of the physical response to Alexander's image, of the monuments that imitate or critique him, is a task I will leave to others.

A word about Greek names. Since the Greeks and Macedonians should be allowed their own identity, I have not subscribed to the Victorian custom of Latinizing their names. As far as possible, I transcribe the original Greek, allowing exceptions only where the Latinized form is so familiar that to do away with it would seem eccentric. Accordingly, I write Athens rather than Athenai, Macedon or Macedonia rather than Makedon, Thebes for Thebai, Cyprus for Kypros, and Phoenicia for Phoinikia; likewise, I have kept the Latinized spelling for Alexander the Great; his father, Philip; his opponent Darius; his tutor Aristotle; his historian Arrian; his biographer Plutarch; and his marshal Ptolemy. In Appendices 1 and 2, however, I have retained the Latinized forms of all names in my translations of Latin texts.

This book could not have been written without the help of a great many people. I owe special thanks to the J. Paul Getty Museum's director, John Walsh; to his curator of antiquities, Marion True, and her staff, particularly Ken Hamma and Karol Wight; to Kurt Forster, Tommy Reese, and the staff of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities; and last but not least to Jeanne Marty, Claire Lyons, and the Getty Photo Archive, for their hospitality, their patience, and their unstinting help throughout. A Visiting Fellowship at the Institute for the Humanities of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1989 and a Visiting Professorship at the Department of the History of Art at Johns Hopkins University in 1989 and 1990 allowed me valuable time for reflection and further reading.

Lecture and colloquium audiences also helped me to clarify my thinking on many points. Some preliminary thoughts on the Getty fragments were presented at a Museum seminar on December 12, 1986, and I am grateful to Dericksen Brinckerhoff, Stanley Burstein, Bernard Frischer, Erich Gruen, Ken Hamma, Steven Lattimore, Carol Lawton, Marion True, and Jere Wickens for their contributions and advice. The section on the Alexander Mosaic was presented as a lecture at the Getty Center on April 17, 1991, and a revised version was given in Berkeley on October 30 and at the University of Toronto on November 7 of that year. I thank Dericksen Brinckerhoff, Susan Downey, Crawford Greenewalt, Ann Kuttner, Mark Landon, Guy Métraux, John Pollini, and Regina Stefaniak for their comments and helpful suggestions for improvement.

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My thoughts on the Akropolis Alexander have benefited from visits to the museum with Phyllis Lehmann, Phillip Stanley, and Nancy Tersini. I was able to see the Alexander monuments in Turkey during trips in 1987 with Louise Chu, Christopher Hallett, Alaric Watson, and Pamela Webb, and in 1991 with my wife and her mother, Lorisa Pugiotto.

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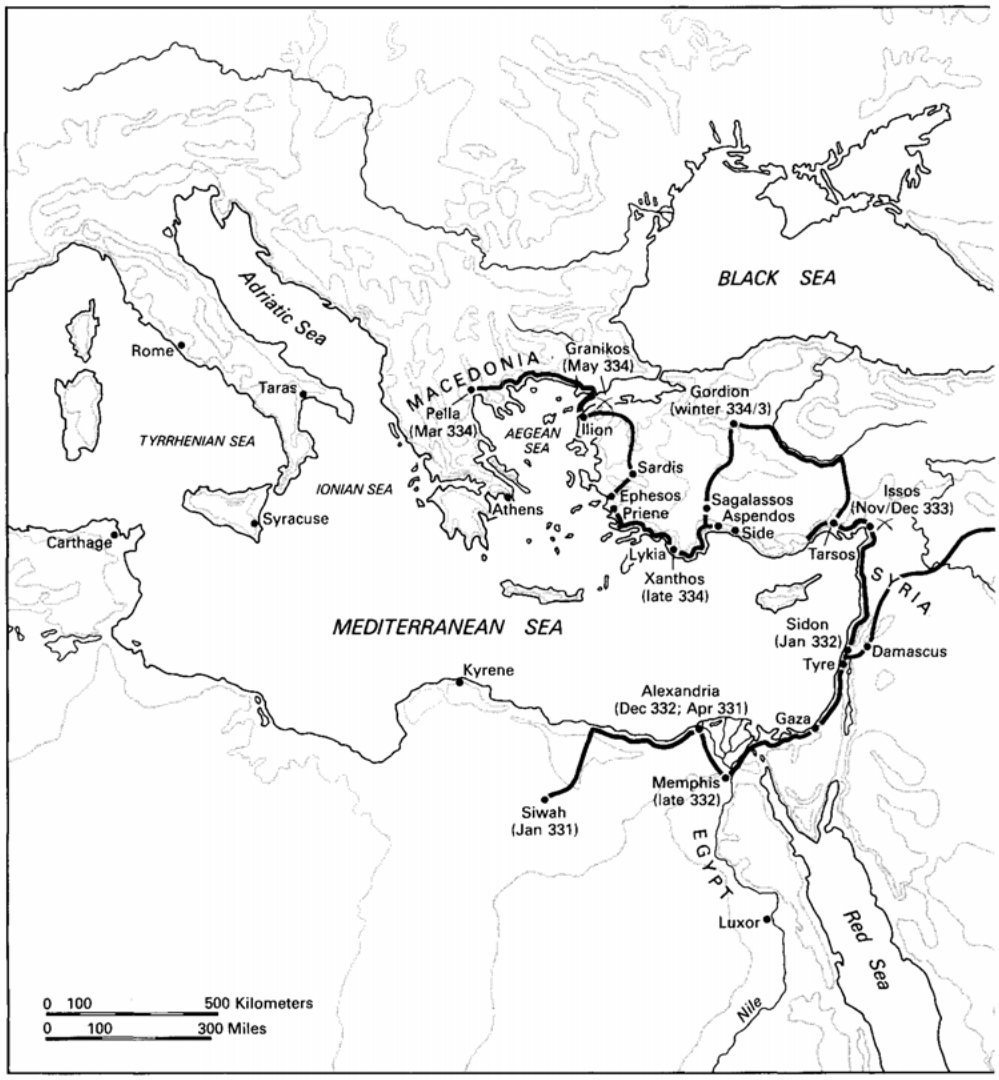
INTRODUCTION

The Hellenistic world was shaped by personalities that were truly larger than life. By all accounts, the achievements of Philip, Alexander, and the Successors not only helped to enhance their own sense of personal identity to a dramatic and unprecedented degree but wrought a profound change in the mentality of their subjects, Greeks and Macedonians alike. Yet though Philip paved the way, not he but Alexander was responsible for this revolution in Western consciousness. In the eleven years between his crossing of the Hellespont in the spring of 334 and his death in Babylon on June 10, 323, Alexander changed the face of the ancient world forever. His march, the longest military campaign in human history, simultaneously destroyed the Persian empire and pushed the frontiers of Greco-Macedonian civilization across the borders of India (map 1). Though he is said to have founded over seventy cities bearing his name, these were not independent city-states on the traditional model but colonies intended to buttress his power. The city-state was to endure as an *institution* until the end of antiquity, but its limited horizons were now transcended beyond all expectation.

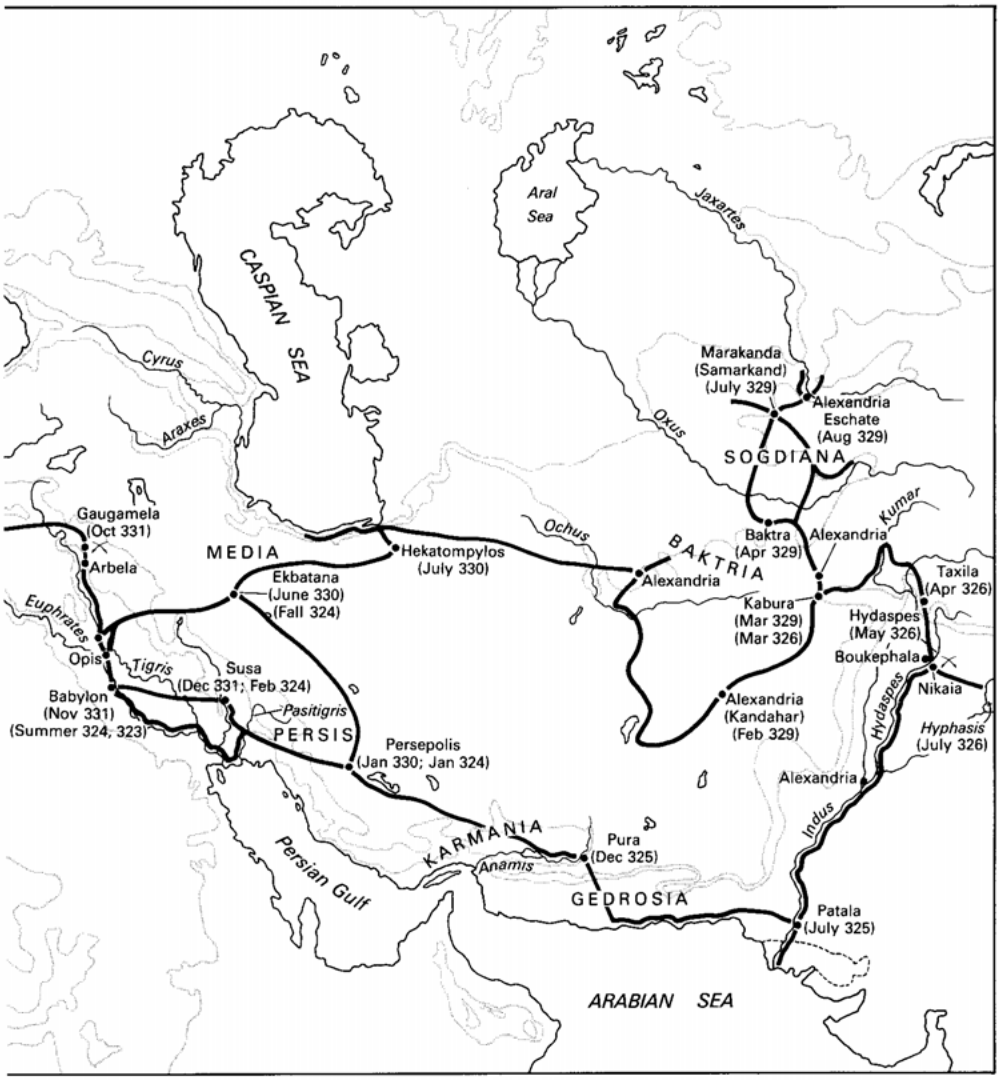
Alexander left behind him a barely consolidated empire of over two million square miles, populated by a heterogeneous mixture of peoples and riven with internal faction. In the course of their power struggle over this vast legacy, his Successors severely curtailed what was left of Greek liberty, but also laid the foundations of a completely new political system of competing charismatic monarchies (map 2). They and their successors not only enjoyed personal power, wealth, and freedom of action on a scale hitherto unknown in the Greco-Macedonian world but were regularly worshipped as gods incarnate by their subjects. This system was to last for almost three hundred years, until Octavian's defeat of Antony and Kleopatra at Actium in 31. A year later their suicides at last brought down the curtain on the Hellenistic world; Oc-



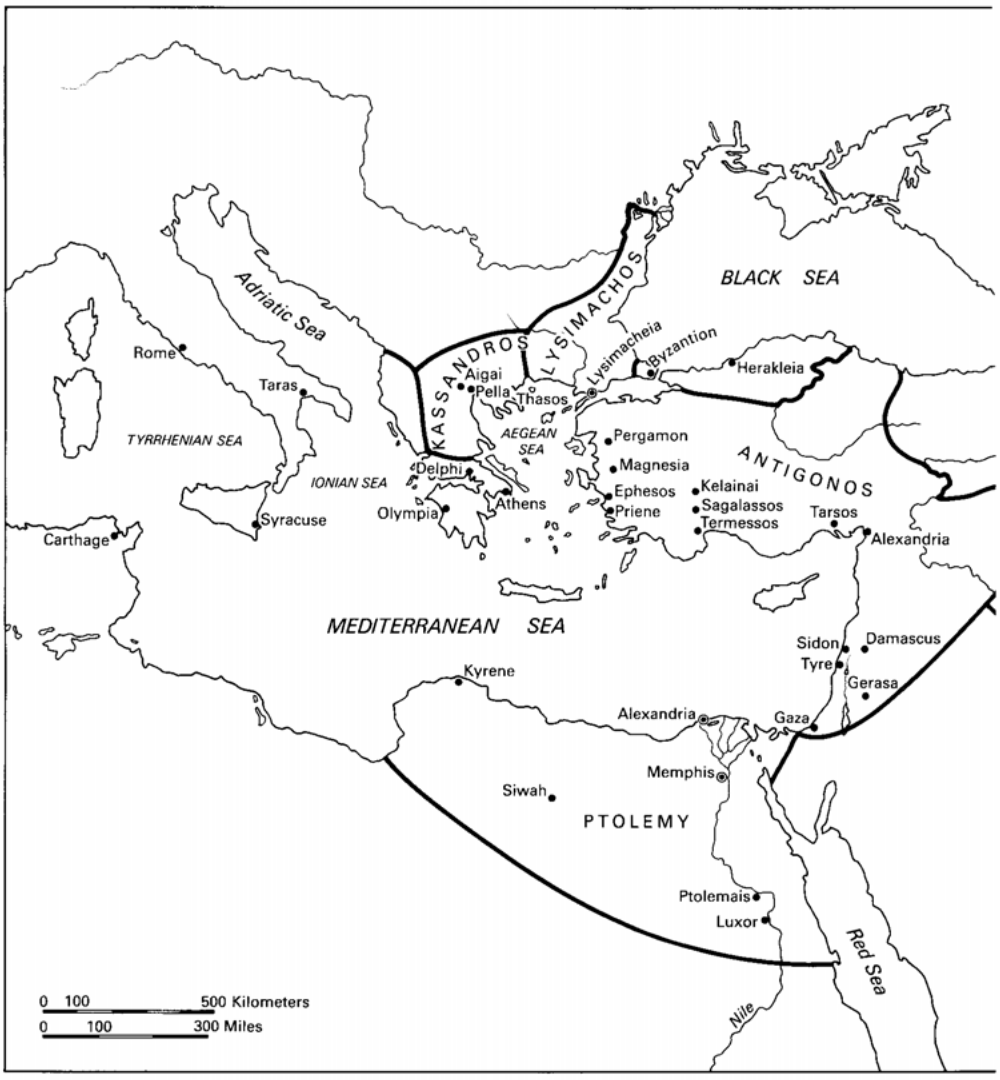
1. Alexander's campaigns, 334–323 B.C.

tavian entered Alexandria in triumph; and Egypt, last of the Hellenistic kingdoms, became a province of Rome.

It is generally agreed that Alexander's portraits are a peculiarly sensitive barometer of this new political and social order, yet their classification and interpretation remain deeply problematic. The bewildering variety of types and styles, the almost complete absence of firm dates except for the coins (Appendix 4), the uncertain provenance of many key pieces, and the spotti-



ness of the written record (Appendices 1 and 2)—these have challenged and frustrated generations of scholars, provoking the many competing and often mutually exclusive schemes that will be addressed in Chapter 2.3. Alexander's supposed edict giving the bronze caster Lysippos, the painter Apelles, and the gem cutter Pyrgoteles a monopoly on his image (Appendix 2: T 51–58) was evidently honored more in the breach than in the observance. Almost two thousand years later, Queen Elizabeth I of England attempted to exercise the



2. The World of the Successors.

same kind of control over hers, with similar lack of success.[1] In both cases, if the economy of commission and production had actually been so straightforward, scholarly interest would hardly have been so intense.

In reality, no single surviving fourth-century original can be connected

1. The queen decreed that "some speciall person that shall be by hir allowed shall have first fynished a portraicture therof, after which finished, hir Majesty will be content that all other payntors, or grauors . . . shall and maye at ther plesures follow the sayd patron or first portraictur" (quoted by Pomeroy 1989: 17).

with any of the privileged trio, and properly authenticated copies are almost as elusive. On the other hand no self-respecting museum seems to be without its "Alexander," few of which appear at first sight to have much in common. Even discounting a natural trend to inflation, it is clear that in antiquity Alexander was a chameleonlike figure indeed, more a paradigm than a person. For not only was his own character multifaceted and contradictory, but his achievement evoked wildly divergent and contradictory responses from those whom it touched. So he swiftly became a cliché—or rather a set of clichés or

topoi—to be evoked in images that are wildly divergent in character, quality, type, provenance, date, and, apparently, purpose.[2]

All this points less to a Hellenistic and Roman "portrait" of Alexander than to a complex and multifarious use of his image and its attendant connotations that extended over many centuries. His face was the most influential in history. Images of this kind are perhaps best understood as mobilizations of the notion "Alexander" within and dependent upon the particular contexts of production and use from which they derive. One's reconstruction of these contexts need not be correct in all their details: it is sufficient only that they be sufficiently well defined to enable the images to be analyzed in relation to them. Alexander's resurrection as the model or type for the portraiture of others is even more complex. In these cases certain aspects of the cliché are mapped onto another physiognomy, informing and enriching the artist's interpretation of a different personality. Here, too, the portraitist is not invoking Alexander the biographical subject but a particular notion of the sitter's relation to him that was specific to his own time and place. This notion, too, can be resurrected within limits by careful reconstruction and informed analysis.

One could, of course, collect sets of associations that seem consistently to be at work in these images: references, for instance, to the quasi-divine ruler,[3] the mighty conqueror, or the tragic hero, to *aretē, pothos*, or even megalomania. Indeed, the Roman essayist Apuleius does just this, appending his observations to a slightly garbled version of the famous "edict" (Appendix 2: T 56). Yet like the "edict" itself, this is a coarse and reductive strategy. It both misses the play of difference that characterizes each use of his portrait and crudely homogenizes the polysemy of the idea and image called "Alexander."

Instead, I want to begin in traditional fashion, by deploying the evidence: the texts, the images, the interpretations, and (finally) the personae of the man, hero, and god called "Alexander."

2. Cf. Mack 1991: 1–2, whose remarks have stimulated much of what follows in the next two paragraphs.

3. So, for example, L'Orange (1947) 1982.

1

TEXTS

1. HISTORIES

Ancient texts about Alexander are both few and many. Only five full-length narratives of his life and/or campaigns are extant, by Diodoros of Sicily, Pompeius Trogus (in the late epitome by Justin), Quintus Curtius Rufus, Plutarch, and Lucius Flavius Arrianus; to these one may add the *Alexander Romance*, derived from a Hellenistic novel and masquerading under the name of Alexander's court historian, Kallisthenes. Many others chronicled Alexander's deeds, but their work now survives only in fragments—numerous but often frustratingly brief.[1] In addition, comments on and judgments about Alexander are to be found in a vast range of other authors, including poets, philosophers, orators, anecdotalists, geographers, and even Christian apologists. A number of inscriptions, both contemporary and later, completes the corpus.[2]

Generations of historians have wrestled with these sources, and a book about Alexander's portraits is no place to join them. Instead, I want to offer a few comments on the images of the king that the Greek and Latin authors tried to present, to consider their standing as representations. First, no "Portrait of the King" would be properly complete otherwise.[3] Second, the texts so often mobilized to elucidate the sculptures, paintings, coins, and gems

1. These have generated a full-scale critical industry, especially in Germany: see Pearson 1960 and Pédech 1984 for comprehensive studies, with incisive comments in Bosworth 1980a and Bosworth 1988a: 295–300; Schachermeyr 1976: 35 prints a helpful family tree. Most of the fragments are collected in Jacoby 1923–30 (hereafter abbreviated to *FGH*) and translated in Robinson 1953: 30–276.

2. Collected and studied by Heisserer 1980.

3. So, for example, Marin 1988.

cannot be properly understood—and may be grossly misunderstood—if their circumstances are not taken into account. And third, since authors, patrons, and audiences for both literature and art overlapped (Ptolemy, for example, wrote a history of Alexander's campaigns and commissioned portraits of him), the two media may well have something to tell each other on the way.

The task is not a simple one. Ptolemy is but one of those "lost historians" whose work is known only from quotations in later writers. For though Alexander had more books written about him than any other man in antiquity, the earliest narrative of his career that survives, by Diodoros, was written almost three centuries after his death. We shall find a similar lacuna when considering ancient accounts of his portraiture in the second half of this chapter.

To begin with Alexander's contemporaries. The old custom of simply dividing their writings into "favorable" and "unfavorable" has now been abandoned for a more skeptical, cautious, and nuanced approach. Some appear to have adopted a consistent stance, others not, and several are too poorly represented, or too selectively quoted, for us to be able to judge.

The first chronicler of Alexander's campaigns was Kallisthenes of Olynthos.[4] Aristotle, his teacher, recommended him to the king, whom he accompanied deep into central Asia before falling victim to intrigue in 327. His function was to present Alexander to the Greeks in a way that would kindle their enthusiasm for him and his enterprise, and he has often been likened to a specially privileged war correspondent. His *Deeds of Alexander* was panegyrical in tone, representing the king as the true successor of Homer's heroes and promoting his claim to be son of Zeus, an aegis-bearing wielder of the thunderbolt before whom even the waves prostrated themselves.[5] It thereby inaugurated both a court tradition of historiography that unabashedly eulogized Alexander, and the practice of spicing any writing about him—pro, con, or neutral—with a heady dash of rhetoric.

All this has earned Kallisthenes much abuse, and his ultimately fatal lack of tact at court seems to bear out Aristotle's remark that he was unusually intelligent but lacked common sense.[6] Yet though his belief in Alexander's mission led him to propagate the "noble lie" of the king's divine paternity, his critics all too often confuse this with an acceptance of Alexander's divinity. In fact, when Alexander decided in 327 to enforce the Persian custom of prostration (*proskynēsis*) upon his Companions, Kallisthenes refused to comply

4. *FGH* 124; most recently, Prandi 1985.

5. Eust. *ad* Hom. *Il.* 13. 26–30; Polyb. 12. 12b2–3 (*FGH* 124 F 31, 35). According to Strabo 13. 1. 27, Kallisthenes helped to edit the copy of the *Iliad* that Alexander kept under his pillow.

6. Plut. *Alex.* 54.

precisely because Greeks did this only before the gods.[7] His stubborn refusal to blur the distinction between hero and god infuriated the king (who soon had him killed) and inaugurated an acrimonious debate that even outlasted the triumph of Christianity. Lysippos, too, heroized Alexander in his bronzes and criticized Apelles' picture of him with the thunderbolt of Zeus (T 120; P 1; cf. color pl. 8c and fig. 40), but he has never shared Kallisthenes' bad press. Fortunately for him, perhaps, he apparently did not accompany the king far (if at all) into Asia, so his convictions were never put to the test. This particular controversy will achieve some prominence in the chapters to come.

Kallisthenes' history stopped with Alexander's visit to Ammon at Siwah in 331; for information on the entire campaign, later writers had to go elsewhere. Their preferred sources were Ptolemy, Aristoboulos, and a writer now generally called the "Alexander Vulgate," who is probably to be identified with the Alexandrian historian Kleitarchos. Ptolemy, a boyhood friend of Alexander, rose to become one of his marshals and eventually the first Macedonian king of Egypt; Aristoboulos was formerly a royal engineer; and Kleitarchos joined the first wave of Greek intellectuals seeking their academic Elysium in Alexandria. Exactly when their books appeared is hotly disputed, but many now believe that both Ptolemy and Kleitarchos published quite soon after Alexander's death, while Aristoboulos waited until after the battle of Ipsos in 301.

Ptolemy and Aristoboulos are chiefly known from the pages of Arrian, who tells us in his preface that he will use them as his principal sources. Sober and careful chroniclers of the campaigns, they nevertheless tended to eulogize Alexander and his army.[8] Aristoboulos was well known for this in antiquity, and Ptolemy had a political agenda to meet.

Ptolemy was awarded the satrapy of Egypt in the great share-out at Babylon after Alexander's death. Not only did he then proceed to hijack Alexander's hearse and entomb him in Alexandria (Chapter 7.4), but he also commissioned or prompted the creation of some of the most distinctive Alexander portraits of the Successor period (color pl. 8c; figs. 76–83). One would dearly like to know more about his history. How far did he craft it with the current power struggle in mind? What kind of portrait of Alexander did he offer? How did he represent his own relationship with the king?[9] Certainly, if he was writing around or shortly after 320, then his selectivity in treating incidents unfavorable to Alexander—such as the *proskynēsis* episode, which he apparently omitted entirely—is completely in tune with his appro-

7. Curt. 8. 5. 5–24; Arr. *Anab.* 4. 10–12.

8. *FGH* 138–39; most recently, Roisman 1984.

9. See especially Errington 1976: 154–56 with references; Roisman 1984 sounds a more cautious note.

priation of the king's body and his enthusiastic promotion of Alexander's image and cult. His narrative of the battle of the Issos, where he was only a junior staff officer, was apparently quite schematic and slanderously portrayed Darius as a coward, while that of the Hydaspes was much fuller and clearer but muddled the Macedonian dispositions at the start.[10]

Kleitarchos was by far the most popular of the Alexander historians in later antiquity.[11] Most of our information comes from Diodoros, Curtius, and Justin; not only does Curtius occasionally quote him directly, but his narrative was probably the source for the extensive portions of their books that run parallel to each other. The quotations are often rhetorical and sensational, but there is no telling how typical they are, for passages like this would naturally attract attention. Like Kallisthenes, Kleitarchos apparently also regarded Alexander as reliving the exploits of the heroes, and he was probably behind the story that in the winter of 325/324, after escaping the privations of the Gedrosian desert, the king deliberately organized a bacchanal in imitation of Dionysos' own return from India.[12] Yet we know that he did not gloss over the horrors either, relating (for example) the massacre of eighty thousand Indians in the kingdom of Sambos.[13] Furthermore, the "Vulgate" account of the battles of the Issos and Gaugamela is now judged the most reliable we have.[14] This is important, since on it turns one's interpretation of no less a monument than the Alexander Mosaic (color pls. 4–5). Kleitarchos may have been a more balanced historian than many and was certainly no abject flatterer.

Other contemporaries also published their reminiscences of Alexander, but only those who can shed light on his portraiture merit attention here. Much of what we know about their work comes from a gossip writer of the third century A.D., Athenaios, whose ten-volume compendium *Table Talk* is a mine of miscellaneous information.

Chares of Mytilene, Alexander's chamberlain, included a colorful account of the mass marriages at Susa in his *Stories of Alexander*. In this ceremony, celebrated in 324, ninety-two leading Macedonians took Persian wives; Alexander's two brides, Stateira and Parysatis, will occupy us further in Chapter 6.4.[15] Ephippos, the author of a book on the deaths of Hephaistion and Al-

10. Arr. *Anab.* 2. 10–11, 5. 13–19; *FGH* 138 F 6, 20.

11. *FGH* 137; most recently, Hammond 1983.

12. Diod. 17. 106. 1; Curt. 9. 10. 22–28; Plut. *Alex.* 67; rejected by Arr. *Anab.* 6. 28. 1–2 after he could not find it in his two main sources, Ptolemy and Aristoboulos; cf. Bosworth 1988b: 67–72.

13. Curt. 9. 8. 15 (*FGH* 137 F 25).

14. Devine 1985, 1986; for the reassessment, see Hamilton 1973: 17; Bosworth 1988a: 297–98.

15. Ath. 12, 538b–39a (*FGH* 125 F 4).

exander, described this spectacle too and has also left us a very full record of the king's dress (T 48). Full, but problematic: though the king's concessions to Persian costume are well attested elsewhere (T 32–47), did he really dress up as Ammon, Hermes, Herakles, and even Artemis?[16] And finally Nearchos of Lato in Crete, his admiral and the author of the official account of the voyage down the Indus and across the Arabian Sea, attributed the whole expedition to Alexander's *pothos*, which he defined as "a perpetual desire to do something new and extraordinary" (Arr. *Indica* 20. 1–3). A leitmotif of Arrian's history and (though this is less often recognized) of Curtius's too, this *pothos* to master the dangerous and unknown is often recognized in Alexander's portraits (see Chapter 2.3) and will reappear many times in the pages to come.

Then there were the poets. Describing Alexander's attempt to introduce prostration at court, Curtius names three court poets whose insidious flattery supposedly speeded the king's corruption: the appalling Agis of Argos, the even more abysmal Choirilos of Iasos, and Kleon of Sicily. "These at that time were opening heaven to him," he noted, "boasting that Hercules, Father Liber [Dionysos], and Castor and Pollux would give place to the new deity" (8. 5. 7–8).[17] As W. W. Tarn noted long ago, this remark proves that these individuals did not *identify* Alexander with Herakles and the rest but *compared* his exploits with theirs, particularly the Indian "campaigns" of Herakles and Dionysos, concluding that he handsomely surpassed them.[18] If he thereby deserved deification, it was in his own right.

Understandably, the works of the court poets swiftly vanished into oblivion, and only their names survived to exemplify the archetypal chorus of flatterers.[19] Choirilos also wrote up the obvious comparison between Alexander and his maternal ancestor Achilles: we know both this fact and the New Achilles' opinion of the whole enterprise from his devastating remark that he would sooner be Homer's Thersites than Choirilos's Achilles.[20] Of course, this is not to say that he repudiated the connection (far from it), only the industry that had evolved to promote it; likewise the comparison with Herakles and Dionysos.

16. Ath. 12, 537e–38b (*FGH* 126 F 5); rejected by Pearson 1960: 63–65, but accepted by Neuffer 1929: 11–17, 39–56, among others, and, more surprisingly, by Bosworth 1988a: 287; yet why does not Curtius, always eager for evidence of Alexander's moral corruption, mention these antics? On his concessions to Persian dress see Chapter 3.4.

17. *FGH* 153 F 10–12; commentary, Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 54–62.

18. Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 56. Clement of Alexandria got it right: he was the thirteenth god (*Protr.* 10. 77).

19. Thus, for example, Plut. *Mor.* 60B–C, 61C, 65C.

20. Porphyrion *ad* Hor. *Ars P.* 357 (*FGH* 153 F 10a); cf. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983: no. 333.

In judging poetry "more philosophical" than history, Aristotle had not reckoned with verse of this kind, but neither had he reckoned with the appearance of a phenomenon like Alexander. The praise poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides had also sung the glory (Greek *kleos*: Latin *clamor*, English *acclaim*) of victors, using the same technique of comparing them with the heroes, and drawing stern moral lessons from the comparison.[21] Yet Agis, Choirilos, and Kleon had to deal not only with victory on an unprecedented scale, but also with its unforeseen consequence: the sudden collapse of the very world that had brought forth and sustained their own poetic enterprise. Using the poetic resources of the *polis* system, they had to praise the very man who had first marginalized it, then reduced it to a mere appendage of his empire. Poets of average talent at best, they were faced with a task to daunt a genius.

Sitting safely at home, the philosophers could afford the luxury of criticism. Yet surprisingly, their judgments tended to be no less crude than those of the poets. As usual, little survives, but to judge from the Romans who quoted and paraphrased them, there is no evidence that any of them seriously attempted to come to grips with Alexander and with the new world that he was creating. Instead, they wrote him off as the prototypical tyrant, "haughty, cruel, and unrestrained," as Cicero put it.[22] In their view, success had turned Aristotle's well-taught prince into a monster of depravity.

These *ad hoc* comments were crafted by early twentieth-century scholarship into two doctrinaire "portraits" of Alexander. The Stoics supposedly saw him as the epitome of the ruler corrupted by delusions of grandeur, and the Peripatetics (enraged by his elimination of Kallisthenes) wrote him off as a man ruined by his own Fortune (Tyche). The reconstructed Stoic version seems to hold up, to judge from the consistent appearance of Alexander in this guise in the works of two eclectic Stoics of the early empire, Lucan and Seneca.[23] They particularly censure him for his capitulation to anger and alcohol. The Peripatetic, on the other hand, does not—at least not in the monolithic form that has been proposed.[24]

The main evidence concerning the Peripatetics and Alexander comes once more from Cicero. He records that in Theophrastos's book *Kallisthenes, or On Grief* (presumably written in response to Kallisthenes' death in 327) he noted that his friend had had the misfortune to fall in with a man who was most

21. On the centrality of *kleos* to Greek culture see Nagy 1979; King 1987: 28–49; and especially Svenbro 1988.

22. *Att.* 13. 28. 3.

23. Luc. 10. 20–45; Sen. *Ep.* 83. 19, 23; 113. 29, etc.; cf. Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 69 n. 1; Hamilton 1969: lx–lxii; Bosworth 1980a: 13.

24. First demolished by Badian 1958: 154–57; cf. Hamilton 1969: lx–lxi.

fortunate and most powerful but who did not know how to bear his good fortune, and that not wisdom but fortune rules human life.[25] Another of Aristotle's pupils, Demetrios of Phaleron, developed the theme further in a book *On Fortune*, announcing that though Fortune (Tyche) had given the Macedonians the whole wealth of Persia, she could always withdraw the gift, for "she has but lent them these blessings until she decides to deal differently with them."[26] As will appear, the Alexander Mosaic (color pls. 4–5) may register some of these ideas, indeed may even have something to contribute to the debate.

The Peripatetics may have initiated discussion about Alexander's Fortune, but their views about his personality are quite opaque. Plutarch mobilizes Theophrastos in support of his contention that Alexander's temperament was "spirited" (T 10); his bodily mixture was hot and fiery, which expelled moisture and accounted for his red chest, fragrant body odor, proneness to drink, and choleric disposition. Plutarch first cites the *Memoirs* of Aristoxenos, another Peripatetic, as his immediate source for the ruddiness and body odor, but his wording makes it clear that the appeal to Theophrastos is his own idea.[27] Other Peripatetic references to Alexander are either neutral or (on one occasion) favorable: there was no consistent Peripatetic "portrait" of the king.

These ideas have taken us deep into the Roman period, bridging the gap between Alexander's contemporaries and the extant historians. The latter divide into three groups: Diodoros and Trogus (as epitomized by Justin), who both wrote universal histories; Plutarch, who has left us our only surviving biography; and Curtius and Arrian, who confined themselves to Alexander's campaigns alone. Diodoros, Plutarch, and Arrian hold him in high esteem, while Trogus/Justin and Curtius paint a darker picture of a gradually deteriorating character, particularly after the death of Darius.

Diodoros's universal history in forty books began with the Creation and ended in the year 60 B.C. Most of the first twenty survive complete; fortunately, they include his narratives of Alexander and the Successors, which fill Books 17 and 18–20, respectively.[28] Aiming to make world history accessible to the ordinary reader by judicious selection from the major authorities, he weaves his patchwork around a program for moral living. He is interested in the progress of civilization and judges the great men of the past by their con-

25. *Tusc.* 3. 21; 5. 25; Diog. Laert. 5. 44. Theophrastos also believed that Alexander was all but impotent: Ath. 10, 435a.

26. Polyb. 29. 21. 3–6.

27. *Alex.* 4; see Hamilton 1969: lx–lxi, 11–12; Leimbach 1979: 218–19; misunderstood by Pédech 1984: 350. For these characteristics and Peripatetic physiognomics see ps.-Arist. *Phgn.* 808a22–24.

28. There is no modern critical edition of Diodoros: for comments see most recently Billows 1990: 341–47; Sacks 1990.

tribution to advancing it. He idolizes Caesar and sees Alexander as his forerunner (1. 4. 6–7; 17. 1. 3–4). He notes the king's descent from the heroes, "which endowed him with the physical and moral qualities of greatness" (17. 1. 5), including several of the cardinal virtues of the Hellenistic king: valor, magnanimity, kindness, and love for his subjects.[29] He also makes much of Fortune's caprices and Alexander's ability to transcend them.

Diodoros describes, but does not censure, Alexander's tendency to capitulate to anger, and his adoption of Persian customs (T 35), including concubines for every day of the year. He believes that his murder of Philotas and Parmenion, though reprehensible, was "actually quite foreign to his good nature" (17. 79. 1), and that the retreat from India was a democratic decision taken in assembly. Finally, he accepts that Alexander was visited by the queen of the Amazons, who was eager to have a child by such an outstanding sire.[30] Yet Alexander's empire had its limitations: Caesar had gone farther, surpassing Herakles and Dionysos (1. 55. 3; 2. 37. 3; 5. 21. 2). Both were supreme achievers, even demigods, but both were to be followed by lesser men, who plunged the world into chaos.

Though Diodoros has often been called naive, evenhanded might be a better description. Precisely because of his reluctance to wrestle his sources into predetermined paths, of his refusal to allow his mission to dominate his material, he is no negligible resource. Fortunately, he chose well, singling out the "Vulgate"/Kleitarchos and the great historian of the Successors, Hieronymos of Kardia. As remarked above, the "Vulgate"/Kleitarchos also furnished material for large parts of Trogus/Justin and Curtius, while Arrian used Hieronymos in his history of the Successors, which once again survives only in fragments.[31]

Pompeius Trogus was a Romanized Gaul who wrote his *Philippic Histories* under Augustus. Alexander's deeds occupied Books 11 and 12 of his narrative, but these, like the rest of his work, survive only in the third-century epitome by M. Iunianus Iustinus, whose name is normally Anglicized to Justin.[32] Unfortunately, his précis is full of exaggeration and error: for example, the Ar-

29. 17. 4, 24, 37–38, 69, etc.; cf. 32. 4. 1–3; on these virtues see most recently Smith 1988: 49–53.

30. Fortune: 17. 37, 47, etc.; anger: 17. 9, 76, etc.; concubines: 17. 77; retreat: 17. 94; Amazons: 17. 77. Curt. 6. 5. 24–32 and Just. *Epit.* 12. 3. 5–7 also accept the Amazon story, which all three presumably got from the "Vulgate"/Kleitarchos (see below); Plut. *Alex.* 46 is skeptical; discussion: Bosworth 1988b: 65–67.

31. On Hieronymos see especially Billows 1990: 329–33 and passim; Sacks 1990: 21 and 41.

32. The standard text is Seel's Teubner of (1935) 1972; there is no critical edition, but Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 122–26 offers a brief synopsis and critique.

rhidaios who was told to convey Alexander's body to Ammon is confused with his namesake, the king (T 79). So when others contradict him, he is usually disbelieved. Trogus/Justin's Alexander is as subtle as a stickman. Power-crazed and intending from the start to conquer the world, he begins to degenerate morally with the visit to Ammon at Siwah in 331, who endorses his ambition and orders his Companions to worship him as a god. Subduing nations that he never even saw, he ends up at Babylon by cowing everyone into worshipping him as their predestined king, then falls victim to a poison plot hatched by the disaffected Antipatros.[33]

Like Trogus/Justin, Curtius also chronicles a marked deterioration in Alexander's character after 331; maybe Kleitarchos had made a theme of this decline. In Curtius, particularly, the frustrations, the drinking bouts, the orgies, the rages, the massacres, the murders, and the superstitions eventually combine to paint a picture of unfettered megalomania and rampant paranoia.

Curtius is in some ways the most interesting of the Alexander historians.[34] Although often careless about details and prone to heavy-handed rhetoric, he wrote with true feeling and intended to offer a stern lesson for his time.[35] Unfortunately, his first two books are lost, depriving us of any statement of purpose and any direct indication of his date, which has to be inferred from internal evidence. All in all, the reigns of Caligula and Claudius look the most likely, and it is exceedingly tempting to identify him with the Quintus Curtius Rufus who was consul in A.D. 43. Perhaps his Alexander, the raging monster who had nevertheless achieved more than any other man, was intended as a double indictment of Caligula's grandiose dreams of conquest, but depraved and sedentary rule.

Unlike Trogus/Justin, Curtius sets up Alexander as a noble character at root, who begins by besting Fortune's tide through his temperance and moderation. Yet eventually his Alexander too is all but overwhelmed by the flood, sinking in a sea of death, destruction, wine, and sex.[36] Once again, it was Ammon at Siwah who sowed the seed of corruption, "since Fortune makes her bonded believers generally more eager for glory than qualified for it. Accordingly, Alexander not only allowed himself to be called son of Jupiter but even ordered it; avid to increase the fame of his deeds by such a title, he besmirched it" (4. 7. 29–30). As in Trogus/Justin, Ammon promises Alex-

33. Ambition: 11. 6. 3; Ammon: 11. 11. 6–12; fictitious conquests: 12. 6. 18, 8. 9; Babylon: 12. 13. 1–3; poison: 12. 13. 6–10; Antipatros: 12. 14. 1–9; death: 12. 15. 1.

34. But the sole recent critical edition, of Books 3–4 only, is Atkinson 1980.

35. Aims and methods: 9. 1. 3–4; 10. 9. 1–7.

36. 3. 12. 18–21, and see below. Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 97–99 gives a complete list of vices, but Curtius is not reproducing a "Peripatetic portrait" of Alexander: Badian 1958: 154–57.

ander the world, "adding that he would be invincible till he went to join the gods" (4. 7. 27),[37] and commands his Companions to pay him divine honors. The blandishments of the East and the death of Darius then persuaded him to attempt to introduce prostration, and all the other vices followed in train.[38]

Plutarch, who was born around the time that Quintus Curtius Rufus became consul, also came to believe that Alexander had not lived up to the high standards of his early years, but he apparently took longer to arrive at this conclusion and was far less censorious about it. His *Life* is the best-known of his writings on Alexander but was not his only contribution to the debate. Two juvenile essays are preserved in the collection known today as the *Moralia*, under the title *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*: for brevity, I will refer to them hereafter as the *Essays*. Cast in the form of speeches and taking up the Peripatetic theme of his Fortune (Tyche), they are highly polemical examples of *epideixis*—the prose successor to praise poetry.[39] In them, Plutarch defends Alexander from the attacks of the philosophers, depicting him as a philosopher-king who out-philosophered his detractors by actually accomplishing what they either only sketched in theory or botched in practice. Thus, for example, Sokrates tried to introduce new gods to one city but was executed for it; Alexander introduced the Greek pantheon to the whole of Asia (328D).

More interesting, perhaps, is the *Essays'* titular theme, which is cast in the form of a question: Was Tyche (Fortune; Providence) or Arete (Excellence; Virtue) primarily responsible for Alexander's success? In general, the first speech hands the palm to Fortune but stresses how his philosophical qualities enabled him to rise above it, while the second gives a greater role to his Virtue. Thus in the first speech we read that Fortune presented Alexander with Roxane, but he married her instead of merely taking her by force: "like a philosopher!" (332E). In the second, though, the common notion that Alexander had the good Fortune to live in an age of artistic efflorescence is turned on its head. The artists were the lucky ones, living under a patron whose surpassing Virtue enabled them to use their gifts to the full (333E). This antithesis, artificial as it may seem, evidently appealed greatly to the Greeks; the Alexander Mosaic (color pls. 4–5) may offer another instance of it.

Plutarch's scheme was generated in a wider context and has to be read along with the preceding essay, *On the Fortune of the Romans*.[40] Here the Tyche-Arete antithesis is resolved decisively in favor of the Romans. They,

37. On Alexander's "invincibility," see Chapter 3.5.

38. The East: 6. 2. 1–5; prostration: 8. 5. 5–8; total corruption: 10. 5. 33–36.

39. On the genre as a whole see especially Russell and Wilson 1969: xi–xxxiv; analysis and discussion of the speeches: Hamilton 1969: xxiii–xxxiii.

40. *Mor.* 316C-26C; cf. Wardman 1955.

not Alexander, achieved world unity precisely because Fortune put fewer obstacles in their path. If she had not hampered and finally killed Alexander, he would have invaded Italy (326A), and the two invincible peoples would have met like the proverbial irresistible force and immovable object (326C)—but this was fated not to happen. "What if Alexander had lived to attack Rome?" was a well-worn cliché of Hellenistic and Roman literature, whose most famous appearance is in Livy's extraordinary polemic against Alexander in Book 9 (17–19). It combines both Greek chauvinism and the Romans' deep ambivalence toward the king and his image: both will reappear in connection with the later Hellenistic Alexanders (figs. 120–45) discussed in the Epilogue.

Plutarch wrote his *Life of Alexander* around A.D. 110–15, under Trajan, and balanced it with a *Life of Caesar*; unfortunately, his formal coda comparing the two men is no longer extant. Like Xenophon half a millennium earlier, he saw his task as essentially didactic, as providing examples of virtue and vice for the discerning and receptive reader. His ultimate aim, he tells us in a short preface, is to reveal character, *ēthos*, and to do this he must select his material like a portrait painter. So though he draws on a wide range of sources, including Kallisthenes, Ptolemy, Aristoboulos, Kleitarchos, and Chares, he eschews exhaustive description for the telling incident and the revealing anecdote.

His selection begins with Alexander's predestination to greatness (his descent from Herakles on his father's side and from the Aiakids, chief among whom was Achilles, on his mother's) and consistently brings out his moderation and self-control in the face of increasing temptation. He thereby tacitly counters the prevailing image of the king as a man corrupted by power into a monster of excess. The fact that he was writing for a public whose emperor was personally interested in Alexander, reconquered part of his empire, and paid him signal honors may not be irrelevant here.[41] Yet his account is by no means entirely one-sided. He recognizes that his subject was prone to anger and superstition and indeed changed increasingly for the worse in the last years of his reign.

This tension is particularly evident in the famous chapter in which he tries to reconstruct the king's appearance, conflating firsthand observation, the bronzes of Lysippos, and the scientific theories of Aristotle's pupil and successor, Theophrastos (T 10). All are conflicted in one way or another. Alexander's appearance hardly matched expectations; Lysippos sought both to capture it and to do justice to his "virile and leonine character"; and in Theophrastan terms he was a "spirited" man (*thumoeidēs*), a "hot" personality prone on the one hand to great ambition, but on the other to rage, excessive

41. Cf. Wirth 1976: 197–200.

drinking, and similar vices (2. 5).[42] As will appear in Chapter 3, the less-than-perfect fit among these traits illuminates at least one notorious art-historical puzzle, Alexander's "melting" gaze. Plutarch's strategy is to argue that his "spirited" temperament and the ambition (*philotimia*—normally a pejorative word) it generated were usually mobilized for the good of the Greeks and the bane of the barbarians; only occasionally does his *thumos* lead him to disaster.

Plutarch also offers insights into Alexander's attitudes to sex and to his own deification. The king's sexual continence, which the biographer correctly saw as an important component of his power (5, 22), was both celebrated in Aetion's painting of his marriage to Roxane (P 6) and perhaps also critiqued in a second, much more problematic picture (color pl. 6). (These pictures will be discussed in Chapter 6.4). His attempt to exculpate Alexander from *hybris* in his pretensions to divinity is equally revealing: the king believed in his divine parentage but was properly circumspect about it, using it only to secure his power (28). Elsewhere, though, Plutarch was less forgiving, commending Lysippos's stern disapproval of Apelles' picture of the king wielding a thunderbolt (T 120; P 1).

This latent tension between encomium and criticism becomes overt in the work of Arrian. A Bithynian, Roman senator, and sometime governor of Cappadocia, he is the subtlest and traditionally the most appealing of the extant historians.[43] An admirer of Xenophon, Arrian too called his history *Anabasis*, and the fluent, understated Atticism of his style has had much to do with his appeal. Living in the high summer of the Roman Empire, the second century A.D., he had fewer problems with autocracy than did Curtius; a Stoic, he managed nevertheless to avoid their doctrinaire condemnation of Alexander; a member of the Roman power elite, he tended to overlook or explain away the king's darker side. Thus, though the murder of Kleitos revealed Alexander as "a slave to two vices . . . anger and drunkenness, for the sequel" Arrian commends him, "in that he immediately recognized the savagery of his action" and repented in style (4. 9. 1–2; cf. 7. 29. 1). Similarly, his claim to be the son of Zeus is excused as perhaps "a mere device to make him more impressive to his subjects" (7. 29. 3). This Alexander is cast in the mold of Arrian's contemporaries, the emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius: a man at the apex of human good fortune, distinguished by his generally moderate use of power, able to admit when he is wrong, peerless among humankind, and probably divinely conceived (7. 30).

Yet on occasion the mask slips. Alexander's excessive ambition, his long-

42. Wardman 1955: 102–7 sees this classification as the key to Plutarch's entire portrait of him, but as Hamilton 1969: lxiv points out, this is too reductive.

43. On Arrian see Brunt 1976, 1983; Bosworth 1976, 1980a, 1988b. On Arrian's *Romanitas* see also Vidal-Naquet 1984.

ing (*pothos*) for conquest and things unknown "in competition with himself in default of any other rival" (7. 1. 4), overstepped mortal bounds. Since moral criticism is fundamentally incompatible with encomium, these last chapters of Arrian's narrative not surprisingly begin to exhibit a decided unease—like the last chapters of Plutarch's *Life*. Indeed, to the unprejudiced reader, his final summation of Alexander's achievements reads more like a speech for the defense than a eulogy of the greatest man of action ever to emerge among either Greeks or barbarians (1. 12. 4; 7. 30. 1).

The last surviving Alexander narrative of antiquity is not history but historical fiction: the aptly named *Alexander Romance*. It is preserved in several overlapping versions, seems to have been compiled around A.D. 300, and is falsely attributed in the manuscripts to Kallisthenes.[44] Furnished with illustrations as early as the fourth century A.D., it completely eclipsed the Alexander historians in the Middle Ages, swiftly becoming the mainstream tradition about the king in both the medieval West and the Islamic world.

The plot seems to have grown by a process of accretion that began in late Hellenistic Alexandria, though one or two elements, such as the account of the king's education and the highly sensationalized chronicle of his death, probably date back to the Age of the Successors.[45] It confuses Alexander with his uncle and namesake, Alexander the Molossian, whose campaigns in Italy are conflated with his: the Romans, of course, duly surrender. It is also full of fantastic incidents—battles with monsters and excursions to the Isles of the Blest, the bottom of the sea, and even the stratosphere—and its portrait of the king is mixed indeed. The invincible hero, world conqueror, and intrepid explorer all rolled into one, he is also a driven man, unable to rest, prone to cruelty and deceit, and always tempted to overstep the bounds of mortality. This Alexander, the last we shall encounter before moving to the portraits in stone, bronze, and the like, is a conqueror fallen victim to his own insatiable desires, a conflicted personality who is both half-barbarian himself and Greece's crusader against a strange and frightening world.

2. THE PORTRAITS: TESTIMONIA

Ancient testimonia about Alexander's portraiture are of two kinds: literary and epigraphical. Texts and translations of all literary references to Alexan-

44. The basic edition is Kroll's of 1926; Haight 1955 translates the Latin version, Wolohojian 1969 the Armenian.

45. Later history: Cary 1956; Ross 1971. "Early" sections: Samuel 1986; Heckel 1988.

der's personal appearance that are known to me are assembled in Appendix 1 (T 1–48), and those to his pre-Augustan portraits in Appendix 2 (T 49–157), where the images they describe are assembled by medium (paintings: P 1–16; statues: S 1–35; various media: V 1–3).[46] The inscriptions are scanty until the Roman period, when a number of statue bases appear in connection with renewals of his cult. The Hellenistic inscriptions directly connected with his portraits are gathered in Appendix 2, the cults in Appendix 3.

Of these inscriptions, two (T 91 and 142) can be dated to Alexander's lifetime, another (T 108) to the period immediately after the king's death. The first (T 142) is carved on a base recently discovered at the Letoon of Xanthos (S 25), which he reached in the fall of 334. Since he is named as dedicator and no other subject is indicated, the base probably carried his portrait; unfortunately, its capping block is lost. The second (T 91) accompanies the reliefs of the so-called Shrine of the Bark of Ammon in the temple at Luxor (figs. 53–54) and was apparently cut in the early 320s. Too extensive to treat here, it will reappear in Chapter 6.3. The third, an epigram appended to Krateros's great lion-hunt group at Delphi (T 108; S 13), reveals that his son finished the group after he died in 320. Evoking the ancient image of the bull-devouring lion, a symbol of divinely inspired heroic triumph,[47] it relates how the valiant Krateros grappled with the king of beasts and killed it "in farthest Syria"—but tactfully fails to note that he thereby saved the king's life.

These and other monuments had a most varied reception. Though many ancient writers refer to Alexander's portraits, few do so without an ulterior motive, and fewer still indulge in extensive description or comment. The earliest references relate directly to the two major crises of Alexander's last eighteen months: the Harpalos affair of the summer of 324 and the so-called deification debate of the following winter.

The first of these is a fragment of an open letter by Theopompos to the king denouncing his treasurer Harpalos for treason. In it he mentions Harpalos's proposal to erect statues of himself and Alexander beside that of his mistress, Glykera, at Tarsos (T 140–41; S 24). Since Harpalos had already installed Glykera in the royal palace there as queen, this plan smacked unmistakably of *hybris*. Unsettled by Theopompos's accusations, then terrified by the reports of Alexander's ruthless purge of disloyal and inefficient officials on his return from India, Harpalos soon fled with five thousand talents to Athens, bribing his way in and touching off a diplomatic crisis that nearly led

46. Though I cannot claim to have searched the Byzantine authors as thoroughly as their predecessors.

47. Discussion and literature: Stewart 1990: 46–47.

to war. It subsided only with his escape and death in Crete, and with the trials and condemnation of the politicians he had corrupted.

One of the condemned was Demosthenes, and the speech for the prosecution is the first of two by the orator Hypereides (delivered in the spring of 323 and the summer of 322) that take up the issue of Alexander's supposed divinity (T 92–93; S 2). In the first speech, Hypereides attacks a proposal made in late 324 to erect a statue (*eikōn*) to Alexander as "God Invincible"—the text is, inevitably, mutilated at this point. In the second, with Alexander now dead and the war of liberation against the Macedonians now fought and lost, he lists cult images (*agalmata*) of them among the outrages that the Athenians now have to "witness." The implications of these passages will be explored in Chapter 7.2.

Two early Hellenistic poets also addressed the same issue, though in a different context. An epigram by Poseidippos praises Lysippos for representing Alexander as a lion among cattle (T 115; cf. figs. 41 and 44), and another, by Asklepiades of Samos (T 116), confirms the bronze's heroic character, stressing that for all its evocation of colossal power, it recognized the divide between gods and men. It bestrode the earth but left Olympos to Zeus. With these four texts we stand at the threshold of a debate about the propriety of representing a man with the attributes of the gods. This debate finds some echo in the historical sources for the last year of Alexander's life, is a continuing theme of later writing about him, and is critical to any evaluation of Alexander's portraiture. The richest source of information on its relevance to the images is Plutarch, who quotes the Asklepiades epigram twice (T 9 and 119).

Meanwhile, other aspects of Alexander's image had begun to interest the historians. Aristoboulos recorded Lysippos's group of bronzes commemorating those Companions who fell in the first assault at the battle of the Granikos in 334 (T 103); Hieronymos of Kardia described Alexander's hearse (T 71); and the anonymous author of the *Book on the Death and Testament of Alexander*, a partisan forger who may have published as early as 320 and whose work was later incorporated into the *Alexander Romance*, has the king ordering gilded bronze statues of himself to be set up at Delphi, Olympia, and elsewhere along with Ammon, Athena, Herakles, Olympias, and Philip (T 150–52). Oddly enough, these are the only Alexander portraits to catch the attention of the historians. Though the forged *Testament* soon vanished from the mainstream historical tradition, the Granikos group resurfaces in the early imperial historian Velleius Paterculus, in Trogus/Justin, and in Arrian (T 104–7), and the hearse reappears in Diodoros (T 74). Why should this be so?

What unites these monuments is their relevance to the historian's task of

perpetuating the memory of men and their deeds—in this case the memory of Macedonian valor in battle, of the king's last journey, and (in the case of Velleius) of Macedon's final subjection to Rome.[48] Sculptures and paintings bear upon this enterprise only so far as they can become part of the narrative the historian constructs. Very few of them can meet this criterion, and even when they can, the tendency is for the work itself to yield place to the event it recalls. Thus, although no fewer than five ancient authors mention the Granikos group, not one actually describes it. What interests them is the heroic charge itself, the number of the casualties, and (in the case of Velleius) the group's utility as a symbol of Rome's assumption of Alexander's legacy.[49] The hearse, too, swiftly became a mere adjunct to the dramatic struggle between Perdikkas and Ptolemy over the body it housed; thus Curtius, Arrian, Pausanias, and the author of the *Heidelberg Epitome* all recount Ptolemy's success but completely ignore the vehicle itself (T 76–81; see text fig. 9 and fig. 75).

The early Hellenistic historians survive only in pitiful fragments, and the loss of almost all subsequent Hellenistic prose has left a gaping lacuna in our evidence. Into this black hole have fallen the third-century "professional critics" of art, Xenokrates of Athens and Antigonos of Karystos, whose treatises culminated with the work of Apelles and Lysippos, and whose opinions can be glimpsed only by careful sleuthing in the pages of Pliny.[50] What little else survives does so only in fragments: Kallixeinos of Rhodes' account of the Alexanders in the Great Procession of Ptolemy II, Nikandros's note about another on Kos, Herillos of Carthage's mention of them to illustrate a philosophical argument, and a single vague reference in Polybios (T 49, 96, 128, 144). The inscriptions are scarcely more helpful: a statue base in Kandahar (uncertain), the third-century *progonoi* (ancestor) monument of the Antigonid kings on Delos (also uncertain), and the *progonoi* monument erected in the late first century by Antiochos I of Kommagene (T 131, 143, 145).

Kallixeinos, who probably lived around 200, transmits an eyewitness account of the Great Procession, which was held in Alexandria in the winter of 275/274 (T 96).[51] One wishes that his entire book had survived intact, for it clearly contained much about Alexandrian works of art and could probably have clarified many of our problems with Alexander's hearse, his tomb (Sema), and the numerous statues of him in the city. Concerning the proces-

48. On art, history, and the preservation of memory see Nora 1984–86; de Caso 1988; and especially Young 1989: 83.

49. Arrian, relying on Aristoboulos, even thinks that it is still at Dion: T 106.

50. See Stewart 1990: 21, 82, 291.

51. Comprehensive study by Rice 1983; date: Foertenmeyer 1988.

sion, though, Kallixeinos was clearly interested in more colorful things than statues. He notes that two Alexanders were included in the festivities (S 5, 6), one surrounded by interesting company (see Chapter 8.4), and the other in its own mini-procession within the big one, but his attention is not focused on them but on the living, breathing spectacle. He dwells at length on the *automata*, the extravagant floats with their mythological tableaux, the lavish display of gold and gems, and the exotic animals, such as the "four real elephants" that drew the chariot carrying Alexander's golden image. His unalloyed delight at Alexander's fabulous legacy, the wealth of Egypt delivered into Macedonian hands, helps us to understand the ambivalence that permeates the *Alexander Romance*.

Herillos, a minor third-century thinker, is interested in Alexander's portraits only to illustrate a favorite theory (T 49). His remarks are transmitted secondhand, Nikandros's on the Koan statue (T 128) at thirdhand. Athenaios records the latter in a list of exotic flowers, quoting a Pergamene antiquarian who is himself quoting Nikandros: the point is that the flower of immortality, ambrosia (a species of lily), was growing out of its head. Polybios (T 144) does not even give us a name, merely the bland statement that in their sack of Dion in 220 Skopas and the Aitolians destroyed all the votive offerings and plundered "all the statues of the [Macedonian] kings"—Alexander included? Once again, the historian is not interested in objects but events, in this case the systematic erasure of memory, the deliberate destruction of Macedonian historical consciousness by their most bitter enemies.

With the late republic this bleak situation brightens up a little.[52] Varro must have included Alexander in his book of biographies of seven hundred great men, each introduced by a likeness (T 88). The debt-ridden and politically frustrated Julius Caesar encountered an Alexander portrait in far-off Spain, which caused him to lament the fact that even though he had now outlived the king, his achievements were nothing by comparison (T 129–30). And Cicero used Apelles' Alexander at Ephesos (P1) as a stick to beat the rapacious Verres, referring to it in an offhand way that shows that it was completely familiar to his audience (T 59). He also illustrated a philosophical argument about resemblance by Lysippos's ability to mass-produce Alexander bronzes, and has the honor of being the first to report that the king preferred these two artists above all others (T 51). Soon, under Augustus, the poet Horace was to allege an edict, that Alexander positively forbade anyone else to make his portraits (T 52), and two generations later, Pliny added the

52. On the Latin writers cited below see especially Becatti 1950, though he rates their interest in art *qua* art substantially higher than I do.

gem cutter Pyrgoteles, completing the privileged triumvirate (T 54). Though Pyrgoteles was soon forgotten again, the core of the legend was to endure into the Byzantine period (T 123).

Cicero's other references to Alexander show an easy familiarity with Hellenistic writing on the king and his achievements. His remark about Alexander's "preference" for Apelles and Lysippos (what one might call the "soft" form of the tradition) must have come from some Greek source, which was later also tapped by Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, Himerios, and Chorikios (T 53, 58, 121, and 123).[53] There is no reason to doubt its historicity. Alexander certainly gave major commissions to both men and had no reason to keep his opinions about them and their rivals to himself. The "edict," however—the "hard" or Horatian form of the tradition—reappears only in Pliny, Apuleius, and Arrian (T 54–56, 106, and 154). Could it have been invented, either by Horace or by one of his contemporaries, to provide a precedent for Augustus's control of his own portraiture?[54]

Horace's purpose is not so simple. He is indeed addressing Augustus but is using Alexander's example to excuse himself from joining Vergil and others in singing the praises of the new regime (245–47). He introduces Alexander in order to point a double contrast: between the king's uneven judgment—bad as regards poetry (Choirilos), good as regards portraiture (Apelles and Lysippos)—and Augustus's consistent good taste; and between poetry's ability to capture the soul and portraiture's interest only in externals (245–50). Alexander, then, invested in the wrong stock (241–44), Augustus in the right one (245–50), but if he, Horace, were to heed his master's voice, he would only be another Choirilos (257–70).[55]

For Horace, then, Cicero's simple statement of Alexander's "preference" for Apelles and Lysippos (T 51) would not do. He wanted to emphasize, first, that rulers must choose their publicists well and, second, that poets should know their limitations. Like most ancient critics, he was interested in art only as an ancilla to literature. He displays no concern for the quality of Augustus's

53. Perhaps Douris of Samos or Kleitarchos, whom Pliny cites among his sources for T 54 (*HN* 1. 125; cf. 34. 65, where he paraphrases Douris on Lysippos); on Cicero and Alexander see especially Green 1990: 199 and 204–6.

54. E.g., Schwarzenberg 1976: 248–49; on Alexander and Augustus see the synopsis by Wirth 1976: 190–94.

55. But as ever in Horace, irony reigns. *Nec magis expressi voltus per aenea signa* (247), coming directly after he mentions Vergil, slyly recalls the latter's famous paean to Roman rule:

> excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
> (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore voltus;
> . . . . . .
> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes).
>
> (*Aen.* 6. 847–52)

imperial portraiture and gives no reason to think that it ever crossed his mind. Suggestively, though, the omnivorous Pliny adopts his phraseology almost verbatim (T 54). Even though he does not acknowledge him in his extensive list of sources, and must have read of Alexander's preferences in the sources he does cite, he would have learned Horace's works by heart at school, and his prodigious memory perhaps did the rest.[56] So did Horace invent the "edict" to boost his own arguments for quietism?

Probably not. The fact that Arrian knows of it (T 106) all but proves that it is a Hellenistic invention, for he used no Latin sources for his *Anabasis*. Greek authors of the empire habitually ignored the literature of their masters. In addition, Pliny would not have included Pyrgoteles in such an authoritative way—and twice over at that (T 54 and 154)—on his own initiative. So when and why did this "hard" form of the tradition appear? Hellenistic kings were much concerned with their portraiture, and some of them may have longed to control it in this way.[57] Alexander's preference for Apelles, Lysippos, and Pyrgoteles could well have been turned into an edict by some enterprising courtier at Pergamon, Alexandria, Antioch, or Pella.[58]

Horace explicitly contrasts Augustus and Alexander, and the emperor himself seems to have cultivated the comparison, at least in the early years of his rule. He visited Alexander's body in the Sema at Alexandria, he used a signet ring with his portrait to stamp official documents (V 2), and he dedicated at least two paintings by Apelles in his Forum, showing Alexander with the Dioskouroi, Nike, Triumph, and the trussed-up figures of War and Fury (P 4–5). Like his other dedications there, these were most probably spoils from Alexandria and were no doubt intended to stimulate comparison between the new ruler of the Mediterranean and his Macedonian predecessor.[59]

Fifty years later, Claudius rammed the point home by substituting Augustus's face for Alexander's in both pictures (T 66), and subsequent exponents of the "edict" took the hint, dutifully affirming that a monarch's dignity is demeaned by anything less than the best in sculpture or painting (T 56). In addition, the fact that later writers depict the three geniuses as eagerly submitting to Alexander's will, even competing for his favor (T 58), while con-

56. Hor. 2. 1. 229–30: *edicto vetuit, ne quis se praeter Apellen / pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret aera.* Pliny *HN* 7. 125: *idem hic imperator edixit, ne quis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles scalperet, quam Lysippus ex aere duceret.* On Pyrgoteles, see below.

57. Cf. Smith 1988: 26–31. Ath. 11, 497b–c, for example, notes that Ptolemy II Philadelphos invented the double cornucopia specifically for Arsinoe II's statues.

58. The evidence may point to Kleitarchos, Alexandria, and the court of Ptolemy I: Pliny consulted him for Book 7 (*HN* 1. 7: cf. T 54), and Arrian certainly used the "Vulgate" extensively alongside his two main sources, Ptolemy and Aristoboulos: see especially Bosworth 1976.

59. See, for example, Wirth 1976: 190–96; Hafner 1977; Simon 1986: index, s.v. "Alexander."

sistently denigrating the work of contemporary artists,[60] signaled unmistakably that these lesser men should be glad to follow their lead. Apuleius (T 56), writing in the middle of the second century A.D., presents the "edict" in its most developed form, explaining how it standardized the king's features in all media, so that his virtues could at last be adequately conveyed to his subjects and to posterity. This was a utopian situation that had nothing to do with Alexander, but very much to do with the making and distribution of Roman imperial portraiture. It was in the high summer of empire, then, not under Augustus, that Alexander's "edict" finally became the paradigm of autocratic control for imperial Rome.

Meanwhile, Alexander's portraits had provoked another tradition of response that was to prove extremely long-lived. At what point does an artist's desire to do justice to a mighty ruler become flattery, and at what point does commemoration appropriate to his achievements become bombast? This time the artist concerned is not one of the privileged three but an "outsider." His name is variously reported as Deinokrates, Cheirokrates, and Stasikrates, and his home as Macedonia, Bithynia, and Rhodes (T 132–39). His outrageous proposal to rework Athos into a kind of Macedonian Mount Rushmore (S 23) was a heaven-sent gift to the moralizer. The proposed statue, with its feet in the Aegean, its head in the clouds, a city in its left hand, and a libation bowl eternally emptying the rivers of Athos into the sea in its right, is faithfully described by both Vitruvius and Strabo, though in very different ways. A splendid eighteenth-century reconstruction of it is illustrated in figure 1.

Vitruvius (T 132) uses the proposal both to flatter Augustus and to entreat him for favors. His Alexander turns it down not because it is hybristic—quite the contrary, he approves of it in principle (*formationem puto probandam*)—but because no city could flourish on such a site. Yet attracted by the intelligent and handsome "Dinocrates"—a fellow Macedonian—he takes him on and eventually commissions him to design Alexandria. "But as for me, my Emperor," writes Vitruvius, "nature has stunted my height, age has deformed my looks, and illness has sapped my strength. Since I am deprived of these advantages, I hope for preferment through my expertise and my writing" (2 *praef.* 4).

Strabo, on the other hand, having no personal axe to grind, reports the project almost as an aside (T 133). He calls its proposer Cheirokrates (Handmaster), a far less tendentious name than Deinokrates (Marvelmaster). Yet since both are overtly programmatic, one wonders whether the man's given name might not have been the more conventional Stasikrates (Strifemaster). This is the form in which it is transmitted by both Plutarch and Tzetzes, who

60. E.g., Pliny *HN* 34. 5, 46–47, 52; 35. 5, 28, 51.

independently adds that he was a Bithynian (T 134–35, 139). So either Cheirokrates and Deinokrates were nicknames, prompted by the Athos proposal itself, or the sources have conflated two or more individuals with similar names.[61]

Though Alexander's portraits appear in a variety of contexts in the literature of the empire, real continuity is to be found only in Pliny and Plutarch, who together account for the vast majority of all post-Augustan references to the subject. Without them, the number of attested portraits would be cut by half, and our knowledge of the rest would be impoverished beyond recognition.

Pliny's *Natural History* has earned him a good deal of contempt from scholars, who often seem to think that ancient authors can seldom do anything right. Extensive reliance on a single major source is condemned as slavish and unoriginal, while a synthesis of many is written off as a pastiche. Yet Pliny's vast palimpsest of information not only is crafted with some care but among other things has given us our only surviving large-scale history of Greek sculpture and painting. He includes many Alexanders that others ignore entirely, preserves the names of hitherto undocumented portraitists, presents interesting new traditions about Alexander and his court artists, offers valuable hard information on several key monuments, summarizes the opinions of Hellenistic critics about their style and the aims and interests of their authors, and, last but not least, always tries to find a "Roman angle" in the form of connections with the giants of the republic or the emperors.

Pliny introduces Alexander's "edict" and the three superstars in Book 7 of his work, in the context of the history of human evolution (T 54). His purpose is to catalogue the most eminent men and women in all spheres of life, so Alexander's recognition of Lysippos, Apelles, and Pyrgoteles (this is his

61. On the problem see *RE*, s.v. "Deinokrates" (6), cols. 2392–93 (Fabricius). Four separate projects are involved, as follows: (1) Ephesos, temple of Artemis: Strabo (T 133), quoting Artemidoros of Ephesos, has Cheirokrates; Solinus 40. 5 has Dinocrates. Vitruvius 7 *praef.* 16 ascribes the building to Paionios of Ephesos and the temple slave Demetrios. (2) Athos: see the main text. Diokles of Rhegion, who is mentioned only by Eustathios (T 138) and is otherwise unknown, must be a mistake. (3) Alexandria: the *communis opinio* of antiquity was that the city's architect was called Deinokrates (so Val. Max. 1. 4. 7; Solin. 32. 41—transcribing and correcting Pliny *HN* 5. 62, whose MSS read "Dinochares"; thus also *H.N.* 7. 25; and Amm. Marc. 22. 16. 7). Julius Valerius 1. 25 and ps.-Kallisthenes 1. 31 call him a Rhodian, though they give his name as Hermokrates and Hippokrates, respectively. Deinochares was certainly a separate personality, who worked for the early Ptolemies (*RE*, s.v., cols. 2390–91). Modern historians, when they discuss the matter, opt for Deinokrates of Rhodes: so, for example, Fraser 1972: 4; Hamilton 1973: 74; Bosworth 1988a: 246. (4) Hephaistion's tomb: Plutarch (T 135) makes Alexander "long" for Stasikrates, but this could suggest that by then he was otherwise employed, or dead; Diodoros 17. 115 describes the tomb but omits to name its designer. It was never completed.

debut) make the three obvious candidates for inclusion. His phraseology, as remarked above, strongly suggests that he was taking his cue from Horace (T 52), though as we have seen, the "edict" itself is probably a pre-Horatian, Hellenistic invention. He presumably found Pyrgoteles himself, among his primary sources, but this discovery was not to take root. Once Pliny had succumbed to the ash of Vesuvius, the gem cutter was forgotten again, and the abbreviated, mainstream tradition—"hard" and "soft" versions together—continued undisturbed.

In Books 34–36 Pliny adds four more painters and three sculptors to the roster of Alexander portraitists. The painters are Protogenes, who got around to painting Alexander (with Pan) only at the end of his life, shortly after 305, despite Aristotle's constant urging (P 3); Philoxenos of Eretria, who painted the battle of either the Issos or Gaugamela for "King Kassandros" (P 9); Antiphilos, who painted Alexander as a youth, and in company with Philip and Athena (P 2, 11); and Nikias, whose "extremely fine" Alexander then hung in Pompey's Porticoes (P 13). The sculptors are Euphranor and one "Chaereas" (perhaps Lysippos's pupil Chares of Lindos, the author of the Colossus of Rhodes),[62] both of whom made bronzes of Alexander and Philip (S 9, 10); and Euthykrates, who produced an Alexander Hunting (S 14).

Yet Pliny has not forgotten the "edict": he even repeats it when speaking of Apelles and Pyrgoteles (T 55, 154). So what are Euphranor and the others doing here? Surprisingly, none of them constitutes a prima facie violation of it. He has it both ways with Antiphilos: he first specifies that Antiphilos painted Alexander "as a youth" and alongside Philip (i.e., before 336), and then makes it clear that Antiphilos was born in Egypt and worked at the court of Ptolemy (35. 138)! He then clearly locates the pictures of Protogenes, Philoxenos, and Nikias in the period of the Successors. As for the sculptors, he introduces Euthykrates as Lysippos's son and pupil and in 34. 51 explicitly dates him to the 121st Olympiad (296–293); in 34. 50 he puts Euphranor in the generation before Lysippos and Alexander (Olympiad 104 = 364–361); and in 34. 41 he also places Chares among Lysippos's pupils. So Pliny is actually being quite consistent, at least by his own standards.

To ask whether his scrupulous observance of the "edict" is conscious is to miss the point. Most likely, once it became gospel, conflicting information simply dropped out of the tradition or was instinctively adjusted to fit it. Support for this thesis may be had from Pliny's own text. He mentions a Battle with the Persians by Aristeides of Thebes, containing one hundred figures and sold to Mnason of Elateia at the astronomical price of ten minae per figure (T 87); and he notes Aetion's picture of "a newly married bride,

62. Following Schreiber 1903: 268–72.

remarkable for her air of modesty" (T 68). Since Mnason was tyrant of Elateia around 330, the first picture could well have been one of Alexander's battles, and the second one has long been connected with Lucian's *ekphrasis* on Aetion's Wedding of Alexander and Roxane (T 69), which indeed put great stress on the modesty of the bride. So why are Pliny's references to them so vague?

The clue lies only a sentence or two away. Pliny is careful to note at the beginning of his disquisition on Aristeides that he was a contemporary of Apelles, and prefaces his list of Aetion's "noble works" with the information that he "attained outstanding distinction in the 107th Olympiad" (352–349). He therefore knew very well that Aristeides would have been subject to the "edict," and in Aetion's case he would certainly have realized that any picture celebrating the wedding of Alexander and Roxane and painted by a man who had "flourished" twenty-five years before would probably have been produced before Alexander's death and so would violate it too. Yet Aristeides' picture came complete with an anecdote about its size and consequently astronomical price, and Aetion's was part of the established canon of "noble works," and so could not easily be discarded either.[63] Was this why the true titles of these pictures quietly fell by the wayside, leaving only these sorry wraiths behind?

Pliny describes none of these works in detail: after all, most were made by "the rest of the throng" (34. 53), lesser masters "famous in minor genres" (35. 112). Nor does he notice any Alexanders east of Ephesos, for his sources appear to have covered only Greece and the Aegean.[64] Finally, among the sculptures he focuses exclusively on bronzes. This accords with his view that although the metal was first generally reserved for statues of gods, after the Athenians honored the Tyrannicides with portrait bronzes in 510, its utilization for statues of mortals "was taken up by the whole world" (34. 17). He repeats this view in 35. 9 and confirms it, in much the same way as with the "edict," by including almost no portrait marbles in Book 36.[65] Predictably, he devotes his real attention to the work of the three superstars: Lysippos, Apelles, and Pyrgoteles.

Alexander dominates his account of Lysippos. In 34. 51 the Sikyonian is

63. Pliny's description of these five select pictures by Aetion as "noble" points to Pasiteles' *Nobilia opera*, though Varro may be an intermediary here: cf. *HN* 36. 39–40 for Pliny's admiration of Pasiteles, and on his sources in general, *HN* 1. 34–36; cf. Stewart 1990: 21. Either could have been responsible for "losing" their titles.

64. Thus he omits Antioch's two masterpieces, the Tyche by Eutychides (fig. 80) and the Apollo by Bryaxis, though he discusses Eutychides at 34. 51 and 78 and Bryaxis at 34. 42, 73 and 36. 22, 30–31; on the omission see Stewart 1990: 300.

65. Exceptions: Cupid said to be Alkibiades (36. 28) and a Kallisthenes by Amphistratos (36. 36); indeed, the pattern repeats itself, for Skopas's *kanēphoroi* (36. 25) are now anonymous, and the quadriga atop the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos has lost its occupant (36. 31).

said to have flourished "together with Alexander the Great in the 113th Olympiad" (328–325), and, after an initial anecdote describing his humble origins, Alexanders take up fully half the space Pliny devotes to cataloguing his works in 34. 62–64 (T 105, 109, and 113). As so often, it is the Roman angle that interests him: Tiberius's immoderate love for the Apoxyomenos excites his contempt; Nero's crass attempt to gild his Young Alexander (S 15) enables him to moralize about the transcendent value of great art; and finally, after praising the Companions of the Granikos group for their consummate realism (S 12), he is careful to remark that they were removed to Rome by Metellus after the conquest of Macedonia. As in Velleius (T 104), these icons of Macedonian martial *aretē* had now become symbols of the triumph of republican *virtus*.

Conspicuously absent from this otherwise quite informative account is any mention of the portrait that Plutarch represents as Lysippos's *tour de force*: the Alexander with the Lance (T 120, 134). Since the normally scrupulous Pausanias does not mention it either, the natural inference is that it stood somewhere in the East and so failed to get into the Hellenistic art-historical canon. Were it not for Plutarch and his Byzantine admirer Tzetzes (cf. T 26–27), we would not even know of its existence. A similar situation obtains with regard to the king's portraits displayed in Alexandria: here, Nikolaos's *ekphraseis* are our sole guides (T 95, 126). As will soon appear, this is not the only large-scale disjunction between the testimonia and the surviving monuments.

The three sentences that end Pliny's account of Lysippos have caused more needless controversy among historians of Greek sculpture than almost any others. Probably taken from a book by Lysippos's third-century follower Xenokrates of Athens, they list his contributions to realism (*akribeia*) and the science of proportion (*symmetria*); the third category of analysis, composition (*rhythmos*), is unfortunately omitted.[66] Rejecting the "foursquare" physique favored by his predecessors (Polykleitos and his school: 34. 56), Lysippos is said to have cultivated a rendering that sought to increase apparent height by reducing the size of the head and slimming down the body, a system of proportion that codified the change, and an unparalleled mastery of detail. Pliny then concludes by quoting Lysippos's oft-repeated dictum that in contrast to his predecessors he pursued appearance rather than reality.

Contrary to common belief, none of this contradicts Pliny's opening anecdote, taken from Douris of Samos (active ca. 300), where the painter Eupompos advises the young Lysippos to start from nature, not from received wisdom (34. 61). Nor should one assert, as some do, that Pliny did not un-

66. For more detailed comments see Stewart 1990: 35, 80, 82, 186, 291–93.

derstand what he was writing. The entire section is perfectly lucid and not only self-consistent but in agreement with the report in 35. 153 of Lysippos's brother Lysistratos's novel practice of making "corrections" upon molds taken from life as a preliminary to casting portraits in bronze. In both cases the end result would have been the same: a "phenomenal" idealism that substituted doctored proportions and modeling for the real thing, in order to capture subjective appearance. Lysippos and his brother, Pliny is telling us, aimed not merely to reproduce reality but where necessary to improve on it, to chart a third course between the categorical idealism of Polykleitos and others and the crass realism of sculptors like Demetrios of Alopeke.[67] This is precisely the strategy envisaged by Aristotle in the *Poetics*, where he lists three kinds of poetic, pictorial, and sculptural mimesis: "of things as they were or are, of things as they are said or seem to be, and of things as they ought to be" (25, 1460b8–11): Demetrios, Lysippos, Polykleitos. As will appear, in the contest for Alexander's favor this novel approach indeed gave Lysippos a decided advantage over his rivals, though detailed discussion must be reserved till Chapter 6.

Pliny was evidently unable to connect Lysippos directly with Augustus; somewhat surprisingly, the emperor may not have brought any Alexanders of his back from the East. Apelles, however, was another matter. He receives about four times more attention than Lysippos (35. 79–97), with Augustus now much in evidence. Whereas Lysippos apparently wrote nothing, Pliny was able to use Apelles' own textbook, and it also seems that he was the more colorful character of the two, better geared than Lysippos to the kind of moralizing the ancient critics favored. His relationship with Alexander is described in detail, tapping into a complex discourse about class, gender, desire, self-control, and power.

The narrative, perhaps again taken from Douris, is prefaced by a discussion of Apelles' good sense, illustrated by the inevitable anecdote. Genial as ever, the painter happily redrew a pair of sandals when a cobbler pointed out a mistake, but sternly rejected the same man's criticism of his drawing of the leg, "saying that cobblers should stick to sandals, a remark that has passed into a proverb" (35. 85). The cobbler is thus put where he belongs: as a mere menial (Greek *banausos*), a maker of purely utilitarian objects, he cannot compete with the master of illusion.[68] Pliny then passes to one of Alexander's visits to Apelles' workshop, and the "edict" is invoked to explain the occasion. Like the cobbler, the king is also out of his depth in an environment where the expert rules, displays an embarrassing ignorance of the art of paint-

67. Stewart 1990: 186, 274–75.
68. Parallels: Kris and Kurz (1934)1979: 102–3.

ing, and is tactfully reproved by Apelles.[69] Here, Pliny begins to endow his proverb with more universal significance, as the genial painter, at home in his own territory, dominates the usually irascible king (*regem alioqui iracundum*), now very much out of his.

Surprisingly, though, Alexander bears Apelles no grudge. The lesson in humility has not infringed his authority where it counts, out in the world at large, and so does not provoke his usual anger. Instead, he meekly reciprocates by presenting his favorite mistress, Pankaspe,[70] to the painter after Apelles falls in love with her when she models for him in the nude. Here, the theme of Alexander's self-control in the workshop is developed to the extent that his action is explicitly recognized as increasing his power over himself, and thus his capacity to wield power over others (*magnus animo, maior imperio sui*).[71] This capacity is now seen as dependent upon the redirection of his desire into its proper channels, and accordingly his affection for the woman is now displaced upon a male subject, Apelles himself (*adfectum donavit artifici*). Here, one moral of the story, the gendering of desire, complements that of the Aetion painting described by Lucian (T 69); all will reappear in Chapter 6.4.

Meanwhile, Apelles is simultaneously elevated for displaying courtesy beyond his station in life and put down again by Pliny's characterization of Pankaspe's side of the deal: Alexander is deaf to her feelings at having exchanged a king for a (mere) painter. The eventual outcome of this chain of stories, then, is to restore the proper order of things, with the king at the top, his power substantially enhanced by the two incidents; the painter in the middle, handsomely rewarded for his good-mannered lesson and timely passion for Pankaspe; the cobbler below him, put sternly in his place as a menial craftsman; and the hapless woman at the bottom, a mere commodity defined solely by her sex. Yet even as it strives to exalt Alexander, the text betrays its anxiety: the rhetoric of praise and victory (*magnus animo, maior imperio sui, nec minor hoc facto quam victoria alia, quia ipse se vicit*) reaches fever pitch just before the king's callous indifference to Pankaspe's feelings is revealed.

Pliny begins his catalogue of Apelles' paintings by describing his relationship with Ptolemy Soter and his portrait of Antigonos One-Eye. Uncertain as to "which of his pictures are noblest" (35. 90), he then turns this into a compliment to Augustus for choosing his Aphrodite Anadyomene for Cae-

69. The incident resurfaces in Plut. *Mor.* 58D and 472A (Apelles and Megabyzos) and in Ael. *VH* 2. 2 (Zeuxis and Megabyzos). Kris and Kurz (1934)1979: 40–44 correctly link the story with the problem of the artist's status but fail to appreciate the complexities of its resolution.

70. Pankaste according to Ael. *VH* 12. 34; Pakate in Lucian *Imag.* 7.

71. See especially Halperin 1990: 35.

sar's temple. The Roman reader would of course have known of the Julian claim to be descended from Venus. The theme of artist and king is then further developed with an account of his portrait masterpiece, the Alexander Thunderbolt-bearer—Alexander Keraunophoros—at Ephesos (T 60; P1). Pliny defines it in two characteristic ways: by its enormous cost and by its realism. Both establish its status in a very concrete way, since its immense monetary value clearly mirrored its extraordinary virtuosity. Neither would have been lost on his Roman audience. Then, as an aside, he tells us that it was painted in only four colors. This parsimony is the key to the entire description, deflating Alexander's extravagance and locating the pictorial genius at the hub of the narrative, as he brilliantly achieves results and reaps rewards out of all proportion to his own investment.

Portraits of others then follow, with the information that Apelles painted Alexander and Philip more times than Pliny cares to count (T 82). Two of his Alexanders at Rome are then introduced, one grouped with the Dioskouroi and Nike, and the other triumphing in a chariot over a trussed-up figure of War (T 66; P4, 5). Augustus is complimented once more on his restraint in dedicating them publicly in his Forum rather than keeping them for himself, and Claudius is mocked for (literally) defacing them by substituting Augustus's visage for Alexander's. Pliny has, in fact, already mentioned these two pictures long before, in his account of the development of painting at Rome (T 65). They culminate his history of Roman collecting, for Augustus "surpassed all others in placing them in the most frequented part of his Forum."

What is surprising about this earlier notice is its omissions. Pliny fails to mention either Apelles or Alexander, does not tell us where the pictures came from, and lists only the secondary figures—and not all of these. He does confirm that Triumph was actually represented in the picture that featured War, but leaves out another figure whose existence happens to be recorded by Servius (T 67): a defeated Furor (Lyssa?) seated on a pile of weapons.[72] Outright carelessness is one possibility, but since Pliny's whole point is to praise Augustus, so is a desire (conscious or unconscious) that the emperor should have the limelight entirely to himself. As to the provenance of the pictures, what mattered to him was not pedigrees, but the fact that they were now an ornament to Rome. They probably hung at the entrance to the Forum, which has yet to be excavated.[73]

Finally, Pyrgoteles, whom Pliny apparently resurrected from oblivion and who immediately returned to it thereafter. The encyclopedist knew only

72. Daut 1984 thoroughly explores the possible meanings of "Belli facies" but overlooks the reference in Servius.

73. Servius notes that they were exhibited "introeuntibus ad sinistram"; cf. Pape 1975: 164 n. 2, against Zanker 1968: 23–24.

that he was Alexander's court engraver (T 54 and 154). Pliny mentions no specific works by him and can describe him only as "undoubtedly the most brilliant artist in his field." The reason for this is simple: apart from the rings of Polykrates and Pyrrhos, "the authorities can produce no gems famous enough to be specially recorded" (37. 6). So much for the brilliant history of Greek gem carving revealed by archaeology! Clearly, there was no independent Hellenistic tradition of writing about engravers (as opposed to their materials) that he could consult, and he knew of no work signed by Pyrgoteles in Rome or connected with the emperors.

So why did Pliny decide to include him? The answer must lie, once again, in the circumstances of imperial Rome. During the republic and especially under Augustus, portrait gems had become a fetish of the Roman elite. At the beginning of Book 37, Pliny admits that pre-Roman gems interest him only as a prologue to the present, only insofar as they can illuminate "this enthusiasm that has blazed into so violent a passion" (37. 2). He resurrects Pyrgoteles for the sole purpose of prefacing his account of the art of gem carving at Rome and introducing his encomium of Augustus's own favorite engraver, Dioskourides (37. 8). He then proceeds to list the gems that the emperor used to stamp state papers: first, a signet engraved with a sphinx, then, when this provoked some ribaldry during the civil wars, one with Alexander's portrait (T 155; V 2). This gem, however, must have been unsigned, since a signed image so widely disseminated would surely have attracted attention and found its way into Pliny's text. Unsung before imperial times, and an enigma even then, Pyrgoteles only entered the canon on Dioskourides' coattails. Unless a signed work of his appears, he will always remain a shadow.[74]

In the teleological scheme that Pliny inherited from the Hellenistic critics, Lysippos and Apelles had brought their respective arts to perfection. For him, the shadowy Pyrgoteles was undoubtedly to be ranked with them. Alexander, it is implied, was lucky to be alive at that moment, when a watershed in Greek history coincided with the climax of her representational arts.

In his second essay under the title *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*, Plutarch turns all this on its head. Introducing the king's court artists, Plutarch observes that the conjunction was their good fortune, not his, and that they "became the foremost not simply under Alexander, but because of Alexander" (2. 1, 333D–E). After listing the performing artists at court, Plu-

74. Bibliography and comments: Zazoff 1983: 208, 269–70, 315–16. Occasional attempts to resurrect him, such as Guépin 1964, have not found general favor: cf. Schwarzenberg 1976: 264–66; for a quite different, and certainly more plausible, try see Hafner 1977. Boardman 1970: 371 (notes to pl. 997) reports a suggestion by Vollenwieder that Pyrgoteles made the gem in the Ionides collection signed ΠΥ, but this is incompatible with his own observation that it recalls the coins of Antigonos Doson (reigned, 229–221).

tarch turns to the painters and sculptors. First comes Apelles, whose Alexander Keraunophoros receives due praise for its realism, provoking a neatly turned epigram: "Philip's Alexander is invincible, but Apelles' is inimitable" (T 61). For obvious reasons, he omits Lysippos's caustic remark that not the thunderbolt but the spear was Alexander's true and proper attribute, one that Time could never take away from him (T 120). This comment appears elsewhere in the *Moralia*, as part of an attack on men who would usurp the heavens,[75] but was quite out of place in an encomium.

Next comes Lysippos himself (T 119). Plutarch praises his unique success in catching Alexander's personal quirks, such as the inclination of his neck, the upward tilt of his head, and his melting, limpid eyes, without compromising his virile and leonine character: his matchless *aretē*. The *Life* further specifies that the inclination of the neck was to the left and that many of his friends and Successors tried to imitate these quirks (T 10). Similar remarks elsewhere in Plutarch's oeuvre (T 8 and 11) more or less guarantee that the physical characteristics so described are taken from eyewitnesses and reflect firsthand knowledge of Alexander's appearance.[76] Lysippos's procedure here is exactly that ascribed to him by Pliny (34. 65). Plutarch is only being more specific. He implies that normally these peculiarities would be decidedly unheroic and unleonine (melting eyes, for example, were a characteristic of Praxiteles' Aphrodite of Knidos)[77] and that no one but Lysippos could turn them to advantage. This gained him Alexander's approval and provoked the famous "edict." Yet, as Plutarch emphasizes elsewhere, his successors in the genre were less scrupulous, corrupting it beyond all redemption.[78]

So while Apelles exalted Alexander with the attribute of Zeus but caught his real features perfectly, Lysippos represented him as a mortal but idealized his appearance in order to reveal the unique character underneath. The structure of the argument is broadly chiastic, though this time Lysippos takes the palm. Then comes Stasikrates (T 134).

One would have expected that his Macedonian Mount Rushmore (fig. 1) would have excited Plutarch's contempt and abuse, but it did nothing of the kind. Like Vitruvius, Plutarch had other things in mind. His Alexander also admires the plan and rejects it only because Xerxes' attempt to cut a canal through Athos had already become a byword for *hybris* and because the whole

75. See also *Mor.* 780F: the good ruler does not need the thunderbolts or tridents of the sculptors and painters.

76. Leimbach 1979, who shows that the current orthodoxy that Plutarch got his information solely from the statues cannot be right: see further Chapter 3.2 below.

77. Lucian *Imag.* 6; Dio Chrys. 4. 112. Marshall 1909: 92–98 is still the fullest discussion of the meaning of ὑγρότης, though Polemon in *Anecdota Graeca* 4. 255 (Cramer), plus the citations in LSJ, 9th ed., show that it must mean "moist" or "melting."

78. *Mor.* 779F–80A.

of Asia was to be his memorial: his eyes are fixed on bigger things still. Plutarch then finishes up with a highly contrived comparison. Though Fortune supplies the materials, it is Art, not Fortune, that creates great painting and sculpture like Apelles' Keraunophoros or "the statue named after the spear" (presumably the Lysippic bronze he discussed earlier). So how can we believe that the greatest man of all time was created by Fortune's supply of arms and men alone, without Virtue's help?

By the time Plutarch wrote the *Life*, he had read more, reflected more, and matured somewhat. As already mentioned, his comments on the Lysippic Alexander are a little more specific, but instead of praising Apelles' Keraunophoros for its accuracy, he now censures it for making the king's complexion too dark (T 10). Citing a pupil of Aristotle on Alexander's pleasant smell, he then moves into an analysis of how this came to be, basing his argument on the characterological theories of Aristotle's successor as head of the Peripatetic school, Theophrastos (see above, Section 1).

Here too, then, Plutarch uses Alexander's portraits as a form of control, weighing them against other sources (firsthand accounts and theoretical speculation) to obtain a rounded view of Alexander's appearance and character. His other remarks on them in the *Life* are more *ad hoc*. He rounds off his account of the battle of the Granikos with the by now obligatory mention of Lysippos's group at Dion (T 103), cites the Krateros group at Delphi as concrete testimony to Alexander's valor in hunting the king of beasts (T 110), and reintroduces Stasikrates to emphasize the extraordinary nature of his project for Hephaistion's tomb (72. 5). Finally, he returns to Delphi again (he was a priest there) with an anecdote about Kassandros's holy terror of Alexander being reawakened many years after the king's death by seeing a statue of him in the sanctuary (T 111; S 13?). This anecdote is part of a strong tradition about Kassandros's hatred for Alexander and his descendants, which surfaces elsewhere in Plutarch as well as in Diodoros and Curtius.[79] Thus, here too, the sculpture serves to certify a historical fact, clinching the argument like a silent witness to its veracity.

After Pliny and Plutarch, the discourse surrounding Alexander's portraiture fragments again. Latin writers add but little, largely confining themselves to translating, epitomizing, or glossing earlier sources (T 57, 67, 79, 107, 151–52). The only notable exceptions are Apuleius, Statius, and Suetonius. Apuleius gives us the definitive, high imperial form of the "edict" but erroneously substitutes Polykleitos for Lysippos (T 56). Statius, writing a clever but nauseatingly sycophantic encomium of Domitian's new equestrian portrait, sees the advantages of a pejorative comparison with Lysippos's

79. Plut. *Mor.* 180F; Diod. 17. 118. 2; 19. 51; Curt. 10. 10. 17–19.

bronze of Alexander on Boukephalas, turning his conceit on the replacement of the Macedonian's head with Caesar's (T 125). And Suetonius gives us both a fuller account of Augustus's signet rings (T 156) and the first description of Caesar's encounter with Alexander's statue in Cadiz (T 129).

Greek literature of the middle and late empire offers a richer pasture. Pausanias dutifully notes several Alexander portraits in his *Description of Greece* (T 94, 97–98, 102). Unfortunately, since his sympathies lay with the free Greece of the years before Philip and Alexander, he reveals little but the mere fact of their existence and at Delphi even omits the Krateros group (S 13), so keen is he to get to the Knidian Lesche. Proud of the traditions of his native Ionia, he also tells us about Alexander's dream in Smyrna, the founding myth of the city, making a bridge to Roman coins illustrating the scene (7. 5. 1; fig. 109). Philostratos, too, includes a number of Alexander portraits in his account of the Indian journey of his hero, the sage Apollonios of Tyana (T 127, 146, 157). Unfortunately, since his "source," the diary of the shadowy Damis of Nineveh, is probably his own creation, and his "biography" of Apollonios is more fiction than fact, this casts doubt upon the very existence of the works of art he so colorfully reports.[80] Though excavation has done much to verify his description of Taxila, it has not turned up any of the works of art he describes. Each of his Alexanders therefore has to be taken on its own merits, which will be explored in Chapters 6.3 and 10.1.

These doubts introduce us to a new tradition that apparently began in the middle empire: the creation of completely fictitious Hellenistic Alexanders. Ptolemaios Chennos (The Quail), an early exponent of historical fiction, had included a Helen of Alexandria and her picture of the Issos in his catalogue of famous Helens (T 84), but since he says that the painting was on public display in Vespasian's Temple of Peace, it is probably authentic. Lucian and Philostratos, writing around A.D. 170 and 200, are the first extant authors where one suspects such mendacity (T 146, 148); they certainly invented other works of art when it suited them. Soon after, we find Aelian concocting a dummy of Alexander in order to sensationalize the story of the hearse and to contrast Ptolemy's cleverness with Perdikkas's stupidity (T 153). Lastly, and most spectacularly, the author of the *Alexander Romance* makes a painted Alexander central to his complicated dealings with Queen Candace of Meroe—a fiction at the heart of a fiction—invents a group of him, Seleukos, and others at Alexandria; and finally picks up the spurious tradition of his will

80. See, for instance, Meyer 1917, esp. 376–79 (extreme skepticism); Charpentier 1934 (uncritical acceptance); Anderson 1986: 121–239, esp. 128 and 208–9 (cautious optimism). Apollonios and Damis turn up in Sanskrit and medieval Persian sources: see G. W. Bowersock in the *Cambridge History of Greek Literature*, ed. P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox (Cambridge, 1965), 657; Anderson 1986: 166–69 and 173 n. 106.

and the portraits mandated therein (T 89–90, 149, and 150–51). It cannot be coincidence that these developments took place exactly when Alexander had regained favor as an exemplum for the Severans and the barrack-room emperors of the third century (T 21).[81]

For obvious reasons, Alexander portraits also made excellent material for extended literary description, or *ekphrasis*. Around A.D. 170, Lucian dedicated a long *ekphrasis* to Aetion's painting of Alexander's marriage to Roxane (T 69), and in the fifth century, Nikolaos Rhetor of Myra composed two more, both on monuments in Alexandria. One describes the Tychaion and its contents, the other the king's statue as founder of the city (*ktistēs*: T 95, 126).

Lucian uses Aetion's picture to make a humorous appeal to a Macedonian audience. He presents it as one among several instances of how displaying one's wares at festivals pays off, for it supposedly won Aetion the daughter of an Olympic judge, no less. The protagonists are actually the Erotes, playfully overcoming the modesty of Roxane and Alexander's reluctance. Nikolaos, on the other hand, is deadly serious. In each case he strives to situate his subjects in a wider context. Concerning the Tychaion, he first lauds the universal power of Tyche and then proceeds to treat the Tychaion and its allegorical Alexander group from this standpoint, taking advantage of telling details to emphasize Tyche's commanding role in the affairs of mortals. In the description of the Founder, his aim and technique are somewhat similar: to exalt both city and king, first in general terms, then by demonstrating (sometimes erroneously) how the statue's iconography was chosen to evoke his aims and ideals. His intent throughout is to bring Alexander and Boukephalas to life, to move us with his pen sketch of what Cavafy was later to call "a man worthy of such a city." En route, these *ekphraseis* let slip much valuable information. Without them, we would not even suspect that these four works ever existed, much less be able to trace replicas like that illustrated in figure 52.

The older traditions of response continue too. Arrian and Himerios perpetuate the "hard" and "soft" forms of the "edict," respectively (T 58, 106), and the latter adopts the same stance as Plutarch when discussing Alexander's debt to Lysippos and vice versa (T 122). Dio repeats the story of Caesar at Cadiz (T 130). And the poets of the *Anthology* produce elegant variations on the Alexander epigrams of their Hellenistic forebears (T 114, 117). As usual, opinions vary according to whatever axe the author is grinding at the time. The Athos project receives a double dose of moral disapproval from Lucian,

81. Cf. S. H. A., *Thirty Tyrants* 14. 4–6 on the popularity of Alexander talismans during the troubled years of the third century; on Caracalla's obsession with him see Bieber 1964: 76–77; Wirth 1976: 200–203; Castritius 1988.

who, however, has either forgotten Stasikrates' name or does not care to mention it (T 136–37). The Christian apologist Clement of Alexandria mocks Alexander's images for their defilement of human beauty with—of all things—ram's horns (T 147). And Athenaios is simply interested in their entertainment value (T 96, 128, 140–41).

The Byzantine writers, though increasingly prone to factual error, deviate only marginally from the canon. Nikolaos of Myra's *ekphraseis* have already been discussed, together with their tendency to overinterpretation. The sixth-century rhetor Chorikios of Gaza repeats the story of the "edict" and comments that the Lysippic bronzes had to be over life-size to please a king who thought himself bigger than everyone else (T 123–24). Eustathios notes the Athos project in his commentary on the *Iliad* but ascribes it to an otherwise unknown Diokles of Rhegion (T 138). Tzetzes, on the other hand, knows that it was proposed by Stasikrates, and contrasts his overblown bombast and what he sees as Lysippos's sober realism (T 25–27, 139). This would have astounded Plutarch and Apuleius, who knew full well that Lysippos idealized the king (T 56, 119); it has also been responsible for much recent confusion regarding the Sikyonian's aims and methods.[82]

These differing perspectives on Alexander and his image are illuminating, but the merest fragments of far more extensive traditions of response now forever lost. With Tzetzes, the ongoing discourse about Alexander's portraiture comes full circle. To him, as to his predecessors, it is keeping *hybris* in check that counts. Stasikrates' Athos project (S 23) and Apelles' Keraunophoros (P1) overstepped the bounds, Lysippos's spear-bearer (S 16) did not. Other issues overlap: the proper representation of Alexander's character, the evaluation of his personal appearance, and the role of Tyche or Arete in life and image. For the reception of Alexander's portraiture was a complex affair, provoking discourses of quite diverse kinds, generating opinions and arousing passions that are sometimes easy, but often difficult, for us to understand. Few are congruent with the interests of twentieth-century art historians, but that is not to say that they are either irrelevant or, worse, "naive." To paraphrase a recent study of Caravaggio and his interpreters, rather than dismiss the ancient critics as simpleminded, we might do well to treat them as sophisticated men who express themselves in terms that are often alien to us.[83] Understand their preoccupations, and one comes closer to understanding the preoccupations of those who ordered and paid for the images they discuss. With this in mind, it is time to move on to those images themselves.

82. Correctly recognized by Schwarzenberg 1967 and 1976.

83. Carrier 1987: 73; my thanks to Hayden White for this reference.

2

IMAGES

1. SURVIVORS

Not one of the glittering array of Alexander images described in the literary sources has survived. Lysippos's bronzes and Apelles' paintings are all lost, and if a gem by Pyrgoteles lurks in a museum somewhere, it has yet to be recognized. Nor have others fared any better, unless one is prepared to risk the hazards of the attribution game with those few originals we have. Yet the picture is less bleak than it may seem. The monuments may not overlap much with the texts, and they certainly include too many copies for comfort, but patterns can be discerned and preoccupations glimpsed. In addition, whole classes of evidence exist that one would not even suspect from reading Pliny, Plutarch, and their fellows. The moneyers of the Successors, Apulian vase painters, Alexandrian bronze founders, even Arretine potters—all turned their attention at one time or another to Alexander, sometimes producing the most intriguing portraits of all. The most important of these monuments are gathered in Appendix 4.

Yet before examining the survivors, there is a purely practical problem to be faced. How many of the myriad portraits so blithely identified as Alexander on museum labels and in the secondary literature are to be trusted? For the entire edifice of Alexander iconography erected by scholars since the late nineteenth century is derived from only three sources, all of them posthumous: the inscribed Azara herm, the Alexander Mosaic, and the coins of the Successors (color pls. 4 and 8; figs. 45, 76–79, 114–17). All other identifications are based not on fact but probability: does the supposed portrait show a fair amount of agreement either with any of these three or with the literary descriptions or (preferably) with both? Since their facial types vary, the best clues are coiffure and headgear: Alexander's "leonine" hair, preferably with

some sort of *anastolē* or cowlick over the center of the forehead (T 9 and 50), and/or a diadem (T 33, 35–36, 38, 42–47), and so on. There is no sign that he was ever represented wearing the Macedonian hat or *kausia* (T 33, 38, 42), and on present evidence it seems that only the mid-Hellenistic Baktrian kings were portrayed in this way. With one possible exception (fig. 140), the horned statues mentioned by the Christian apologist Clement (T 147) are equally elusive. Perhaps he was extrapolating from coins (e.g., color pl. 8) or describing statues that are no longer extant.

Many portraits, including the Schwarzenberg, Akropolis, and Getty heads, the Neisos gem, and the Aboukir medallions (color pls. 1, 2, 8a; figs. 5, 40, 130), have been plausibly identified as Alexanders on this basis. But the method can also be problematical.[1] For example, the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus (figs. 101–6) shares some motifs with the Mosaic and features a man wearing a lion-skin helmet fighting Persians on one long frieze, and on the other a second individual with a cutting for a wreath or fillet in his hair, hunting game. It was probably made for the last king of Sidon, Abdalonymos, who owed his position to Alexander's victory at the Issos in 333, and Alexander is surely the lion-helmeted king. Yet he resembles neither any other firmly identified Alexander nor the hunter on the other side—who is usually also called Alexander! Disembodied, he could easily be mistaken for a young Herakles: what, in turn, does this tell us about Alexander's own Herakles coins and the numerous youthful Hellenistic heads that wear lion-skin caps (figs. 30, 71)?[2] Nor would the hunter fare any better. Alexander or not, he would be languishing, forgotten, among those many unidentified and questionable ruler portraits that rate at best a footnote in the handbooks. Only the fact that the Sarcophagus has survived virtually intact and in its original context allows us to get a proper grip on these two portraits and their problems, to investigate meaning through the play of difference.

But if difference is problematic, then sameness is equally so. A host of sources, both literary and monumental, show that Alexander's portraits inspired new trends in the representation of gods, heroes, royalty, and even commoners. Coins, gems, and marbles of widely varying provenance, scale, and date have been labeled Alexander-Helios and Alexander-Herakles (figs. 71, 131–32); a statue from Delos has been called either Alexander or Mithradates VI of Pontos; and miscellaneous heads from all over the Greco-Roman world have been recognized as likenesses of Alexander too.[3] So how does one

1. Useful discussion: Ridgway 1990: 108–13.

2. E.g., the heads in Athens and Boston (Andronikos et al. 1980: nos. 4, 5; fig. 71); the methodological crux is ignored by Palagia 1986, but recognized by Ridgway 1990: 113.

3. See Bieber 1964: passim; Ridgway 1990: 108–36. On Alexander *imitatio* and its problems, see Green 1990: 193–95.

separate him from his imitators? Unfortunately there is no general rule, no universal panacea. One must take each case on its merits and attempt to plot a given piece's position within the widening circles of probability: the probable, the possible, the unlikely, and so on. Of course a continuous tradition, particularly in ruler portraiture, is certainly suggestive, especially when other evidence points to a connection with Alexander. The long afterlife of the Nelidow type (figs. 35–38) is a case in point.[4]

Among the remains, the sculptures are the most numerous and the most studied but are in some ways the least informative. Of the numerous large-scale bronzes erected in Alexander's honor only a couple of heads survive, and these look very Roman (and romanticized) indeed.[5] Like many of the marble "Alexanders," they seem quite late; the Stoicized elite of the early empire had very little use for Alexander, as we have seen. They are probably Severan or later, made after Caracalla (emperor, A.D. 212–17; fig. 3) had made Alexander respectable again (cf. T 21), but also after the Romans' interest in exact copies had waned.[6] As to the marbles, we have a few original heads, most of which seem Attic in style (color pls. 1 and 2; figs. 5, 16, 97, and 137), and a rather larger number of copies in the same vein (e.g., fig. 95). Though one expects the sources to ignore the so-called minor arts, it is surprising to find that they pay no attention to this Attic tradition of Alexander portraiture either.

A second, quite different tradition is known entirely through copies of heads, and precious few of these. Represented by the inscribed Azara herm and the stylistically related Dresden and Schwarzenberg types (figs. 9, 40, 45), it has been plausibly but not certainly connected with Lysippos. Some Hellenistic marbles from Asia Minor and Egypt, eclectic in style, complete the roster (figs. 84–85, 124–44), though attempts to identify Alexander's portrait on Kos (S 20) in a fine head wearing a Corinthian helmet have been shown to be misguided. The mistake goes back to the Renaissance, when the helmeted Athena head on his gold coinage (fig. 29) was misidentified as Alexander on the basis of the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on the reverse.[7]

Original multifigured group sculpture is represented only by the Alexander Sarcophagus and two problematic assemblages of fragments: one in Malibu (color pls. 2 and 3; figs. 16, 146–211), supposedly from Megara, and the

4. Most recently, Himmelmann 1989.

5. Berger 1971; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 9; another: Andronikos et al. 1980, Chicago Supplement S-4 and New Orleans Supplement S-3.

6. Cf. Wirth 1976: 200–203; Castritius 1988.

7. On the Kos head (an Athena?) see Bieber 1925; and Bieber 1964: 59–60, figs. 57–60. Kraft 1965 exposes the error, but her thesis is still accepted without comment by Pollitt 1986: 29 (fig. 16) and Nielsen 1988: 221 (figs. 1–2).

other from Kyme in Aeolis (northwestern Turkey), now in Istanbul (figs. 136–38). A complete catalogue of the Malibu group is given in Appendix 5. As to copies, a set of fragmentary marble horsemen from Lanuvium, now in Leeds and London, has been thought to echo another freestanding group, perhaps Lysippos's Granikos bronzes (S 12; fig. 24). A completely different perspective is provided by the reliefs of the temple at Luxor (S 1; figs. 53–54), where Alexander appears no fewer than fifty-two times as pharaoh and son of Ammon.

For complete compositions in the round, then, one is forced for the most part to consult small-scale replicas in stone and bronze, and representations on Roman coins. Many of the statuettes come from Egypt and allow us to reconstruct two types that probably stood there, an Alexander probably holding a spear, the so-called Fouquet type (fig. 32), and another wearing the aegis (Alexander Aigiochos: figs. 82–83). Replicas of two other types, the Nelidow and Stanford Alexanders (figs. 35–39, 59), are more widely diffused. Their identification rests on a number of interlocking arguments that are not absolutely conclusive but nevertheless cumulatively compelling. Their function or functions remain unknown, though it is possible that the Egyptian examples may have been used for private cult, imitating the official cults of Alexander set up by the Ptolemies (cf. Appendix 3); others may have been tourist souvenirs or military talismans. None of them show the "imperial" costume described—and derided—by the ancient authors (T 32–47).

Two or three bronze statuettes probably represent the king on horseback (figs. 21, 52). They have inevitably been connected with the Granikos group too (S 12), even though he wears the diadem, which he only assumed four years later. A Hellenistic marble relief from Messene may echo Krateros's hunting group at Delphi (S 13; fig. 89), and Roman coins illustrate two sculptural groups (complete with statue bases) of Alexander in battle at Sagalassos and being visited by two Nemeseis in the dream that persuaded him to refound Smyrna (figs. 109, 112).[8]

Alexander portraits have occasionally been recognized in other plastic media, including ivory furniture appliqués and terracottas. The ivory heads from the so-called Tomb of Philip II (Tomb II) at Vergina have been identified by their excavator as portraits of the Macedonian royal family, including Alexander. Originally set into wooden bodies, they were part of a decorative frieze on a piece of furniture, probably a wooden couch or *klinē*. Yet not only do they lack their hair (and with it the best clue to Alexander's identity, the "leonine mane" with *anastolē*), but the tomb probably belongs at least half a

8. Paus. 7. 5. 1.

generation after 338, and the identities of its inhabitants are extremely controversial.[9] An ivory head from Alexandria in Baltimore, also a furniture appliqué, is a much safer bet, since it both includes the *anastolē* and closely resembles the Azara herm (fig. 49). Even more secure are two late Hellenistic terracotta busts from near Thessalonike: they show Alexander wearing *chitōniskos*, cloak, cuirass, and aegis.[10] Further candidates from the minor arts include a terracotta representation of a *kosmokratōr* from Amisos on the Black Sea, several Hellenistic and early Roman decorative bronze busts, and an ivory dagger-pommel from the Sanctuary of the Oxus in southern Russia.[11]

This excursus has raised the question of function. The intended purpose of a piece of sculpture not only helps to define its meaning, but may also interact with genre and the specifics of representation to create variegated and sometimes even clashing patterns of signification within the image. Broadly speaking, most pre-Hellenistic Greek sculptures were religious, being intended either as objects of worship (cult statues), as votive offerings to divinities, or as funerary monuments. On the secular side, honorary portraits became fashionable in the fourth century, and decorative sculpture (which had always been a popular adjunct to furniture or utensils) emerged as a separate, monumental genre in the third and second. During the Hellenistic period, Alexander's image came to satisfy all of these functions, though the exact chronology of the process is often unclear. The table on p. 47 documents what we know of it, combining both texts and archaeology.

Despite the uncertainties, this all seems very clear-cut. Yet art is an untidy affair, embodying relationships, arousing expectations, and provoking responses that may be quite diverse in character. For example, Krateros's dedication at Delphi (S 13), made by Lysippos and Leochares, was ostensibly a sumptuous votive to Apollo, but we learn from its inscription (T 108) that it was actually completed by his son after he died in battle in 320. The group not only honored Alexander's bravery in "fighting the lion for the kingship" (T 110) but celebrated Krateros's fearless rescue of his sovereign when the hunt went awry. It thus bore witness to its dedicant's ironclad sense of duty,

9. Andronikos et al. 1980: color pl. 34, nos. 170–71; Andronikos 1984: figs. 75–86; Smith 1991: fig. 292. The historical case is argued by Burstein 1982; Green 1982; Hammond 1982; and Andronikos 1984; most of the archaeological pros and cons emerge in the debate between Lehmann and Fredricksmeyer in *AJA* 84 (1980)–87 (1983); to date, the most comprehensive summary is Borza 1990: 256–76, and the most succinct is Errington 1990: 132.

10. See Richter, in Amandry 1963: 113–14, no. 64 *bis*, fig. 48 *bis*.

11. *Kosmokratōr*: L'Orange (1947)1982: 25, fig. 7; Michel 1967: 100–101, pl. 11; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 42. Bronze busts: Barr-Sharrar 1987: pls. 31 (C95), 54–55 (C180–81), 72 (H28). Dagger: Litvinskiy and Pichikyan 1980: 67–77, fig. 9; Pichikyan 1983: fig. 1; probably only a Herakles, since the head wears a lion *skin*, not a helmet as the authors assert, for the paws are knotted under the hero's chin.

	Lifetime (to 323)	*Successors (to ca. 270)*	*Later Hellenistic (to ca. 30)*
Cultic	Probably	Yes	Yes
Votive	Yes	Yes	Yes
Funerary		Yes	Yes
Honorary	Yes		
Decorative		Yes	Yes

his credentials to lead the Macedonians after his king's death, and his cultivated sensibility in choosing the court sculptors of both Philip and Alexander to reify all this in bronze.

Yet it also subtly betrayed his political weakness. He had been sent home to supplant Antipatros as regent of Macedon, but Alexander died before he got there, so the two of them formed an uneasy alliance. Finally, not only did it proclaim the younger Krateros's piety and insinuate that he had assumed his father's legacy, but it may have served another, quite unintended function, for Plutarch tells us that Antipatros's son and the younger Krateros's intermittent enemy, Kassandros, had been so brutally treated by Alexander that even many years later the sight of his image at Delphi brought on a massive anxiety attack (T 111). Lysippos and Leochares may have planned to address some of these functions directly, while others emerged only after Krateros died, and still others not until some years had passed. Yet all are germane to the group's reception and must be taken into account when one is discussing (or attempting to reconstruct) its form.

Alexander is far less well represented in extant painting: four frescoes survive, all problematic, plus four vases and the Alexander Mosaic. He has been recognized in the wreathed, unbearded man at the center of the Hunt fresco on the facade of Tomb II at Vergina (text fig. 11), but along with the reservations expressed above, one might expect this central figure to be the tomb's occupant—and Alexander was buried in Alexandria.[12] A second fresco, from the House of the Vettii at Pompeii (fig. 65), has been persistently connected with Apelles' Keraunophoros (P 1), despite weighty evidence to the contrary. And a third and fourth, disinterred from the ruins of Delos and Pompeii respectively, have been identified as copies of fourth-century pictures of Alexander and Roxane or Stateira. The Delian fragment (fig. 57) recalls Lucian's description of Aetion's famous painting (T 69) but diverges from it in several important details, while the Pompeian picture (color pl. 6) is quite different

12. Andronikos 1984: figs. 57–59, 65–66, 70. If one accepts this observation (which I now see has been independently made by Messerschmidt 1989: 81), it disqualifies Philip II, who would have been bearded. As will appear in Chapter 9.3, though, one of the other figures may mimic him.

and raises complex issues of interpretation that cannot be discussed here. Finally come the four vases, of Apulian manufacture and secure late fourth-century date (figs. 25–28; text figs. 4–5), and the Alexander Mosaic, a superb late second-century Pompeian copy, often connected with Philoxenos's picture for Kassandros (P 9; color pls. 4–6). All battle scenes, they have several motifs in common, though exactly how each relates to the others is unclear.

A very similar battle scene is reproduced on Etruscan ash urns and Roman relief bowls,[13] which also lead us to two other possible Alexanders. Arretine bowls of the Augustan period, which often reproduce works of art, preserve scenes of a diademed ruler and his companions, dressed in recognizably Macedonian cloaks and hunting bears, lions, and boars (figs. 91–94),[14] and of yet another Stanford-type ruler facing a woman in royal Persian dress (figs. 62–63). The hunt scenes have inevitably been connected by some with the bronze group of Alexander hunting by Euthykrates (S 14), but they could equally well copy paintings. At present I can see no way to get beyond them, but the bowls with the Persian princess will occupy us again in Chapter 6.4.

Paintings were not used as cult images, but otherwise their functions were virtually the same as those of sculpture. Unfortunately, since so few survive and our major source, Pliny, is far more interested in their afterlife in Rome than in their original contexts, our table is now a good deal less informative (see table on p. 49).

The richest and most varied series of Alexander portraits, and the only one whose components can be more or less exactly dated, is to be found on the coins. Though I will argue below that Alexander's own Herakles coins (fig. 30) were probably not cryptoportraits of himself, his images on the rare "Porus" coins (figs. 68–69) certainly date to his lifetime, as do two coin portraits from Egypt (fig. 51). Furthermore, his warring Successors produced no fewer then ten different Alexander types, also gathered in Appendix 4 (color pl. 8; figs. 76–79, 87, 114–17). Bedecked with attributes and complemented by suggestive images on their reverses, they are a mine of information about aims and aspirations in the power struggle that racked the empire in the decades after Alexander's death. In the second century, the Baktrian king Agathokles included Alexander in his impressive series of "pedigree" coins (fig. 121), and in the early first century the Roman quaestor of Macedonia, Aesillas, minted a huge Alexander issue (fig. 123), for motives that still remain unclear.

Though the immediate function of coins as a medium of exchange is obvious, the purpose of these particular portraits is less clear. Though it is now

13. Andreae 1977: figs. 21, 23; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 45.

14. Chase, Comstock, and Vermeule (1916)1975 pl. 17. 26–27; Dragendorff and Watzinger 1948: 92–93; Andronikos et al. 1980, Boston Supplement nos. 10–13.

	Lifetime (to 323)	*Successors (to ca. 270)*	*Later Hellenistic (to ca. 30)*
Votive	Yes		
Funerary	Yes	Yes	
Honorary			
Decorative	Yes	Yes	Yes

fashionable to call them "propaganda,"[15] this term begs many questions. Strictly speaking, propaganda is the systematic promotion of an ideology, from the Catholic faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, its original usage) to twentieth-century ideologies such as Nazism or Stalinism. Is this ideological function, along with its decidedly sinister connotations of mind control and the like, appropriate to early Hellenistic culture?

Alexander's kingdom and those of his Successors were highly personal entities. Alexander wanted the whole world as his personal property, and the Successors later assumed the diadem because some great deed had (supposedly) confirmed their right to succeed him.[16] Alexander's supposed plans for the unity of humankind, for mass Hellenization of the conquered, or for the fusion of the races are now discredited, either entirely or at least in the forms in which their authors originally proposed them, and his coins carry no promotional slogans and no personifications apart from Nike. As for the Successors, the only real ideology that they sought (at times) to promote was the freedom of the Greeks,[17] but their coins offer no proclamations of *autonomia* or *eleutheria* to prefigure the Roman emperors' calls for *libertas, concordia,* or *pax*.

Nor were occasions and audiences the same as today. Greek coins were not minted to sustain or benefit the economy directly, but to address the immediate fiscal needs of the issuing agency, particularly to finance wars and building projects. In our period, this meant paying mercenaries and constructing the new cities that would secure the conquered territories.[18] Issues were usually sporadic and timed as convenient for the ruler, not for bankers and merchants. Denominations, too, were large (a tetradrachm was four days' wages) and chosen to make state payments in a convenient form. Nevertheless, the care expended on them shows that they were clearly meant to be scrutinized: for the gold and silver, soldiers, builders, and merchants were the most likely users.

So what the coins confront us with is not propaganda in the generally

15. So, for example, Hadley 1974a; *contra*, Smith 1988: 27.

16. For this and what follows see Gruen 1985; the government of the Successor monarchies is best described by Green 1990: 187–200.

17. Most recently, Billows 1990: 114–15, 189–236.

18. Army pay: Kraay 1984: 4; Thompson 1984; le Rider 1986: 26–27. State convenience: Kraay 1964; Kraay 1976: 320.

accepted sense, but a "largely unsystematic attempt at irregular intervals to publicize a ruler's actual achievements or omens, legends, and prophecies concerning him in order to enhance his own personal prestige and to provide added reasons for continued loyalty to future members of the dynasty he hoped to establish."[19] In a context like this, words with authentically Greek credentials are probably more useful: "fame," the *kleos* of the poets, and *doxa*, its classical Greek equivalent, come to mind, while "rhetoric" could provide a tool of analysis.[20]

Coins of the Roman period reveal other perspectives. After Alexander was rehabilitated by Caracalla (T 21) a few of the Asian cities wished to advertise their links with him, and chose to do so by instituting or refurbishing his cult (Appendix 3) or by issuing coins featuring his image or both. The coins of Smyrna and Sagalassos (figs. 109, 112), mentioned above, lead us to major sculptural groups that would otherwise be completely lost. Those of Apollonia Mordiaion and Gerasa illustrate only his head but in both cases explicitly proclaim him as "founder" (*ktistēs*: figs. 110–11): do they depend upon Hellenistic or Roman cult statues? Alexander coins were also minted by the Macedonian Community (*koinon*) in the early third century A.D., again accompanied by a revival of cult. Here we find no fewer than eight separate Alexander types, some of which may have been based on Hellenistic issues, others directly upon statues still extant or newly commissioned in Macedonia.[21] Likewise the late Roman contorniates with Alexander portraits: it is hard to tell.[22]

Two superb series of Roman gold medallions from Tarsos in Kilikia and Aboukir near Alexandria (fig. 130) are contemporary with these Macedonian coins and identical in technique to them. One set may have been struck to celebrate Severus Alexander's restoration of Macedonia's ancient privileges in 231, while others explain both sets as prizes for Gordian III's Olympian festival at Beroia in Macedonia in A.D. 242–43.[23] If all the identifications are

19. Hadley 1974a: 51.

20. Following a suggestion from Steve Ross; on *kleos* see Chapter 1.1.

21. Gaebler 1935: (1) taming Boukephalas: 11, no. 25; 15, no. 47; (2) standing with Boukephalas: 11, no. 24; (3) head, diademed and horned: 9, nos. 7–9; 14, no. 39; (4) head, diademed: 14, nos. 40–42, 47–48, 51–52; cf. 47, nos. 3–4 (Beroia); (5) head, wearing Attic helmet embossed with griffin: 15, nos. 43, 49, 53–54, 58, 61; cf. 47, no. 2 (Beroia); (6) head with lion-skin cap: 15, nos. 44, 50, 55, 59–60; cf. 47, no. 1 (Beroia); (7) bust, diademed, wearing cuirass and chlamys: 15, nos. 45, 57; (8) bust, diademed and wearing cuirass: 17, no. 56. Selection: Bieber 1964: 77–78, figs. 109–13. The dies vary considerably and perhaps reflect a variety of models.

22. Bieber 1964: 81, figs. 118–20; Andronikos et al. 1980: nos. 34–37. Some carry scenes that may have been inspired by the *Alexander Romance*: Hägg 1983: 127–29, figs. 33–34.

23. Svoronos 1907; Bieber 1964: 79–80, figs. 1–2, 114–16; Göbl 1978: nos. 1–18; Andronikos et al. 1980: nos. 10, 11, 33; Vermeule 1982; Ridgway 1990: 118–19.

correct (some scenes are very small in scale, others ambiguous), he is represented riding a chariot with Nike and escorted by Arete and Ares, sitting on a bench while Nike brings him his armor, spearing a fallen enemy, hunting a lion and a boar,[24] wearing diadem and Ammon's horn, and resplendent in various combinations of lion skin, helmet, cuirass, shield, and spear. His armor is covered with astrological symbols, signifying the universal power of the *kosmokratōr*, and one of the head types chosen for him is exactly that of the enigmatic Hellenistic marble head from Pergamon (fig. 128).

Finally, the gems and cameos. Though the gems were cut in the same way as coin dies, perhaps often by the same craftsmen, they and the cameos were obviously designed for a more restricted clientele. Pyrgoteles (T 54, 56, and 154) worked for Alexander himself and may also have served the court. As for outsiders, we know that the Romans valued likenesses of Alexander in this medium as talismans,[25] and there is no reason to suppose that the practice originated with them. Indeed, the Neisos gem and the splendid tourmaline in Oxford with an inscription in the Kharosthi or Brahmi scripts of northwestern India (color pl. 8; figs. 66–67, 118–19) all but prove that it did not. Since these were designed to be seen only by a very restricted public, their iconography is sometimes the most adventurous of all.

Yet now that the two great Vienna and Leningrad cameos have been reassigned to the Ptolemies and the Julio-Claudian emperors, respectively, the corpus of Alexander gems and cameos has diminished considerably.[26] These are probably not the only two that should be excluded from the lists: the entire corpus requires restudy. Roughly speaking, though, the remaining examples divide into two classes: those that carry full-length portraits and those embellished with heads only.

Among the full-length portraits, pride of place must go to the third-century Neisos gem with its Alexander Keraunophoros, long claimed as a replica of Apelles' great painting (color pl. 8; figs. 66–67; cf. P 1); some later versions apparently depict Roman emperors. A number of other gems also depict an unbearded Keraunophoros (Alexander or a youthful Zeus?), but he is nude, differently poised, and holds a spear or scepter upright in one hand; a bronze statuette formerly on the Los Angeles market replicates the compo-

24. Ridgway 1990: 119 challenges this on the grounds that "Alexander is not specifically known to have fought a boar"; yet (1) the image bears the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ; (2) according to Macedonian custom Alexander would have had to kill a boar before being allowed to recline at table (Ath. 1, 18a); and (3) Arr. *Anab.* 4. 13. 3 describes him hunting boar in Asia.

25. S. H. A., *Thirty Tyrants* 14. 4–6; cf. Plut. *Luc.* 2.

26. On the Vienna and Leningrad cameos see most conveniently Pollitt 1986: 23–24, figs. 11–12; Gebauer 1939 makes the only attempt to establish a proper corpus of Alexander gems; summary: Zazoff 1983: 194–201.

sition (fig. 70). Finally, a Roman cameo of the third century A.D., formerly in the cathedral treasury in Cammin, reproduces the Alexandrian statue of Alexander Aigiochos (fig. 82).

The gems and cameos with head or bust alone can be divided into four main types. Many gems and glass-paste replicas show a youthful "Lysippic-type" head with no attribute, but with a recognizable *anastolē*. A second type wears the diadem, and a third adds to this the ram's horn of Ammon. Both must therefore postdate Alexander's adoption of the diadem in 330, though by how much is presently unclear. Cloaks or armor are added indiscriminately, though they rarely appear together. Fourth, on the periphery, are a number of heads with lion-skin caps, which, like the marbles, could be either Alexander or the young Herakles. In all cases, style, poise, and facial details such as deep-set eyes or leonine coiffure vary considerably. If these engravers were copying authentic fourth-century ("Pyrgotelean") or early Hellenistic models, they seem to have cared little for fidelity in such matters, preferring to be up-to-date. Of these heads and busts, the only one that will concern us further is the Oxford tourmaline mentioned earlier (figs. 118–19; cf. Chapter 10.3).

2. SYNTHESIS

Taken together, the texts and the monuments present a complex and varied picture. The following list, culled from the information collected in Appendices 1 through 4, summarizes what we know about it.

Portraits commissioned during Alexander's lifetime

By Philip: chryselephantine group of Philip, Alexander, Amyntas, Olympias, and Eurydike by Leochares in the Philippeion at Olympia, 338–336 (S 7).

By Alexander: Granikos group by Lysippos, dedicated at Dion after 334 (S 12); Xanthos dedication, after 334 (S 25); Alexander with the thunderbolt by Apelles, dedicated at Ephesos after 334 (P 1); reliefs in the shrine of Ammon at Luxor, 331–323 (S 1; figs. 53–54); equestrian statue of Alexander Founder (*ktistēs*) of Alexandria, 331 or later (unless dedicated by Ptolemy: S 18; cf. fig. 52). Statues on the battlefield of the Hydaspes, 326 (S28–29)? Abortive proposal by Stasikrates to carve Mt. Athos into a portrait of Alexander (S 23; cf. fig. 1). Bronzes of Alexander with the

lance by Lysippos (S 16); paintings by Apelles (P 8, 12); gems by Pyrgoteles (V 1).

By the court: Alexander and Darius in battle, painting by Philoxenos for Kassandros, 333–324 (P 9); Harpalos's proposed statues of himself and Alexander beside Glykera at Rossos in Syria, 325/324 (S 24). Alexanders on satrapal coinage of Memphis (fig. 51); "Porus" coins (figs. 68–69).

By the cities: Alexander and Philip in Athens, 338 or later (S 8); the Akropolis Alexander (color pl. 1); proposed Athenian portrait of Alexander as *anikētos theos* ("Invincible God"), 324/323 (S 2). Cult statues in East Greek cities, 323 (Appendix 3)? Statue at Larissa (S 32)? Coins of Leukas and Naukratis (fig. 51).

By individuals: battle painting by Aristeides, sold to Mnason, tyrant of Elateia (P 14)? Battle paintings on four South Italian vases (figs. 25–28; text figs. 4–5). Painting of Alexander marrying Roxane by Aetion, 324 (P 6).

Uncertain: bronzes of Alexander as a youth and on horseback by Lysippos (S 15, 17), and of Alexander and Philip by Euphranor (S 9: identical to S 8?). Originals of Dresden and Rondanini Alexanders (figs. 9–10). Alexander on Kos (S 20)? The Getty group (Megara? figs. 146–207). Alexander in temple of Herakles (Melkart) at Gades (S 21)? Alexander on horseback, painting by Apelles at Ephesos (P 12); other paintings of Alexander and Philip by Apelles (P 8); Alexander by Nikias (P 13)?

Posthumous portraits (323–ca. 270)

By the Successors and other dynasts: statues supposedly enjoined in Alexander's will (S 30); paintings on Alexander's hearse, 323–321 (P 7; cf. text fig. 9 and fig. 75). Coins of Ptolemy, Antigonos, Seleukos, and Lysimachos, to 281 (color pl. 8; figs. 76–79, 114–17); coins of Agathokles, 310–308 (fig. 87). Krateros group at Delphi, 322/320 and after (S 13). Statue of Alexander at Dion (S 26)? Macedonian furniture appliqués: ivory "Alexanders" from Tomb II at Vergina (for Philip III Arrhidaios, in 317?) and from Alexandria in Baltimore (fig. 49). The Alexander Sarcophagus (probably made for Abdalonymos, king of Sidon), ca. 320–306 (figs. 101–6). Equestrian statue of Alexander *ktistēs* of Alexandria (if dedicated by Ptolemy I Soter: S 18; cf. fig. 52); Alexander Aigiochos of Alexandria, 311-285/284 (figs. 82–83); Alexander, Ge, Tyche, and Nikai in the Tychaion of Alexandria (S 4). Alexanders in the Great Procession of Ptolemy II, 275/274 (S 5–6). Paintings of Alexander as a youth and of Alexander, Philip, and Athena, by Antiphilos of Egypt (P 2, 11)? Inlaid bronze tablets in the extramural temple and statues of Al-

exander and Porus in the temple of Helios at Taxila, the former dedicated by Porus between 323 and 318 (S 20, V 3). Statues on the battlefield of the Hydaspes (S 28–29)?

By leagues and cities: "Alexander's Dream" at Smyrna(?) (fig. 109); Alexander group at Sagalassos(?) (fig. 112); cult statues in East Greek cities (all either Hellenistic or Roman: Appendix 3). Statue at Larissa (S 32)? Statues of Alexander, Philip, Seleukos, and Antigonos dedicated by the Eleans at Olympia (the Antigonos presumably before 301: S 11).

By individuals: statuettes used in private cult in Egypt. Alexander-Pan from Pella (fig. 99)? Gems used as talismans and gifts (the Oxford and Neisos gems? color pl. 8; fig. 118). Furniture appliqués (see "By the Successors and other dynasts" above: fig. 49)?

Uncertain: Alexander on Kos (S 20)? The Getty group (Megara? figs. 146–207). Alexander and Philip, bronzes by Chaereas (Chares of Lindos? S 10). Alexander Hunting, bronzes by Euthykrates at Thespiae (S 14). Base from Messene with possible copy of Krateros monument (S 13; fig. 89); Alexander from Yannitsa (fig. 97). Copenhagen and Guimet Alexanders from Egypt (figs. 84–85). Paintings of Alexander with the Dioskouroi and Nike, and in a chariot with Triumph, Fury, and War, both by Apelles, and of the Issos by Helena (looted by Augustus from Alexandria? P 4–5, 10). Paintings of Alexander as a youth, and of Alexander, Philip, and Athena, by Antiphilos (P 2, 11). Painting of Alexander by Nikias (P 13)?

Revivals (ca. 280–30)

By kings, dynasts, etc.: ancestor (*progonoi*) monument of the Antigonids on Delos, ca. 270–221 (S 27)? Alexander in *progonoi* monument of Antiochos I of Kommagene at Nemrud Dagh, ca. 50–35 (S 22). Alexanders on "pedigree" coinage of Agathokles of Baktria, early second century (fig. 121), and on coins of the quaestor Aesillas in Macedonia, ca. 80 (fig. 123).

By cities: cult image(?) of Alexander from Priene, ca. 150 (fig. 134). Revivals of Alexander's and Lysimachos's coin types by many cities in Asia Minor and elsewhere (figs. 120, 122).

By individuals: statuettes used in private cult in Egypt. Alexander/Zeus in Olympia, 44 or after (S 3). Gems used as talismans and gifts (cf. V 2)?

Uncertain: Alexander on Kos (S 20)? British Museum Alexander from Egypt, ca. 250 (fig. 124); Volantsa Alexander (fig. 127); original of Ti-

voli Alexander, late third century (fig. 126). Alexanders from Pergamon, ca. 170–150 (fig. 128). Alexander from Magnesia, ca. 150 (fig. 133); Brooklyn and other Alexanders from Egypt (figs. 131–32). Alexander from Tarsos, ca. 100. Alexander group from Kyme, ca. 100–70? (figs. 136–38). Demetrio Alexander and Hephaistion from Egypt (figs. 144–45).

This list cannot be comprehensive, for it includes only those monuments whose date, function, or context can be determined with some degree of confidence. For the rest, the ranks of dubious or unprovenanced "Alexanders" mentioned above, complemented by evidence from other sources, offer tantalizing clues as to the vast extent of our losses.

Yet despite its obvious shortcomings, this list nonetheless covers an astonishing range of people, places, periods, media, styles, and functions, and as such is without precedent in Greco-Macedonian or any other ancient society. No Persian king or Egyptian pharaoh could match it, and Greeks and Macedonians were far more sparing of such commemoration than they. Perikles' portrait, for example, was not to be found anywhere in the Athenian empire but on the Akropolis, and it was dedicated not by himself but by his sons. Even the most frequently honored individuals of the classical period do not come close: compare Lysandros's three attested portraits at Olympia, Delphi, and Ephesos; Konon's four at Samos, Ephesos, Erythrai, and Athens; and Philip II's six at Olympia, Athens, Ephesos, Aigai, and two unspecified locations.[27]

None of these images placed their subjects within a narrative situation or among personifications: their address to the individual's actual contribution to the march of events was minimal. Though later Athenian generals took the Perikles as their model, his image apparently had little or no impact outside this one highly conservative genre. Alexander's, on the other hand, touched almost every genre of representation: his face was the most influential in history. His artists constructed a multifaceted image of the ruler, his dealings with friend and foe, his place in history, and his relationship with the divine that was unprecedented in its richness and diversity. They inaugurated not only the multiple commemorations of the myriad "worthies" of the Hellenistic world and Rome, but the genres of charismatic ruler portraiture and royal narrative in the West.[28]

Alexander's unprecedented achievements helped to revolutionize Greek

27. For the evidence see Richter 1965: vol 1: 105, 107; vol. 2: 253.

28. Correctly understood by Pollitt 1986: 19. On the inflation of commemorative portraits in the Hellenistic period see Pekáry 1978; Stewart 1990: 51–52; and on Alexander and narrative art see Hölscher 1973: 218–23; Messerschmidt 1989: 64–65.

art and thereby profoundly influenced the Greek view of reality, in that they concentrated the attention of leading artists and their public on the here and now. If an anecdote in Pliny is to be trusted, even the conservative Aristotle recognized their unique importance, persuading Protogenes to paint them "because they were immortal" (T 64). Accepting this did not preclude the artist from employing or adapting familiar modes of representation, but it did encourage experiment and change. "Immortality" could be envisaged in various ways: Protogenes, for example, responded by painting Alexander with the god of panic, Pan (P 3), while the Alexander Mosaic (color pl. 4) prefers the shock of the new.

3. APPROACHES

This rich but untidy array of material has provoked a number of competing and often mutually exclusive attempts to call it to order. The first was F. Koepp's of 1892, and the latest to date are two "minimalist" surveys by Brunilde Ridgway (1990) and R. R. R. Smith (1991). All have something to offer, and some have much, but few have succeeded in holding the field for long. Broadly speaking, most have accepted the basic dichotomy between the Attic and the "official" Lysippic traditions in sculpture. There, however, agreement ends, as each researcher selects different aspects of the material for special emphasis, whether geographical, chronological, characterological, stylistic, or modal.

Articles identifying individual Alexanders had begun to appear in the 1880s, and the first attempt at a synopsis (Koepp 1892) appeared very shortly after. After the turn of the twentieth century the pace quickened. C. de Ujfalvÿ (1902), an unreconstructed romantic, sought to reconstruct Alexander's appearance from the texts and portraits; Theodor Schreiber (1903) produced a thematic account, subtitled "Ein Beitrag zur alexandrinischen Kunstgeschichte"; and J. J. Bernoulli (1905) proposed a modal one, attempting to distinguish "ethical" Alexanders from "emotional" ones. These monographs guided inquiry into the subject for the next two generations.

Ujfalvÿ's only direct successor was E. Neuffer (1929), whose study of Alexander's dress took the king's supposed habit of imitating the gods too seriously but is still useful. Schreiber's observations on the Alexandrian tradition later became the foundation for the studies of Kurt Gebauer (1939) and Margarete Bieber (1949, 1964). Gebauer aimed to construct a complete corpus; investigating the coins, gems, and sculpture, he first organized his ma-

terial topographically, then (as far as he could) chronologically. Bieber's study, originally published in article form in 1949, soon became the most influential one in English—largely through lack of competition. Conceived in New York not five miles from the infant United Nations, her view of Alexander was Tarn's, laced with a heavy dose of the naive idealism of C. A. Robinson's recently published *Alexander the Great: The Meeting of East and West in World Government and Brotherhood* (New York, 1947).[29]

In her introduction, Bieber criticized her predecessors for inattention to chronology. Two of her main targets were Schreiber and Gebauer; a third was Bernoulli, whose interest in *ēthos* was resurrected by Gerhard Kleiner (1951) and Erkinger Schwarzenberg (1967), albeit in radically different ways. Kleiner reworked the old stylistic dichotomy into one between *pothos* (Attic-Achillean) and *ponos* (Lysippic-Heraklean); in his view, an Alexandrian "romantic" variety then combined the two, while an Antigonid "realistic" tradition presented a radical alternative. Schwarzenberg, on the other hand, used a head that he had recently acquired on the antiquities market (fig. 40) to argue strongly for a *Lysippic* Alexander-Achilles, and sought assistance in interpreting its successors from the competing profiles of the king evolved by the Hellenistic philosophical schools.

Although Schwarzenberg's understanding of the philosophers was somewhat out-of-date, his article proved to be a turning point, redirecting inquiry into different paths from those laid down at the beginning of the century. After it, Tonio Hölscher (1971) produced a subtle and multifaceted reexamination of the relationship between ideal and contemporary "reality" in fourth-century Alexander portraiture, and both he and V. von Graeve (1973) attempted to pursue the Attic tradition beyond 300, claiming that it gradually superseded the Lysippic as Alexander became more of a paradigm than a person.

Several recent surveys have ventured in different directions, sometimes (perhaps unknowingly) resurrecting ideas advanced long before. B. A. Litvinskiy and I. R. Pichikyan (1980) propose a fivefold classification: child, warrior, philosopher-statesman, hero or god, and "idealized." J. J. Pollitt (1986) reduces this to "heroic" Alexanders (anguished, aspiring, *pothos*-riven, and basically Lysippic) and "divine" ones (serene and often looking to Apelles). Hans Lauter (1988) seeks the "real" Alexander among the multitude of tendentious interpretations. Smith (1988, 1991), emphasizing the problematic and partial nature of the evidence, sees a stern, "Heraklean" image produced during his lifetime becoming divinized and romanticized after his death. Nikolaus Himmelmann (1989), on the other hand, argues that this development

29. Cf. Bieber 1964: 12–14, 82; comments: Badian 1976a: 288–89.

actually took place during Alexander's lifetime, in three stages: youthful victor, then hero, then god. And, finally, Ridgway (1990) is the most radical of all. Emphasizing the complex interplay among royal, heroic, and divine images in the period 330–200, she doubts the identification of many Alexanders hitherto considered sacrosanct and puts others, like the Azara type (fig. 45), after his death.

The intractability and fragmentary nature of the remains are no doubt easy scapegoats for these radical divergences of opinion, but other factors must not be overlooked. For not only is the material indeed highly complex, but the artistic, social, and political context of the period was complex too. Artistically a time of uncertainty after the passing of the great fourth-century masters, it was also an era of great social mobility, both horizontal and vertical, and of political chaos as well. This chaos, it should be remembered, persisted for almost half a century after Alexander's death in 323. Only around 280–270 did the three major power blocks of Antigonid Macedonia, Seleukid Syria, and Ptolemaic Egypt finally achieve a kind of Orwellian stability, with the elimination of Demetrios Poliorketes in 285 and then of Lysimachos in 281. For as Demetrios of Phaleron, tyrant of Athens from 317 to 307, shrewdly observed, Tyche now ruled the earth and owed no one a quiet life.[30] Small wonder, then, that there seems to be so little consistency in the portraiture of the man who had started it all.

Yet pessimism is no solution: patterns do emerge, and choices can be discerned. One must, of course, avoid the temptation to totalize. This propensity is a direct legacy from the Greeks and has been the bane of Alexander studies for generations. Schemes purporting to account for the totality of any given set of phenomena are by definition idealist, and unacceptable both for that reason and because they involve an absolutist assertion of authority on the part of their proposers.[31] By attempting to subordinate both contemporary public and past societies to an individual author's will, they do violence to the pluralism of history.

Formalism, inferential psychology, and a search for "true" likeness are equally unsatisfactory. A more contextualized approach is demanded by the fact that art is a social practice, serving the ends of historically distinct societies and rooted in their lived experiences. Two recent studies of Renaissance portraiture may help to point the way: Loren Partridge and Randolph Starn's monograph on Raphael's portrait of Pope Julius II, and Elizabeth Pomeroy's discussion of the portraits of Queen Elizabeth I.[32] Both seek to embed their

30. Quoted by Polyb. 29. 21. 1–6 (*FGH* 228 F 39).
31. See Poster 1989: 7–9, 31–33, 44–52, 72, and passim for remarks on the problem.
32. Partridge and Starn 1980; Pomeroy 1989.

chosen images in the experiences of Renaissance society and to analyze them in relation to that society's concerns.

In Alexander's case, however, those who have taken this path have tended to fall into a double trap. Schwarzenberg's attempt to classify the posthumous portraits according to how far they appear to reflect Stoic and Peripatetic analyses of Alexander's character is as problematic as, for instance, Erwin Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Latrobe, Ohio, 1951). First, neither author can conclusively demonstrate his artists' knowledge of or engagement with the ideas in question;[33] and second, as H. R. Jauss has perceptively remarked in another context, "whoever confines art to reflection also restricts its influence . . . to the recognition of the already known."[34]

In a paper published in 1985 but originally delivered in a symposium entitled "Art and Society: Must We Choose?" Michael Baxandall has considered the problems that arise when one tries to bring a work of art's social context to bear upon its interpretation. Concluding that "'art' and 'society' are unhomologous systematic constructions put upon interpenetrating subject matters," he suggests that some kind of a match may perhaps be attainable by the application of what he terms the Bouguer principle:

> Pierre Bouguer . . . was the eighteenth-century scientist who first developed a reasonable means of measuring light, and he seems to me a paladin of the art of relating to each other things difficult to relate. His problem was that, before the development of photoelectric or other physical means of measuring light, everything had to be done by eye and mind—like art history. And, given two unequal lights, say two differently sized candles, the mind could not come to a precise conclusion about the quantitative relation of one to the other: it could not say, "candle A is 27 percent stronger than candle B." Bouguer's elegantly simple solution was to observe that, while the mind could not do that, it could decide very precisely just when two lights match each other. So he took one candle, moved it closer or further away until it matched the other, measured the difference between the distances from the eye of the two now matching candles, and from this difference worked out (with the law of inverse squares—though that is no part of the analogy) the relative strengths.
>
> So, very generally speaking, the Bouguer principle is: in the event of difficulty in establishing a relation between two terms, modify one of the terms till it matches the other, but keeping note of what modification has been necessary, since this is a necessary part of one's information.[35]

In our case the modification is relatively straightforward. Alexander's conquests were a matter of the successful application of power and in turn gave

33. In any case, the Peripatetic "portrait" is a myth: see Chapter 1.1.
34. Jauss 1982: 14.
35. Baxandall 1985a: 40–41.

birth to what we call Hellenistic society. By 323 his power was both unique in character and unprecedented in extent, and after his death his Successors contended among themselves for a stake in that legacy, even on occasion for "universal hegemony" (*hē tōn holōn hēgemonia*), as the phrase went.[36] Alexander's portraits were commissioned by him or by others as concrete testimony to this overwhelming and unprecedented power. Hypereides connects them directly with the Macedonians' exercise of power (T 93), and the Hellenistic poets projected this power upon the images themselves (T 116). Indeed, not a few of them were erected as focal points for that quintessentially Hellenistic response to power, the ruler cult (Appendix 3).[37] It therefore seems reasonable to apply the Bouguer principle at this point and modify our address to context accordingly. To borrow a term from Michel Foucault, Alexander's portraits represent a new "technology of power."[38] They enable us to eavesdrop upon the origins and early development of a new discourse in Western society, a discourse about overwhelming charismatic power.

Of course, neither power nor charisma is an unproblematic concept. Until relatively recently social theorists tended to favor one of two definitions of power: "something which is either possessed or exercised and [which is] solely a negative, repressive phenomenon, or a positive, productive element in social life."[39] On the one hand it was regarded as a function of coercion, as a capacity to impose sanctions for noncompliance; on the other, either as legitimate authority circulating in a community like money or as the product of structurally determined class relations. More recently, however, Foucault has dismissed these largely negative formulations as merely the terminal forms that power takes. For him, power is an energy that is omnipresent in society:

> It is the moving substrate of force relations which, by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable. The omnipresence of power: not because it has the privilege of consolidating everything under its invincible unity, but because it is produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one point to another. Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere. . . . It is the name that one attributes to a complicated strategical situation in a particular society.[40]

36. Diod. 18. 3. 1, 36. 6, 47. 4, 50. 2, 54. 4, etc., probably from the contemporary historian Hieronymos of Kardia; rationalization after the event: Billows 1990: 4, 158–59. Though this universal hegemony covered about half of the world known to the Greeks, it actually represented under 3 percent of the earth's landmass.

37. For this explanation of its origins, see Price 1984: 29.

38. Foucault 1977: 23 and passim.

39. Miller and Tilley 1984: 5.

40. Foucault 1978: 93.

While acknowledging the novelty and force of Foucault's definition, recent discussions have both taken issue with him and reworked his conclusions somewhat.[41] No consensus has emerged, but among the multitude of such studies, the most relevant for the present inquiry are those that, after Foucault's own book *Power/Knowledge*, define society as a specific distribution of knowledge.[42] They see power as an aspect of the distribution of knowledge, as a capacity for action that resides in a patterned and asymmetrical distribution of knowledge throughout society.

Though this theory's high antiquity is unacknowledged by its proponents, its lineage goes back through Francis Bacon's aphorism that knowledge is power to Plato's philosopher-king. Its relevance to the analysis of Greco-Macedonian culture can be judged by recalling that the Greeks themselves tended to intellectualize the affective side of life, to reduce it to a simple matter of cognition. Alexander would have learned of Plato's views on kingship, power, and knowledge from Aristotle, who tutored him for three years from 343 and who held strong opinions on these subjects. Unfortunately, Aristotle's treatise *On Kingship*, perhaps written for Alexander on his accession to the throne, is lost. From the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Politics*, however, we learn that though true knowledge is possible only about universals, its equivalent in the sensory world, *phronēsis* (practical wisdom about particulars, or "know-how"), "is the only excellence [*aretē*] special to the ruler" (*Pol.* 3. 4, 1277b25–30); its aim is successful action or *eupraxis* (*Eth. Nic.* 6. 5, 1140b6–8). Aristotle singles out Perikles (fig. 2) as the model of the *phronimos* in a democratic state and remarks that the absolute ruler would be "so surpassing in excellence [*aretē*] and political power [*dynamis*] as to be like a god among men" (*Pol.* 3. 7, 1284a10–12).

Whether this last remark is describing Alexander or not (commentators disagree), ancient writers certainly credited the king's unique success to his unrivaled grasp of military and political realities.[43] Modern historians have added his foreknowledge of the country to be traversed, and the power of his reputation in ensuring that people ahead knew what was in store for them and submitted to him before he arrived.[44] Not for nothing did he consider himself to be the son of the all-knowing and all-powerful Zeus,[45] put Zeus on his coins (fig. 30), and evoke Zeus in his portraiture (figs. 45, 66, 68).

41. See in general Miller and Tilley 1984: 5–8; Poster 1989.

42. Fardon 1985; Barnes 1988; Poster 1989.

43. E.g., Arr. *Anab.* 7. 28. 2. Those who minimize Aristotle's influence upon Alexander have overlooked the relevance of the philosopher's remarks on *phronēsis*: so, for example, Hamilton 1973: 32–33.

44. Engels 1978; according to Plutarch (*Alex.* 5), his intelligence gathering began early in his youth.

45. Bosworth 1977 is the most comprehensive study.

To return to theory, this redefinition of power as individual and corporate knowledge implicitly challenges Foucault's formulation by reinstating power as a property of individuals and agents. To this end, recent social theorists have distinguished two quite different senses of the word: "power to" and "power over." "Power to" is dynamic, is wielded by agents, and is an integral feature of all social relations; "power over," which always involves "power to" (the converse, however, is not true), is specifically related to forms of social control. This distinction is particularly useful in the present context, for the Greeks actually had no word for power per se, and therefore no all-embracing concept of power itself. Instead, pragmatic as ever, they had many words for the multiple varieties of "power over," and but one for the simple concept of "power to": *dynamis*.

This vocabulary is liberally employed in ancient discussions of the achievements of Alexander. Thus, both Plutarch and the epigrammatist he cites celebrate the *dynamis* (power to) radiated by Lysippos's statues (T 9, 116; S 16), and historians regularly referred to the king's empire as an *archē* or *hēgemonia* (power over). As to his own titles, he was both *basileus* (king) of Macedon and, later, of all Asia, and *hēgemōn* (leader) of the Greeks.[46] His portraits may usefully be approached with these distinctions in mind.

As to charisma, despite its obviously Greek etymology the term is in fact relatively recent: it was originally coined by Rudolph Sohm in his *Kirchenrecht* of 1892 to describe the gift of grace, the peculiar possession of a divinely inspired individual. It was Max Weber who gave it general currency with his analysis of 1921.[47] Weber defined "pure" charisma as an individual's sense of mission independent of any office or status, and recognized by his followers only when and so long as he proves his powers in practice and thus continues to bring them well-being. Such charisma is usually revolutionary, always inherently unstable, and prone to entropy. It becomes routinized and diluted as traditional social structures take hold, and in these circumstances eventually disintegrates.

Institutions and offices may also possess charisma, in Weber's analysis; and among these the most important is charismatic kingship:

> Everywhere the king is primarily a warlord. Kingship originates in charismatic heroism. [For] . . . the hunting and war leader . . . proves his heroism

46. *Archē*: Arr. *Anab*. 2. 3. 6; Plut. *Alex*. 27. 6, 34. 1; Diod. 17. 51. 2. *Hēgemonia*: Diod. 17. 36. 5, 54. 5. *Basileus tēs Asias*: Arr. *Anab*. 2. 14. 9; 7. 1. 2 (cf. 7. 30. 1: *basileus* of both continents); Plut. *Alex*. 34. 1. *Kurios tēs Asias*: Arr. *Anab*. 2. 14. 8; of everything, Arr. *Anab*. 7. 15. 5; Plut. *Alex*. 27. 6 (cf. Diod. 17. 54. 6: *monarchia tōn holōn*). *Hēgemōn tēs Hellados*: Arr. *Anab*. 1. 1. 2; 2. 14. 4, with Bosworth 1980a: 48–49.

47. Translated into English in 1968: Weber (1968)1978: 1111–57; for useful commentaries and discussions, see Schweitzer 1984: 31–61; Glassman and Swatos 1986: 28–34.

> in successful raids undertaken for the sake of victory and booty. . . . The charisma of the warlord rises and falls with its efficacy and also with the demand for it; the warlord becomes a permanent figure when there is a permanent state of war.[48]

Weber saw that charisma can be inherited or transmitted only in a vastly transformed manner:

> After its routinization its very quality as an extraordinary, supernatural, and divine force makes it a suitable source of legitimate authority for the successors of the charismatic hero; moreover in this form it is advantageous to all those whose power and property are guaranteed by this authority, that is, dependent upon its perpetuation.[49]

Although Weber never mentions Alexander in his account, these observations clearly fit his case and that of the Successors remarkably well.

Weber's analysis was largely based upon premodern civilizations, and he left it unfinished. His treatment of the interaction of charisma and institutions, producing what he called an "impure charisma," is particularly sketchy. Not surprisingly, then, his followers and critics have been much concerned with adapting his insights to the modern world of dictatorships, one-party states, bureaucracies, and corporations.[50]

Among these various revisions, two have particular relevance for the present inquiry. First is Edward Shils's definition of charisma as the "vital force" in society, as the result of contact with the central values that underlie a person's existence as a social being. Consideration of this "vital force" permits the sociologist to distinguish between centrality and periphery: "Centrality is constituted by its formative power initiating, creating, transforming, or destroying what is vital in man's life."[51] Anyone who taps that force is a bearer of charisma. Embracing and coming to embody society's central values, the bearer of charisma makes systems of meaning and order present to that society. As will appear in Chapter 3, Alexander's *aretē* (personal excellence) embodies Greco-Macedonian society's central values and is crucial to understanding not only his success but also his canonization as hero and god. Conveying this *aretē* was the prime concern of his portraitists and biographers.

But how does this "vital force" fare when integrated with institutions (in

48. Weber (1968)1978: 1141–42.
49. Weber (1968)1978: 1146–47.
50. Surveys: Schweitzer 1984: 18–25; Glassman and Swatos 1986: 34–56.
51. Shils 1965: 201 (though his implicit equation of charisma with simple legitimacy is far more problematic); Shils 1961; cf. Price 1984: 205.

our case Alexander's constitutional positions as king of Macedon, *hēgemōn* of the Greeks, and later pharaoh of Egypt and king of Asia)? Here one may turn to Arthur Schweitzer's replacement of Weber's "impure" charisma with the concept of "synergistic" charisma:

> We shall speak of synergistic charisma when the charismatic and noncharismatic features interact in such a way as to either maintain or strengthen the charismatic component in the interaction. Synergistic charisma prevails when (1) the charismatic quality is combined with political talents; (2) scope and strength of the charismatic appeal is multiplied by the use of mass media; (3) the charismatic group transforms itself into a mass following; and (4) charismatic authority and legitimacy are linked with noncharismatic authority. Each of these combinations modifies but also maintains the internal structure of charisma. A synergistic charisma also exists when (5) one or several ideologies furnish the political content for the charismatic mission; (6) the leader builds up his own apparatus for the control of the indispensable bureaucracy; (7) the leader placates private interest groups with alliances and profitable projects for the future; and (8) the leader and his paladins become partisans either by fighting for a reform of a prevailing system or building up a new one. These last fusions or coordinations permit the leader and his movement to a sphere of extraordinariness within an ordinary society, thereby avoiding or neutralizing the pressures making for the routinization of charisma.[52]

Given the limitations of ancient society, Alexander's charisma satisfies most, perhaps even all, of these conditions. Indeed, since portraiture was the nearest thing to a mass medium in ancient society, to analyze it from this standpoint might yield unexpected dividends. Here one is drawn particularly to those monuments whose context is known and whose institutional purpose is clear, like the Alexander Sarcophagus (figs. 101–6), the reliefs from the temple of Ammon at Luxor (S1; figs. 53–54), and the coins of the Successors (Appendix 4; figs. 76–79, 114–17).

As to analytical method, one strategy is to determine what the portraitist could reasonably have expected the public to know and think about his subject, and then to consider how far his work seems to meet these expectations, to qualify them, or to confound them. For portraits are both particularly direct and peculiarly problematic. They speak directly to their audience, confronting it with what purports to be a simulacrum of observed reality, yet actually depend for their effect upon a complex nexus of shared opinion about what constitutes personal identity and what uses a distilled image of that iden-

52. Schweitzer 1984: 28.

tity should serve. They are generated by multiple discourses and generate others in their turn.

And like all utterances they anticipate answers. Automatically oriented towards an envisioned response, provoking or eluding it, they take the observer into account from the very beginning; their relationship to their audience is as basic to their construction as it is to the construction of literary discourses.[53] In the same way that literary texts design a model reader, they design a model spectator, an individual who is foreseen by the artist and explicitly addressed by him. This model spectator can be extrapolated from the work by analyzing its form, by charting its place amid the similarities and differences revealed by looking at its genre and artistic context. The analogy may be taken further:

> Many texts aim at producing two Model Readers, a first level, or a naive one, supposed to understand semantically what the text says, and a second level, or critical one, supposed to appreciate the way in which the text says so. . . . [They offer "clues" that] seem to work exactly as self-focusing appeals: the text is made in such a way as to attract the attention of a critical reader.[54]

As will appear, many of Alexander's portraits almost beg to be read in this way.

In the study of Greek portraiture, these issues have often been obscured by the persistent tendency to label portraits *both* idealizing and in some sense realistic. Following J. J. Winckelmann's pioneering work in the mid-eighteenth century, classical Greek portraitists are regularly supposed to be attempting to elevate their sitters beyond commonplace mortality to a higher plane of beauty and purity.[55] This, in turn, entails that the more their portraits play down the sitter's individual features, the more "elevated" and "ideal" he becomes. Yet in Perikles' case, for example (fig. 2), how was it that the Athenian democracy allowed his sons to put him on such a pedestal when the sources unanimously testify to its extreme reluctance to accord a position of superiority to anyone? And are we to assume that the slight touches of individualism in the cheeks and eyebrows of the Berlin replica (often regarded as the most faithful) make him less ideal or exemplary than the completely unindividualized Athenians of contemporary gravestones?

There is a better solution. Though Greek portraiture emerged as a sepa-

53. A fact most keenly appreciated in the work of Mikhail Bakhtin: see Bakhtin 1981: 281 for its classic formulation; and on works of art as utterances, cf. Clark 1990: 176–77.

54. Eco 1990: 55.

55. See Hölscher 1971: 12–23, with Stewart 1990: 78–79.

rate genre during the fifth century, the canonical portrait of the classical period may well differ little in principle from an archaic kouros or a classical athlete (fig. 7). In both cases, the sculptor seeks to find the typical or general in the individual, to align him with familiar categories and values, and to establish him as a paradigm of those values. Pollitt has perceptively called this kind of study "a 'role portrait,' a portrait that emphasizes the public aspect of an individual, his fulfilment of an important role in his society." He goes on to observe that "such portraits largely ignore the inner complexities of their subjects' minds and characters because, like their Egyptian predecessors, they seek to convey what their society appreciated as permanent values."[56] They also largely ignore the individual's real physical features: as Theophrastos sagely remarked around 320, only a flatterer tells a man that he looks like his portrait.[57]

Viewed from this perspective, Perikles becomes the paradigmatic Athenian *stratēgos*, a mature, measured strategist and tactician; he personally represents the type. Anticipating a less-than-favorable response from its audience to any undue self-assertion, the portrait seeks to allay fears of tyranny and charges of antiegalitarianism by constructing a model spectator who resembles it in both appearance and behavior: the ideal Athenian male of Perikles' own funeral speech (Thuc. 2. 35–46). Created for an audience of citizen voters, it presents Perikles as the democrat par excellence, the mature citizen who happens to be a good general and selflessly puts his talent at the city's service. As a result, this portrait naturally provided the model for the city's commemoration of its generals for the next century: Aristotle was not alone in accepting Perikles as the model *phronimos* or "practically wise" statesman.[58] The Akropolis and Getty Alexanders (color pls. 1 and 2; figs. 5 and 16) play upon this tradition of typecasting, for they are obviously derived from Athenian ephebe types. They exist to some extent within a genre.

The main concerns of such portraiture, then, are the sitter's personality, his role in society, and his reception by others; his physical appearance comes a poor fourth. How are they to be disentangled, if at all? One possible approach is to consult Peircean semiotics. Converts to this method see the portrait image as simultaneously iconic (physically resembling what it represents), indexical (consolidating and calling attention to all that constitutes the subject's personality), and symbolic (registering his position within the social

56. Pollitt 1986: 59–60.
57. *Char.* 2. 12.
58. Pandermalis 1969; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 6. 5, 1140b8.

and historical matrix).[59] It is an artificial, metaphorical construct, for, as Sokrates showed Kratylos, a "truthful likeness" of him would simply be his double.[60] As such, it distills an unfolding, ever-changing reality into a single, invariant image whose constituent elements are forever in tension. "A fusion of icon, index, and symbol, of centripetal and centrifugal reference, the portrait is an extremely complex semiotic structure."[61] Yet, revealing as these remarks are, some modification of them may be necessary, for C. S. Peirce's trichotomy has already come under fire from another quarter, namely, that of semioticians themselves.

Umberto Eco has recently reworked Peirce's ideas, reserving particular criticism for his notion of iconism. Eco argues, on the one hand, that to define the so-called iconic sign as similar to, analogous to, or motivated by its subject both begs the question and leads to self-contradictory statements, and on the other, that Ernst Gombrich's demonstration of the role of convention in the production of mimetic images can be integrated to good effect with semiotic theory.[62] Redefining all iconic signs as culturally coded transformations of their subjects, he proposes a new trichotomy whereby these signs may possess (*a*) optic (visible), (*b*) ontological (supposed), and (*c*) conventionalized properties of the object represented. By conventionalized properties Eco means "those depending upon an iconographic convention that has catachresized the previous creative rendering of an actual perceptual experience."[63]

Yet Gombrich's theory of schema and correction is itself by no means unproblematic,[64] and as to Eco's three categories, one may reasonably object that they are not entirely separable, for both the visible and supposed characteristics of the subject may well be coded through convention. Convention, in other words, is different *in kind* from the other two categories; in fact, it is but a part of the much wider category of borrowing. Like all borrowings in

59. E.g., Steiner 1977, 1987; see Peirce 1932: vol. 2: 247–49 for his own, somewhat tortuous definitions of these terms. I use those generally accepted among semioticians today. Essentially, to Peirce an icon is connected to its object by similitude—as in a map, diagram, or snapshot; an index is connected to its object physically, by direct action, in time, or contiguity in space—smoke is an index of fire; and a symbol is connected to its interpretant by convention—all words, sentences, books, and other arbitrary signs are symbols, as is the apple on my computer.

60. Plato *Krat.* 434A.

61. Steiner 1987: 173.

62. Eco 1976: 178, 191–208, 216, etc., referring to Gombrich 1961.

63. Eco 1976: 207.

64. Critics have seen that his notion of the schema oscillates between technical formula and

art, conventions are primarily instrumental, are done under a description, and can be bearers of both old and new meanings. But as Richard Wollheim has pointed out, they actually enter the content of the work of art only insofar as the artist cares to thematize them.[65]

Deciding whether this is the case or not often creates real problems for the observer, especially one who is wary of psychological analyses of the artist's intentions.[66] To return to our previous example, how far is the use of Attic ephebe types in the Akropolis and Getty Alexanders (figs. 5–7, 16–17) a matter of "mere" convention or of consciously thematized borrowing? Indeed, this formulation itself begs the question, for even ostensibly mindless repetition in fact represents a choice of a kind. Before the sculptor begins to carve, he must choose whether to reproduce the conventions he has learned, adapt them, or reject them for others. He makes choices along a sliding scale, not simple decisions between starkly opposed alternatives. A portrait of this kind asks to be "read" as a discourse about tradition and innovation, about the relation of the typical to the unique. It uses the past to send signals to the present, to position the spectator in such a way that he understands its message and can judge its claims.

So Eco's account is clearly not the last word on the subject. Yet it does alert us to some of the distinctions we should observe when confronted with Greek portraiture, given this art's obvious concern with the establishment, refinement, and adaptation of convention. By shifting the ground of the argument, Eco demonstrates once more that the iconic code that the image establishes primarily depends not upon some direct relation between it and its subject, but upon one that embraces the image, its pre-encoded "subject," and the spectator. He encourages us to approach the portraits as culturally coded objects, with both a visitable past and a discoverable future.

Of course, much of this is not really revolutionary. In contrast to the most influential writers on Greek portraiture in English,[67] some have taken this kind of approach all along. Eco's contribution is to clarify the issues we must address, to sharpen the terminology we use, and (unwittingly but crucially)

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mental gestalt; that to check schemata against "nature" is impossible if one's experience of nature has no autonomy but is always seen in terms of traditional schemata; and that by reducing the history of art to the history of borrowing he leaves no place for creative discovery. For these (and other) objections see especially Arnheim 1962; Wollheim 1974: 261–89; Mitchell 1986: 75–94.

65. Wollheim 1987: 188–90.

66. I find myself more comfortable with Baxandall's "inferential criticism" (Baxandall 1985b: 1–11) than with Wollheim's deductive psychology; for a more theoretical version of Baxandall's approach, see Eco 1990: 44–63 and passim.

67. Bieber 1961, 1964; Richter 1965; cf. Lauter 1988.

to reproblematize the whole notion of "likeness." For now the object of our analysis is not "likeness" as such but a discourse, or (to be more precise) the discourse/practice, of charismatic ruler portraiture. Yet unlike political, literary, or philosophical discourse, this discourse is carried on both verbally and visually. Portraits critique portraits, construct and reconstruct audiences, and anticipate critiques in their turn.

So, like literary portraits, those in stone, bronze, paint, and other media should be approached as concretely historical constructs. As such, they respond to others in the genre by engaging already conventionalized associations between appearance and character. To this end, they use instantly recognizable, widely accepted visual metaphors: the equivalents of *topoi* in literary discourse. The artist selects these from both art and experience in order to apprise a specific public—his model spectators—about the subject's personality, aspirations, and qualifications for immortalization. Regarded in this way, Alexander portraiture takes its place within the development of Hellenistic social ideology, becoming one among the many factors that helped to constitute the new Hellenistic value system rather than simply reflecting or expressing it. To borrow a felicitous phrase from Jauss, it was "socially formative."[68]

The crucial issues, as always, are Alexander's unique charisma and his universal power. Greek and Roman portraits were always partisan, and his were no exception. They exist in what has aptly been called a discursive space. They seek to legitimize him (or, by extension, his Successors), to interpret him to their audiences, to answer their critiques, and to persuade them of his greatness. They are intended for political and moral instruction, and so can be inscribed within the general framework of praise and blame that I have argued elsewhere is as fundamental to the understanding of Greek sculpture as it is to the understanding of Greek literature.[69] In this respect, portraiture is on a par with praise poetry and its successor, epideictic rhetoric, and has many connections with biography. It is no coincidence that Plutarch began his life of Alexander by comparing his task to that of the portraitist, and makes extensive use of Alexander's portraits to illuminate his character (T 10).[70]

Yet there is at least one crucial difference between the literary and the artistic portraits. A Greek or Latin biography was the product of the author's own initiative, but Greek and Roman sculptures and paintings were commis-

68. Jauss 1982: 14–16.

69. Discursive space: cf. Pomeroy 1989: 6. Praise and blame: Stewart 1990: 53–55.

70. *Alex.* 1, 4, 16, 40, 72, 74. For a comparison of literary and painted portraits see Steiner 1977.

sioned by others. In each case one therefore has to consider function, in the broadest sense. One must ask *cui bono*: who wanted them, what did they gain by them, and how are their needs addressed in the image? So alongside the portraitist, his viewpoint or program, and his particular public, we now have one more variable: his patron. But before turning our attention to these, it is time to revisit the subject of all this activity, namely, Alexander.

3

ALEXANDER: AN ENCOUNTER

1. A MEETING IN KILIKIA

Late in 333, on the morning after the battle of the Issos, Alexander and Hephaistion reportedly paid a visit to Darius's mother, Sisygambris, his wife, and his children, who had been captured in the Great King's camp as the Persian army fled:

> The two men were both dressed alike, but Hephaistion was taller and more handsome. Sisygambris took him for the king and prostrated herself before him. The others present signaled to her and pointed to Alexander; embarrassed at her own ignorance, she began to prostrate herself again, before Alexander this time, but he cut in and said, "Never mind, mother; for he is Alexander too." By thus addressing the old woman as "Mother," with this most beneficent of salutations he signaled to those unlucky women the benefactions that were to come. (Diodoros 17. 37. 5–6 [T 2])

This looks like an eyewitness account; it is given in substantially the same form by the other Alexander historians and was probably transmitted by Kleitarchos.[1] It conveniently introduces a number of key issues, all of which have some bearing on Alexander's portraiture. They include the tension between the facts of his appearance and the expectations aroused by his style of heroic kingship; his attachment to Hephaistion and the romantic *topos* that

1. Curt. 3. 11. 24–12. 18 (T 4); Just. *Epit.* 11. 9. 12–16; Plut. *Alex.* 21; Arr. *Anab.* 2. 12. 3–8 (reporting the story as a λόγος [T 14], which virtually guarantees that it came from Kleitarchos: see Bosworth 1976).

they were latter-day reincarnations of Achilles and Patroklos; the connection between his self-mastery, his charisma, and his power over others; the role of benefaction (*philanthrōpia*) in his conception of his own mission; the schizophrenic character of his rule as both Macedonian monarch and king of Asia; and the problem of his pretensions to divinity—for in Macedonia and Greece, prostration was accorded only to the gods.

Yet this story, like the rest of our "evidence," is only a *representation* of Alexander. The "real" Alexander cannot be recovered, for description is always partial and subjective. Since we are forever suspended uneasily between this chimerical "real" Alexander and his interpreters, every statement made about him becomes a question about his reception among those who encountered him. Since he exists only through his public, even the simplest of "facts" about him are charged with their judgments and their beliefs. In the last analysis, this is why texts and images are complementary.

2. PERSONAL

The texts tell us so little about Alexander's personal appearance that one is tempted to suspect a conspiracy of silence. Indeed, several of them explicitly state that it did not quite match either the king's heroic ancestry and achievements or his "virile and leonine nature" (T 6–9). In addition to telling us that he was shorter and less handsome than Hephaistion, Diodoros and Curtius inform us that he was of average height and that when he sat on Darius's throne at Susa, his feet did not reach the floor (T 4–7). He was therefore probably around 5 feet 7 inches (1.70 m) in height, to judge from skeletons found in late fourth-century Greek and Macedonian burials.[2] No one describes his physique, only his fair complexion (which turned to reddish about the chest) and pleasant body odor (T 10). This information, like most of what we know about his appearance, comes from Plutarch, who clearly had access to independent evidence and was using it to check the veracity of Lysippos's bronzes.[3]

2. Curt. 5. 2. 13 (with Diod. 17. 66. 3), 7. 8. 9; I thank Sarah Bisel for the burial statistics.

3. So, convincingly, Leimbach 1979, reviving a nineteenth-century thesis rejected by Koepp 1892: 9, whose opinion has since commanded general assent: cf., for instance, Schreiber 1903: 14–15; Schwarzenberg 1967: 108 n. 87; Killerich 1988: 62. Plutarch's own diction apart (*Mor.* 335B: ὥσπερ αὐτὸς εἰώθει βλέπειν; *Alex.* 4. 2: ἦν δὲ λευκός, ὥς φασιν, etc.), he could hardly have inferred Alexander's fair skin, red chest, or melting glance from the bronzes. Wardman's idea (1967: 417) that T 10 also implies that Alexander's friends and Successors imitated his mannerisms from his statues is contradicted by T 8, T 11, and Plut. *Demetr.* 41. 2–3. Why imitate the statues when they knew the man himself?

Plutarch's remarks are quite scattered and are by no means confined to the *Essays* and the *Life*. He evidently took them from two eyewitness traditions about Alexander's appearance: the *ad hoc* comments of contemporary observers, and an Aristotelian tradition of physiognomic analysis. The first of these traditions, the one used by Diodoros and Curtius (T 2–7), was verified by the emperor Caracalla when he inspected Alexander's body in the early third century A.D. (T 21). It continues into the fourth century (T 24) and was not forgotten even in the Byzantine period (T 25–27). The second tradition was picked up by the physiognomer Polemon a few years after Plutarch published the *Life* (T 12) and thence became standard in textbook physiognomics (T 20). Polemon was most interested in the king's eyes, and the romantic story of his heterochromy (T 18, 19, 27) may ultimately derive from him.[4]

Yet this is not all. The sources preserve a third tradition, which was apparently manufactured out of whole cloth around the middle of the second century A.D. (T 13, 15, and 56). It may be no coincidence that it appears almost simultaneously in three idealizing writers of the high empire—Appian, Arrian, and Apuleius—at exactly the time when Alexander was becoming respectable again. Generalized at first, it was gradually elaborated during the course of the third and fourth centuries (T 16–19, 22), until Alexander became the paradigm of the romantically handsome prince. Like some ancient writers (e.g., T 16), modern investigators habitually conflate these three traditions, or (worse) select only those elements from them that fit their own preconceptions.[5]

Taken together, the two early traditions are not particularly flattering. Alexander was neither tall nor tanned; his neck apparently drooped and was twisted slightly towards his left shoulder, and he held his head high, tending to look upwards; he was clean-shaven; he had a loud, harsh voice; his eyes were limpid and melting; his brow was fierce; his hair formed a cowlick (*anastolē*) above it; and there was something altogether scary in his countenance. All this is very far from the romantic crusader of the Roman imperial writers, the nineteenth-century biographers, and their latter-day followers such as Mary Renault: closer to the aptly named Alex of *A Clockwork Orange* or even to Sid Vicious than to a Prince Valiant! Only Lysippos was able to render these quirks (voice excluded) without diminishing Alexander's kingly *aretē*—his virile and leonine nature (T 9–10, 25–27).

4. Cf. Polemon in *Anecdota Graeca* (ed. Cramer) 4. 255, 16–17, a fragment that does not mention Alexander. On the supposed heterochromy of his eyes see Schwarzenberg 1976: 251 n. 1 for references and discussions; on other aspects of this tradition see Killerich 1988.

5. The worst culprit is Ujfalvÿ 1902: 8–10 and passim, but few of the studies discussed in Chapter 2.3 are immune from this kind of special pleading: cf., for example, Bieber 1964: 14 and Hölscher 1971: 35–36.

Lysippos's task was not easy, for although a head held high and a loud voice were unmistakable signs of strutting masculinity, white skin, melting eyes, a smooth chin, and a drooping neck signaled exactly the opposite. Whatever this strange and somewhat uncanny fusion of masculine and feminine may have contributed to his electrifying charisma, it certainly fascinated and perplexed his contemporaries—his court artists in particular. Plutarch admits as much by casting his account of the king's portraiture in the form of a double antithesis (T 9): melting eyes and drooping neck on the one hand versus virility and the lion-man on the other; unsatisfactory likenesses on the one hand versus satisfactory ones (Lysippos's) on the other.

White skin was the classic sign of femininity, enshrined in the artist's convention of painting women's flesh white, men's brown.[6] Melting eyes were the preserve of Praxiteles' Knidian Aphrodite and a long line of seductive women behind her. A smooth chin was the mark of the passive homosexual and probable pervert—the *erōmenos*, or penetrated one—despite Alexander's supposed rationalization that in battle a beard was an enemy's best friend.[7] Not for nothing does our major Hellenistic source on Alexander's shaving habits (T 1) immediately proceed to quote the fourth-century comic poet Alexis on the dangers of smooth chins.[8] Although Alexis's contemporary Theopompos says that a few of Philip II's entourage shaved, his sole concern is precisely to paint Macedonian morals as black as possible: better call those without beards *hetairai* (concubines) than *hetairoi* (companions).[9] Theophrastos, it may be recalled, believed that Alexander was all but impotent.[10]

Smooth chins, then, had extremely negative connotations in fourth-century Greek society and represented a strange and radical choice for a warrior-king. One possibility, raised already in the nineteenth century, is that he was imitating art, not life. Greek culture has been aptly described as a youth cul-

6. Cf. Stewart 1990: 41, and any black-figure vase painting (e.g., fig. 90).

7. Melting eyes: see Chapter 1.1; their "limpidity" was a function of this "moistness," helping light to traverse the pupil unobstructed and thus aiding clarity of sight: Arist. *De an.* 3. 12, 345a10; *Sens.* 2, 437a23–439a6; *Part. an.* 2. 1, 657a25–33; Theophr. *Sens.* 10. 50; cf. Schwarzenberg 1967: 70–72; Clark 1975: 68–83; Lloyd 1975: 218–22; Killerich 1988: 59–60. Beards and *erōmenoi*: Dover 1978: 71, 87, 144; and battle: Plut. *Mor.* 180B; *Thes.* 5. 4; Polyainos 4. 3. 2. Synesius *In Praise of Baldness* (!) 15–16 repeats the story, adds a fantastic anecdote, and derives the whole farrago from Ptolemy; Pearson 1960: 189 demolishes the attribution.

8. Ath. 13, 565a.

9. Theopomp. *apud* Ath. 6, 260e–f (*FGH* 115 F 225b). Though no ancient source explicitly says that he and Hephaistion were lovers, the comparison with Achilles and Patroklos—discussed below—would have immediately called to mind the ongoing debate about who was the dominant partner in that relationship: see Halperin 1990: 86–87 for references and discussion.

10. Impotence: Theophr. *apud* Ath. 10, 435a. N.B.: in T 10, Plutarch cites Theophrastos to support his contention that Alexander's temperament was "spirited," but according to the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* the spirited man should be well bearded (*εὐπώγων*: 3, 808a24).

ture, and Apollo, its symbol, had been beardless in painting and sculpture since the sixth century; in the fifth, the younger gods like Hermes and Dionysos followed suit. The heroes present a parallel case: in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* they were very definitely bearded, but Alexander's ancestor Achilles loses his beard from the late sixth century (cf. fig. 34), followed by many others, not least among them Herakles.[11] Victorious athletes, too, were regularly represented as beardless (cf. fig. 7). In Achilles' case, the reason might have been the Greeks' growing realization that his extreme youth was integral to his Homeric *ēthos*.[12] Whether the other heroes followed suit by attraction, as it were, or whether in their case the omission of the beard is intended to make a narrative point or to assimilate them to the ephebic ideal is still unclear.

Any opinion on Alexander's beardlessness, then, depends upon how much attention one thinks he paid to all this. The silence of the sources is not helpful, and it is possible that the wrong question is being asked. Alexander was surely not imitating art, but what that art represented, and he was addressing Macedonians, not Greeks. For whether he could not or would not grow a beard, the effect was the same. His was the fresh-faced youthfulness of the kouroi or of Achilles, "whom he emulated from boyhood" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 14. 4; cf. fig. 34). At Chaironeia, he had "won the palm for bravery by common consent and was regarded as the chief author of the entire victory" when he was only eighteen (Diod. 17. 21. 4). He succeeded to the throne of Macedon when only twenty, set out to conquer Persia when only twenty-two, and succeeded in that endeavor when only twenty-five. In these circumstances, not only was the usual image of the king as a bearded father figure inappropriate, but a better model was ready to hand: the eternally youthful hero, out to shape the world anew. Recognizing its power and its utility, he set out to craft his royal style accordingly, to the extent that his "bloom of youth" fascinated sympathizers (T 56), imitators (like the Successors and Augustus), and critics until the end of antiquity—and beyond. To Alexander, the sarcasms of the Greeks were of no great importance. It was Macedonian opinion that counted, and in Macedon, the ancient traditions of heroic kingship were thriving still.[13]

What of his crooked neck (T 8, 10, 11, 21, 24–27)? Nineteenth-century scholars saw this as a medical condition, either an *obstipum* or a *torticollis*. Current opinions are that Lysippos was making the best of a personal mannerism or that Alexander was imitating contemporary heroic statuary once again or that Plutarch was describing a convention of his portraits, not con-

11. *RE,* s.v. "Bart," col. 31; *LIMC*, s.vv. "Achilleus," "Herakles," etc.; Hölscher 1971: 25–31.

12. King 1987: 4–7.

13. Andronikos et al. 1980; Andronikos 1984; Ameling 1988: 657–64.

veying firsthand information.[14] Some confuse the issue further by engineering a habitual turn of his *head*. Since this is not what the Greek and Latin texts say, it is not surprising that there is considerable disagreement as to which side he preferred to turn it. A few scholars even use this spurious criterion to judge whether individual Roman copies do or do not reproduce Lysippos's Alexander with the Lance (T 115–24; cf. figs. 32–49).[15]

Yet the thrust of Plutarch's remarks (T 8–11) is clear: this was a personal quirk, it was not obtrusive, and Lysippos dealt with it tactfully. This was just as well, for it too smacked of effeminacy: it characterized the male prostitute or *kinaidos*.[16] We should therefore not expect to find it slavishly reproduced in his portraiture. Whereas Caracalla, for example, imitated it (T 21; fig. 3), his portraitists had no compunction in showing him with neck inclined and head turned either way, presumably as composition and setting demanded. In both his case and Alexander's, they simply translated the mannerism into a sculptural idiom already familiar to them, cocking head and neck in opposite directions. This completed the already contrappostic pose of the body and could give an impression of driving energy or heroic defiance, as appropriate.[17]

Alexander was therefore not the absolute paragon of Greek male beauty that late antique and modern scholarship often alleges. Indeed, Curtius is explicit on the matter: his looks did not live up to expectations (T 6–7). All this puts his rough voice, chin-up posture, and *anastolē* in decidedly different perspective. For these are matters of personal style, and fully under the control of the individual. All indicate an uncompromising—and uncompromised—masculinity, the "virile" quality (*to arrenōpon*) recognized by Plutarch in Alexander's portraits by Lysippos (T 9). One suspects that they were deliberately crafted by him over the years, perhaps in order to preempt the very charges that Alexis, Theopompos, and Theophrastos would soon be making. Of these signs, the cowlick or *anastolē* (T 16, 22, 50) is the most interesting, since it opens another door to his personality.

Alexander's *anastolē* has been linked on the one side with Plutarch's own

14. Schreiber 1903: 14–15; Schwarzenberg 1967: 108 n. 87; Schwarzenberg 1976: 251 n. 1 (with medical documentation); Killerich 1988: 62–63.

15. Bieber 1964: 32 gratuitously interpolates "*(in contrast to the turn of the head to the right)*" into her translation of T 10. Kleiner 1951: 219, Hölscher 1971: 54, and Himmelmann 1989: 98 allege a *leftward* turn of the head for the Alexander with the Lance and consequently dismiss the Azara herm (fig. 45) as a candidate.

16. In T 10 Plutarch describes it as "mild" (ἡσυχή), and in *Mor.* 53D, shortly after mentioning it again (T 8), he excoriates those portraitists who, unable to render beauty, settle for "warts and all" realism instead. *Kinaidos: Comoedia adespota* frag. 339 Kock; cf. Arkhippos frag. 45 Kock (Plut. *Alk.* 1); Dio Chrys. 4. 109, 112.

17. Examples to ca. 340: Stewart 1990: figs. 439–40, 542, 548.

remark that his character was virile and leonine (T 9), and with the pseudo-Aristotelian description of the lion-man on the other.[18] The latter description, in turn, takes us directly back to Achilles, whom Homer cast as the paradigm of the lion-man in Alexander's favorite book, the *Iliad*. Since it bears so directly on the image of both king and hero, I quote it in full:

> The lion's mouth is good-sized, its face rather cubic and not too bony; the upper jaw does not overhang but equally balances the lower, the nose is quite thick, the eyes bright and deep-set, neither very round nor very narrow, but of moderate size. The eyebrow is large, the forehead rectangular, rather hollowed in the center but overhanging towards the brows and again towards the nose like a cloud. Above the forehead towards the nose the hair parts to the sides and tends to bristle; the head is of moderate size and the neck long and correspondingly thick, covered with tawny hair, neither too bristling nor too curly at the ends. Above the collarbone the lion is loose rather than close-knit: his shoulders are strong; his chest is powerful; his frame is well formed with large ribs and back, lean haunches and thighs, and strong, muscular legs. Indeed, his whole body is well jointed and muscular, neither very hard nor very moist. He moves slowly with a long stride and swings his shoulders as he goes. These then are his bodily characteristics: in character he is generous and liberal, noble and a lover of victory, yet gentle, just, and affectionate towards his associates. (*Physiognomonica* 5, 809b14–26)

The hairstyle fits, but otherwise there is no evidence that Alexander actually looked or moved like this; furthermore, his ferocious temper and other shortcomings are not addressed by the description. Yet since his character was seen from boyhood to be *fundamentally* leonine, these qualities will have been recognized in him by his Companions and other observers, and so can also be used as a yardstick to assess his portraits (e.g., figs. 5–6, 9–12, 16, 32–49).[19] Touching the very center of Greek attitudes about masculinity and heroism, Alexander's leonine nature opens a route to understanding his charisma. It brought him into direct contact with the most vital force of Greek culture, its belief in the central role of male *aretē* as manifested in the matchless personal prowess of the lion-man.[20] And to the Greeks, not only was this metaphor extraordinarily powerful in itself, but so was the conviction that external signs were indices of character. The fourth-century science of physiognomics

18. Schwarzenberg 1967: 68, 86–88; Hölscher 1971: 28; Schwarzenberg 1976: 249–51; for the suggestion that Alexander's personal seal was a λέων ἀλέξανδρος, see Hafner 1977, and below, Chapter 7.4.

19. Thus, for example, his hair is brown in the Alexander Mosaic (color pl. 5), but tawny (ξανθός—like a lion's) in T 16; on the principle of *lectio difficilior*, the Mosaic wins.

20. Cf. Shils 1961; Shils 1965; Shils 1975: 258–59.

merely codified these ancient beliefs,[21] which can be traced as far back as Homer and his archetypal lion-man, Alexander's maternal ancestor Achilles.

3. NEW ACHILLES

In the histories of Alexander, mythological exemplars play a commanding role.[22] Greeks and Macedonians happily conflated legend and history, and Alexander seems to have been no exception. He was inordinately proud of his descent from Herakles and Achilles, and, steeped in Homer from an early age, he certainly believed that it was his destiny to rival the exploits of the heroes.[23] Cults, myths, and legends encountered during the campaign and akin to the ones that he and his men already knew would only have reinforced this belief: Herakles/Melkart at Tyre, Zeus/Ammon at Siwah, and Dionysos/Shiva at Nysa in Swat are the most prominent examples, but by no means the only ones.[24] The fragments of Kallisthenes show that as the advance proceeded the historian explicitly sought connections with Homeric and other figures, and others quickly took up the refrain, flattering Alexander that he was not merely emulating but handsomely surpassing them.[25]

Herakles, Dionysos, and Achilles are the protagonists, but others had parts to play too. Thus, before crossing the Hellespont Alexander sacrificed to Protesilaos,[26] and then, like him, leapt ashore first. Characteristically, though, he went one better, throwing his spear from ship to shore "to demonstrate that he had received Asia from the gods as spear-won land" (Diod. 17. 17. 2; cf. Just. *Epit.* 11. 5. 10).[27] His desire (*pothos*) to visit Ammon at Siwah was conceived "in rivalry with Herakles and Perseus, from whom he traced his ancestry," and just before the drunken brawl at Zariaspa that led to

21. See *RE*, s.v. "Physiognomik"; Evans 1969; for Aristotle himself on the subject of the lion-man, see *An. pr.* 2. 27, 70b7–39.

22. Synopses: Edmunds 1971: 372–79; Hölscher 1971: 24–42; Brunt 1976: 464–67 (appendix 4); Brunt 1983: 435–42 (appendix 16); Ameling 1988. Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 55–62 derived the tradition from Alexander's court poets, but as Bosworth 1980a: 105 points out, no one read them.

23. Plut. *Alex.* 1, 5, 8, 26; Strabo 13. 1. 27; Arr. *Anab.* 1. 12. 1; 7. 14. 4; etc. Hamilton 1973: 29–34; Ameling 1988: 657–73, with full documentation.

24. From Arrian alone: 2. 15. 7–16.7 (Tyre); 3. 3. 1–2 (Siwah); 5. 2. 1–7; cf. 5. 26. 5 (Nysa).

25. Collections of flatteries: Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 55–62; Brunt 1976: 464–66; Brunt 1983: 435–42.

26. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 5–7.

27. See especially Hammond 1986: 74–75.

Kleitos's murder his toadies "claimed there was no comparison between his achievements and the deeds of the Dioskouroi, in their cups not even leaving Herakles untouched" (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 3. 2; 4. 8. 3). Others may be detected behind Alexander's favorite quotation from the *Iliad* and such set pieces as Plutarch's uniquely detailed account of the execution of Bessos. The tag "both things is he, a goodly king and a mighty spearman" (*Il.* 3. 179) originally praised Agamemnon, and Bessos's demise seems to have been directly modeled on Theseus's treatment of the robber baron Skiron.[28]

Comparison with Alexander's ancestor Herakles was of course natural, and all but inevitable whenever anyone handled one of the king's own coins (figs. 30–31). Yet against exploits like the siege of Tyre (undertaken because the Tyrians refused to allow him to sacrifice to Melkart, Herakles' Phoenician counterpart) and the storming of the Rock of Aornos in Baktria (undertaken because Herakles had failed in the attempt), one must set his own disclaimer that his own deeds were worthless by comparison.[29] A recent attempt to picture him as the universal and inexorable benefactor, a persona that would immediately remind any Greek of Herakles, has no ancient support beyond a single quotation in an anonymous source, which mentions benefactions but not the hero.[30] It may not be irrelevant that his father, Philip, had already preempted him on this score.[31]

To turn to Dionysos, Euripides had established that this god had come to Greece from Baktria, and Alexander's religiosity and the fertile imaginations of his chroniclers did the rest.[32] But though there seems no doubt about Alexander's enthusiasm at discovering traces of Dionysos at Nysa, Plutarch tells us that he attributed both his drunken murder of Kleitos and his enforced retreat from India to Dionysos' vengeful wrath (*nemesis*) at his brutal sack of the god's birthplace, Thebes, ten years before. Finally, the week-long revel through Karmania in 324 after he and the remnants of the army emerged from the horrors of the Gedrosian desert was certainly Dionysiac, but his alleged masquerade as Dionysos himself belongs with the fantasies of Kallisthenes: Alexander prepotent with aegis and thunderbolt like Zeus and receiving the

28. Plut. *Mor.* 331D; *Alex.* 43. 6.

29. Tyre: Arr. *Anab.* 2. 15. 7–16.7; 24. 5–6; 3. 6. 1; Curt. 4. 2. 2–4; Diod. 17. 40. 2; 46. 6; Just. *Epit.* 11. 10. 10. Aornos: Arr. *Anab.* 4. 28–30; cf. 5. 26. 5; Diod. 17. 85. 2; Curt. 8. 11. 2; Just. *Epit.* 12. 7. 12–13. Disclaimer: Plut. *Mor.* 180D.

30. Schachermeyr 1976; oddly, he overlooks the quotation, in *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 82: *ὁ αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖος βασιλεὺς δοκεῖ ἄριστος εἶναι, ἔφη· Ὁ τοὺς φίλους δωρεαῖς συνέχων, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς διὰ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν φιλοποιούμενος.*

31. Isok. *Philip* 32; cf. Ameling 1988: 672–73 for further literature.

32. *Bacch.* 13–22; according to Arr. *Indica* 5. 9–13, before Alexander there was "not much tradition" that Herakles invaded India. Cf. Nock 1928; Edmunds 1971; and most elaborately, Goukowsky 1981.

homage of the waves like Poseidon.[33] Archaeology is even less encouraging. We know of no portraits of him with Dionysos, and the main evidence cited for his assimilation to the god, the elephant-skin headdress of the Ptolemaic and Seleukid coins (color pl. 8; figs. 76–79, 114), probably meant something quite different (see Chapters 8.2, 10.3). This leaves only the forehead band, perhaps a Dionysiac *mitra*, of the Ptolemaic coins, and the one Seleukid type where he wears a panther-skin helmet and cloak (figs. 115–16).

While Herakles and Dionysos certainly spurred Alexander's ambition and shed luster on his achievements, there is no evidence that he consistently felt himself to be a reincarnation of either of them. The opposite is true with Achilles.[34] Alexander emulated him from boyhood and was even nicknamed Achilles by his second tutor, Lysimachos. Like Achilles—or, at least, like the images of Achilles he would have seen at Pella (cf. fig. 34)—he went clean-shaven. The *Iliad*—the wrath of Achilles—was his bible, and he kept an edition under his pillow, later putting it into a small box seized from Darius. Landing in Asia, he immediately went to Troy, sacrificed at Achilles' tomb, expressed envy at his having "in life, a faithful friend, and in death, a great herald of his fame" (Plut. *Alex*. 15. 8), and on being asked whether he wanted to see Paris's lyre retorted that the lyre he wanted to see was that of Achilles. Concerning Homer he meant what he said. When Choirilos and other versifiers took the bait, the put-down was immediate and devastating: he would rather be Homer's Thersites than Choirilos's Achilles. Toadies more subtle than Choirilos soon obligingly came up with the revelation that this visit to Troy occurred exactly one thousand years after its fall.[35]

Of course, once clear of the Troad, the opportunities for directly evoking Achilles were few. Yet Alexander made the best of them. On the evening

33. Nysa: see above. Kleitos and India: Plut. *Alex*. 13. 4; Arrian, on the other hand, speaks of a neglected sacrifice: *Anab*. 4. 8. 1, 9. 5–6. Karmania: Diod. 17. 106. 1; Curt. 9. 10. 22–28; Plut. *Alex*. 67; rejected by Arr. *Anab*. 6. 28. 1–2, since he could not find the story in Ptolemy, Aristoboulos, or any other author he considered reliable. Bosworth 1988b: 67–72 disentangles the major strands in it and shows that Arrian's picture of Alexander/Dionysos as a military *triumphator* is "demonstrably late" (68). Kallisthenes: Eust. *ad* Hom. *Il*. 13. 26–30; Polyb. 12. 12b2–3 (*FGH* 124 F 31, 35).

34. Discussions and full documentation: Schwarzenberg 1967: 68–70; Ameling 1988.

35. Emulation: Arr. *Anab*. 7. 14. 4; cf. Dio Chrys. 2. 14. 32, etc. Lysimachos: Plut. *Alex*. 5. *Iliad*: Strabo 13. 1. 27; Pliny *HN* 7. 108; Plut. *Mor*. 327F; *Alex*. 8 (from Onesikritos, *FGH* 134 F 38) and 26; Dio Chrys. 2. 79, 4. 39; *Vita Aristotelis Marc*. 427. 5 Rose; ps.-Kallisthenes 1. 35. Troy: Diod. 17. 17. 3; Just. *Epit*. 11. 5. 12; Plut. *Mor*. 59B, 331D; *Alex*. 15. 8–9; Arr. *Anab*. 1. 12. 1 (though Hephaistion's parallel sacrifice at Patroklos's tomb is surely anachronistic: witness Plutarch's report of his wistful remark); Ael. *VH* 7. 8, 12. 7. Achilles lucky to have Homer: ps.-Kallisthenes 1. 42. 10; Cic. *Arch*. 24; *Fam*. 5. 12. 7; S. H. A. *Probus* 1. 2; others: Ameling 1988: 677 n. 98. Choirilos: ps.-Kallisthenes 1. 42. 11; Porphyrion *ad* Horace, *Ars P*. 357 (*FGH* 153 F 10a); see also Chapter 1.1. Troy's fall: Douris, *FGH* 76 F 41—from Kallisthenes? cf. *FGH* 124 F 10.

before he met Darius in battle at the Issos, he sacrificed to Thetis, Nereus, the Nereids, and Poseidon: a clear reminiscence of *Iliad* 18 and the prelude to Achilles' fight with Hektor. His reward came in the plunder, where he found the famous box for his *Iliad*. A less happy incident occurred a year later, after the siege of Gaza. Enraged at the stubborn pride of the Persian commander, Batis, he supposedly had him dragged to death behind a chariot; Curtius adds that during the show, he explicitly invoked the vengeance of Achilles on Hektor. Though in the past many historians found this atrocity hard to swallow, contemporary ones, sadder but perhaps wiser, tend to accept it. And finally, there came the incident on the river Akesines in India, when the fleet had to battle the rapids, and he almost drowned. Diodoros adds that Alexander promptly sacrificed to the gods on reaching shore, "since he, like Achilles, had done battle with a river" (Diod. 17. 97. 3).[36]

This remark may or may not be historical, for the chroniclers lost no time in turning events like this narrow escape, his earlier frustration at the mutiny on the Hyphasis, and his extravagant mourning for Hephaistion into action replays of Achilles' fight with Skamander, his sulk in his tent, and his grief for Patroklos.[37] As with the revel in Karmania, the temptation to mythologize was too much to resist. His emulation of Achilles had become a *topos*, offering a prepackaged guide to his motivations and goals. There is nothing necessarily artificial or contrived about this: as texts, inscriptions, even the royal tombs at Vergina, readily demonstrate, Macedonian society still defined itself through its relation to the heroic past.[38] If male excellence (*aretē*), particularly excellence in war, represented its highest value, then Achilles was its paradigm. In Macedonia, more than was usual in the Greek world, heroic myth still gave meaning to life, and by his perceived kinship (both literal and in spirit) with Achilles, Alexander attained contact with that "vital layer" of reality.[39] He always took care to stand firmly at the center.

So Alexander's emulation of Achilles was more than a useful stratagem or a curious obsession. An instinctive behavioral trait, it both instantiated and validated his extraordinary charisma. It functioned similarly to his supposedly leonine character, in that once it was generally recognized, events fell into

36. Sacrifice: *POxy.* 1798 (*FGH* 148, 44, col. II); cf. the Aboukir medallions: Göbl 1978: pl. 1. 4 and 10; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 10. Box: see above. Batis: Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 18 (Hegesias, *FGH* 142 F 5); Curt. 4. 6. 25–29; *contra*, e.g., Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 165–70; and Pearson 1960: 247–48; accepted, e.g., Green (1974)1991: 267 Bosworth 1988a: 68. Akesines: Diod. 17. 97. 3; Curt. 9. 4. 9–14; Plut. *Mor.* 340E; cf. Just. *Epit.* 12. 11. 1.

37. Hyphasis: Diod. 17. 94. 5 (whitewash); Just. *Epit.* 12. 8. 10–17; Curt. 9. 3. 18–19; Plut. *Alex.* 62. 5; Arr. *Anab.* 5. 28. 3–4. Hephaistion: Diod. 17. 110. 8; Just. *Epit.* 12. 12. 11; Plut. *Alex.* 72. 3–5; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 14. 1–7, 16. 8.

38. Andronikos et al. 1980; Andronikos 1984; Ameling 1988: 657–64.

39. Shils 1975: 259; cf. Geertz 1977; Geertz 1983: 121–46.

step behind. Each reinforced the other, for as every Greek and Macedonian knew, Achilles was the most leonine of the heroes. Though recent historians of Alexander have tended to shy away from the classic character sketch of Western biography, rightly balking at the inadequacies of the sources as we have them,[40] they have tended to neglect this other route, which has the merit of addressing the problem directly and in less anachronistic terms. It is particularly handy in the present context, for as the following chapters will demonstrate, it leads directly to the portraits themselves. For the present, however, its power can best be documented from the pages of Plutarch's *Life*.

Though Plutarch analyzes the king's *ēthos* into three overlapping components, "leonine," "spirited," and "virile" (T 9–10),[41] he does not specifically insist on a rivalry with Achilles. Instead, he prefers to insert his own preconceived notion of "ambition" (*philotimia* or *philoneikia*) to explain Alexander's motivation. This ambition, he thinks, was generated by the king's spirited and leonine temperament, though he does not omit to mention his love affair with the *Iliad* and envy of Achilles' good fortune.[42] Yet his Alexander is nevertheless Achillean to the core, and his text is shot through with reminiscences of Homer's hero.

To paraphrase a recent account of Achilles' character and career in Western literature, he was the swiftest, most beautiful, youngest, and most complex warrior at Troy. Terrible in war and invincible in battle, he can be forgiving or pitiless to the conquered; his armor shines like the sun and stars; his onslaught is like fire or an avenging lion. He abstains from sex and sleep; aiming "ever to be best and to excel in all things" (*Il.* 6. 208, 11. 783), he single-mindedly seeks honor (*timē*) and its counterpart, everlasting glory in song (*kleos*).[43]

Plutarch's Alexander, too, is an Olympic-grade runner; his beauty manifests itself in his moderation and self-control; he is youngest, first, and most valiant in the battle line; and his complexity, like Achilles', extends even to the gentle arts of healing and valuing music on the lyre. He even has his own arming scene, before the final clash with Darius at Gaugamela. His wrath is extreme. Invincible in battle and terrible in war, he can be forgiving or pitiless to the conquered; his helmet flashes like silver, even though it is iron; he fires

40. See, for instance, Badian 1976a: 294, 298–300, who with Green (1974)1991: 487 finds that "the only clear profile is that of the soldier"; not surprisingly, Bosworth 1988a studiously avoids any formal character sketch at all.

41. Cf. *Alex.* 2. 5, with Wardman 1955; Hamilton 1969: lxiii–iv.

42. *Philotimia*: Plut. *Alex.* 4. 8, 5. 6, 7. 8, 34. 2; *Philoneikia*: 26. 14; Achilles: 5, 8, 15; earlier, in the *Essays*, he had explicitly compared the two: *Mor.* 343B. Wardman 1974: 115–24 discusses the importance of *philotimia* in Plutarch's general theory of character; it is a drive or *hormē*.

43. Analysis in King 1987: 1–45.

Persepolis to punish the Persians, and blazes with fire when confronting the Malloi, scattering them; being leonine in nature, he acts on occasion like an avenging lion and even struggles with a lion "to see who would be king." He too abstains from sex and sleep, aims to surpass all others, and single-mindedly seeks honor and everlasting glory. He too sulks in his tent when thwarted, and his relationship with Hephaistion mirrors that of Achilles with Patroklos.[44]

Achilles, then, is omnipresent in the background of Plutarch's text. Plutarch's Alexander has thoroughly assimilated him as a paradigm, but—either because Plutarch preferred his own theory of motivation or for some other reason—he never moves into the spotlight. Historians will have to decide whether all this is Plutarch's own doing, whether he got it from somewhere else, or whether the truth lies between the two. What is abundantly clear, though, is that Achilles is the hidden center of the *Life*. He is its unmoved mover, and its ultimate court of appeal.

Arrian, on the other hand, makes the connection explicit. Though he mentions Achilles only twice, his timing is exquisite. Achilles brackets the narrative, and on both occasions Arrian takes care to emphasize that Alexander is emulating him, with Hephaistion playing Patroklos at his side. The first occasion is the celebrated visit to Achilles' tomb at Troy, where Arrian quite uncharacteristically reports the "Vulgate"/Kleitarchan version without comment, including Hephaistion's offering of a crown at Patroklos's tomb and Alexander's wistful envy of Achilles for having Homer to memorialize his deeds.[45] Yet Hephaistion's offering is almost certainly unhistorical, and Arrian probably suspected as much. He does not reappear until the morning after the Issos, again in a "story" (i.e., from the "Vulgate"; T 14) that Arrian refuses to vouch for, namely, the visit to Sisygambris that introduced this chapter. His real prominence comes only after Gaugamela, where he is formally introduced with patronymic as if for the first time.[46] As for Alexander's

44. Runner: Plut. *Alex*. 4. 10 (cf. *Mor*. 179D, 331B); moral beauty: 21. 11; youngest, first, and most valiant: 11. 6; 16. 3–7; 20. 8; 33. 4, 6; 41. 1; 58. 6; 63. 5; healing: 8. 1; 41. 7; lyre: 15. 9 (cf. *Mor*. 331E); arming scene: 22. 8–12; wrath: 13. 2; 16. 13–14; 50. 2; 51. 5; 62. 5; 71. 4; 74. 3; terrible in battle: 13. 2; 16. 4; 30. 6; 33. 6; invincible: 15. 7; 26. 14; forgiving: 12–13; 21; 29. 9; 30. 6; 44. 4–5; 50. 14–15; pitiless and vengeful: 37. 3; 38. 4; 42. 4; 49. 15; 59. 6–8; cf. 74. 6; shining armor: 32. 9; Persepolis, Malloi: 38. 4–8; 63. 4–5; lion simile: 13.2; cf. 73. 6; struggle with lion: 40. 4; sex and sleep: 21; 22. 5–6; 23. 2; cf. 4. 8; aim to be first: 7. 7; honor and glory: 4. 8; 5. 5–6; 7. 8; 14. 9; 34. 2; sulk: 62. 5–6; Hephaistion: 47. 9–12; 72.

45. Arr. *Anab*. 1. 12; on Arrian and the "Vulgate" see Bosworth 1976; and on this incident and Hephaistion (who reappears only in Ael. *VH* 7. 7), see especially Bosworth 1980a: 103–4; Bosworth 1988b: 32–37.

46. Arr. *Anab*. 2. 12; 3. 15, 27.

remark about Homer, Arrian immediately reveals his motive for including it by first stating his agreement and then using it to justify his own undertaking. He will play Homer to Alexander's Achilles.

Achilles' second appearance is even more dramatically staged: it comes at the climax of Alexander's mourning for Hephaistion. After listing the various accounts of the king's reactions, Arrian remarks: "As to whether Alexander cut his hair over the corpse, I regard it as not unlikely, considering his envy of Achilles, with whom he had had a rivalry [*philotimia*] from boyhood" (*Anab.* 7. 14. 4). *Philotimia*, it will be remembered, is the same word that Plutarch had used for Alexander's drive to surpass. Arrian uses it elsewhere for this purpose, but his favorite word to describe it is *pothos*.

Alexander's *pothos* or "yearning" occurs ten times in Arrian and five in Curtius (who translates it as *ingens cupido*).[47] To dismiss it, as some do, as a mere *topos* or cliché is to miss the point: *topoi* become *topoi* precisely because they are universally seen to work as explanations for things, to resonate strongly within the social and cultural fabric of the times. In fact, *pothos* was both traditional in Greek thought as a motivation for unusual and irresistible desires and ambitions, and current in the inner circles of Alexander's court as an explanation for his own extraordinary lust to do things hitherto unattempted, "in competition with himself in default of any other rival" (*Anab.* 7. 1. 5).[48] As already remarked in Chapter 1.1, we know this from Alexander's own friend and pilot, Nearchos, who defined it as "a perpetual desire to do something new and extraordinary" (Arr. *Indica* 20. 1–2 = *FGH* 133 F 1).

47. *Pothos* in Arrian: (1) *Anab.* 1. 3. 5: to cross the Danube to conquer the Getae; (2) 2. 3. 1 (also Curt. 3. 1. 16; Just. *Epit.* 11. 7. 4): to see the Gordian knot and fulfill the prophecy; (3) 3. 1. 5: to found Alexandria; (4) 3. 3. 1 (also Curt. 4. 7. 8; Just. *Epit.* 11. 11. 6): to visit Ammon at Siwah in *philotimia* with Perseus and Herakles (also Curt. 4. 8. 3: his *cupido* to conquer Upper Egypt and Ethiopia); (5) 4. 28. 4 (also Curt. 7. 11. 4; Just. *Epit.* 12. 7. 13): to take Aornos in rivalry with Herakles; (6) 5. 2. 5: to see the relics of Dionysos' Indian expedition at Nysa (cf. 5. 2. 1, where he wants to go even farther, and Curtius 9. 2. 9, 12: vs. Agyramnes on the Ganges); (7) 7. 1. 1: to sail down the Euphrates and Tigris to the Persian Gulf and beyond (cf. 7. 1. 4, where he would always search for something unknown, in competition with himself in default of any other rival); (8) 7. 2. 2: to have a gymnosophist of Taxila live with him; (9) 7. 16. 2: to see where the Caspian Sea joins the Euxine or the Indian Ocean; (10) *Indica* 20. 1 (from Nearchos): to sail from India to Persia. Classic study by Ehrenberg 1938: 52–61 (= Griffith 1966: 74–83); for the debate until 1970, see the bibliography and comments in Seibert 1972: 183–86; also Hölscher 1971: 33, 40–41; Hamilton 1973: 47 n. 5, 76; Kraft 1972: 81–118; Brunt 1976: 469–70; Schwarzenberg 1976: 252; Goukowsky 1978: 173–74.

48. Arrian also remarks that if possible, he would have added Europe and Britain to Asia. For precedents see especially Ar. *Ran.* 52–70 (Herakles' *pothos* for pea soup and Dionysos' *pothos* for Euripides) and Thuc. 6. 24. 3–4 (Athenian *pothos* for distant places as a motive for the Syracusan expedition). On *pothos* in general see *RE*, s.v.; and E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, 1979), 154; useful definition in Plato *Krat.* 420A: *πόθος αὖ καλεῖται σημαίνων οὐ τοῦ παρόντος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἄλλοθι που ὄντος καὶ ἀπόντος, ὅθεν πόθος ἐπωνόμασται.*

And by this time, many would have known what *pothos* looked like "in the flesh," as it were, for by ca. 330 Skopas had made two statues of him, one for Megara and one for Samothrace (fig. 19).[49]

There is even a link to Herakles and Achilles. In Aristotle's *Paean to Hermeias* we read as follows:

> Arete, so hardly pursued by men,
> So glorious to possess . . .
> . . . . . .
> For your sake the sons of Zeus,
> Herakles and Leda's youths
> endured much in their deeds
> in quest of your power.
> In *pothos* for you Achilles, Ajax
> Went both to the House of Death.
> (Athenaios 15, 696b)

Now, Alexander surely knew of this poem: Hermeias was killed by the Persians in 341, when Aristotle was already tutoring the young prince. Hermeias was Aristotle's friend and patron, and his murder deeply affected the philosopher. Aristotle did not write in secret: his paean (a poem dedicated to Apollo) was soon so well known that in 323 the Athenians even cited it in indicting him for impiety.

It should now be clear that Alexander's *pothos* was not the romantic-tragic longing for the unattainable that is currently ascribed to him by popular tradition (still unwittingly under the spell of Alexander's first great modern biographer, J. G. Droysen).[50] Far from it: it was a driving appetite to surpass the deeds of the heroes, an indomitable will to succeed where others had failed, and a supreme confidence in his unique ability to do so. It was his route to the center, and the channel for his charisma. Only this extraordinary conjunction of vaulting ambition, spellbinding charisma, and unrivaled grasp of military realities could have enabled him to undertake the longest military campaign in the history of the world,[51] and to emerge from it invincible (*anikētos*) to the end.

This very Achillean *pothos* for *aretē* drove Alexander to cross the Danube, to sever the Gordian knot, to found Alexandria, to consult Ammon at Siwah

49. Cf. Stewart 1990: 184, fig. 546.

50. J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* (Hamburg, 1833); see the remarks by Badian 1976a: 280–82. For a curious resurrection of Droysen's "visionary" Alexander, see Bieber 1964: 82.

51. On his grasp of military realities see especially Engels 1978: 121 and passim.

in emulation of his ancestors Perseus and Herakles, and to initiate the exploration of the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the Caspian Sea. It even drove him to surpass the gods themselves: to take the Rock of Aornos where Herakles had failed, and to advance into India beyond Dionysos' birthplace at Nysa. In this respect it neatly bridged the gap between the human and the divine in his nature, for because of it, his *aretē*, charisma, and consequent accomplishments came eventually to attain godlike status. Before addressing the vexed question of Alexander's divinity, however, it is time to see how all this worked out in practice.

4. KING ALEXANDER

Alexander's policies and plans have generated countless studies, and this is no place to contribute another. More relevant for the present enterprise is to characterize, however briefly, his relationships with the various constituencies of the empire, the public for whom and (often) by whom his portraits were created.

A prime reason for this enormous secondary literature—apart, that is, from the inadequacies of the sources—is that he died young, his program unfinished, even largely unarticulated. Another is the sheer complexity of the power situation. As king of Macedonia he inherited a quasi-baronial court with a long tradition of murderous infighting and a high degree of personal liberty; as leader (*hēgemōn*) of the League of Corinth he was nominally an elected official charged with prosecuting a war of revenge; as liberator of the Greeks of the East he was their benefactor; and as king of Asia he was absolute monarch over a heterogeneous array of peoples, each with its own traditions of government (cf. map 1). To be founder of Alexandria(s), successor to the pharaohs and the Great King of Persia, and overlord of Indian rajahs were quite different things and demanded radically different modes of self-presentation. Arrian has Alexander recognize the strains of such rapid expansion in his speech to the mutineers at Opis in 324, and it is certain that they provoked much comment at the time. In brief, he created an empire of domination that retained many of the characteristics of a chiefdom.[52]

52. King of Asia: Arr. *Anab.* 2. 3. 6, 14. 7–9; 3. 18. 11; Plut. *Alex.* 34. 1; Just. *Epit.* 11. 7. 4. Opis: Arr. *Anab.* 7. 9; cf. Schachermeyr 1976: 70–73, 83–86 (replies by Errington and Milns); Hammond 1986; Borza 1990: 231–52, concluding on p. 248 that in essence the king was "a kind of military chief or warlord." On the anthropology of chiefdoms see Carneiro 1981; and on empires of domination see Eisenstadt 1963; Mann 1986: 200, 228, 231–49.

Alexander's relationship with his Macedonians is discussed frequently in the sources. In Macedon, the king's personal qualities, his *aretē*, had always mattered more than any codified constitutional arrangements, and here he excelled. His charisma was not simply personal but relational and intersubjective: in sociological jargon, "synergistic."[53] The bond between Alexander and his Macedonians was based on his firm roots in Macedonian culture's "vital layer" of reality. Embodying its central values, he was able to manipulate its mechanisms to the utmost. The accounts of his education have him growing to meet the highest standards of the Macedonian *Männerbund*,[54] and it is clear that as an adult he shined by doing best what his nobles and Companions (*hetairoi*) all excelled at: fighting, hunting, and drinking. The other side of the coin was his ferocious temper and often brutal behavior. As one scholar has cynically observed, a man's true measure is gauged by those who are afraid of him, and to keep Parmenion, Philotas, Kleitos, Antipatros, Lysimachos, Seleukos, Ptolemy, Eumenes, Perdikkas, Krateros, Kassandros, and their peers in thrall was no mean achievement.[55]

Here, Alexander's ambiguous sexuality could have been disastrous for him, but with typical aplomb he turned it into a source of strength, affecting a studied indifference to sex and sleep. Self-mastery in this domain indirectly translated into mastery over others: as both Plutarch and Pliny's source for the Apelles-Pankaspe episode recognized, it too was a technology of power.[56] By placing him above ordinary mortals, it reinforced his *aretē*, and thus strengthened his hold over his Companions. The ploy worked brilliantly and was accepted at face value by his biographers: "He had no desire to inherit a kingdom that offered him riches, luxuries, and the pleasures of the senses; his choice was a life of struggle, of wars, and of unrelenting ambition" (Plut. *Alex*. 5. 6). His refusal to enter athletic events "unless he could compete with kings" was simply the other side of the same coin: "for it was not every kind of glory that he sought, and, unlike his father, he did not seek it in every form of action" (ibid. 4. 9). Unlike Philip, then, he had learned the virtues of concentration and of choosing one's competition. He also consistently deflated attempts to kowtow to his supposed divinity: "Good human blood here, not the ichor of the gods!" "Thunder? No, I'd rather not frighten my friends!" (ibid. 28). The audience for these remarks was Macedonian, the Companions

53. Cf. Schweitzer 1984: 28; cf. 53, 121, 178.

54. Chiefly Plut. *Alex*. 3–9; cf. Hamilton 1973: 29–34.

55. From a lecture by Truesdell Brown (personal communication from Stanley Burstein, 1991).

56. Cf. Chapter 1.2, with Plut. *Alex*. 21–22; Pliny *HN* 35. 87; on the connections between self-mastery and power, see especially Foucault 1978: 103–11; Halperin 1990: 68–69; compare Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 319–26.

who regarded him as first among equals and would have no truck with any nonsense about divine kingship.

It was his Companions' recognition of his peerless *aretē*, then, that enabled Alexander to realize his potential within the Macedonian cultural system. It continually validated his leadership, secured his position, and endowed him with irresistible *dynamis* (power to). Allied to his unexcelled grasp of military realities,[57] it enabled his unprecedented achievement. Invincible (*anikētos*), he was limited solely by the stamina of his army, which finally cracked on the river Hyphasis in 326, compelling him to retreat from India.[58] His reactions are revealing. Like Achilles, he wrathfully retired to his tent for three days, then ordered sacrifice to be made for the crossing. Conveniently, the omens proved unfavorable, allowing him to save face. He erected twelve giant stone altars to the deities who had smiled on him thus far, and turned back to the West. "The king's ambitions were frustrated, but it was the gods to whom he deferred, not his men. . . . Alexander had bowed to their pressure and he never forgot it. From this point he was prepared to demobilize and dispense with his veterans and those who represented their views."[59]

Alexander dealt very differently with the mainland Greeks.[60] As the elected "leader" (*hēgemōn*) of the League of Corinth, his duties were two: to supervise the Common Peace of 336 and to lead the alliance in the war of revenge it inherited from Philip. In the event, he swiftly showed his true colors in allowing the Greek mercenaries captured in the service of the Persians at Miletos to join his army despite the League's decree that all such traitors should die.[61] His rulings in the cases of the Aegean island communities whose governments had changed several times as the tide of war swept back and forth were equally high-handed. Inscriptions show him decreeing the return of exiles, the establishment of democratic constitutions (the local oligarchs had favored the Persians), and the rewriting of legal codes, with himself as final arbiter. "Spear-won" Asia (Diod. 17. 17. 2) was his personal property, and he would decide how best to govern it. Though these states had joined the League under Philip, its only role in these decrees was to try traitors.

The list of authoritarian, not to say despotic, acts, is a long one, culminating in the Exiles Decree of 324, which mandated their general restoration

57. See especially Engels 1978, with Bosworth 1988a: 259–77.

58. Arr. *Anab.* 5. 25–8; Curt. 9. 2. 12–3. 19; Just. *Epit.* 12. 8. 10–16; Diod. 17. 94; Plut. *Alex.* 62; discussions: Green (1974)1991: 407–11; Hamilton 1973: 118; Bosworth 1988a: 133–34.

59. Bosworth 1988a: 133.

60. See especially Badian 1965; Hamilton 1973: 136–41; Heisserer 1980; Bosworth 1988a: 187–228.

61. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 16. 6, 19. 6; 3. 23. 8.

throughout the Greek world, and Alexander's notorious (and controversial) "request" for divine honors shortly thereafter. The king who called Sparta's effort to assert its old hegemony in 331 a "war of mice" had little time for the feelings of the Greeks.[62] The extant speeches of the Attic orators, chiefly Demosthenes, Lykourgos, Hypereides, and Aischines, vividly document the conflicted situation that resulted as the power struggles in the cities intensified, and the unscrupulous attempted to work both sides of the street.

The Asian Greeks were something else again.[63] Much ink has been spilled on whether they were induced or forced to join the League: the silence of the sources is decisive. Alexander's mandate was to free them, but it is clear that he regarded them as part of his "spear-won" prize (Diod. 17. 17. 2). "It was he who determined governments, decided tributary status, and dispensed autonomy as his personal gift."[64] Though he installed democracies, this was again largely because the Persians had promoted oligarchies, and though he revoked the Great King's tribute, he made sure that appropriate contributions were made to his war chest. Compliant cities like Priene were rewarded with autonomy and remission of both tribute and war levy and could thereby delude themselves that they were free. Recalcitrant ones were swiftly and harshly punished: Aspendos, for example, had to surrender its leading men as hostages, to hand over all the horses it had been breeding for the Persians, to contribute a double-sized war levy of a hundred talents, to pay an annual tribute on top of this, to give up its autonomy to the satrap of Pamphylia, and to submit to arbitration over the territorial claims of its neighbors.[65]

In 331, Alexander regularized the collection procedure by appointing one levy collector for the Greek cities and another for the Phoenician ones.[66] Both had been freed from Persian overlordship, and both were now expected to contribute to the coffers of the new king of Asia. Though neither group of cities was subject to a satrap, the fates of Aspendos and—worse—Tyre would have been fresh in everyone's minds. The message surely sank home. Yet since both groups were ungarrisoned and unsupervised, and in the Greek cities the main burden of the levy would have fallen on the now-impotent oligarchs, the arrangement was shrewd and probably quite acceptable to most. Once again Alexander's pragmatism, his willingness to adapt to circumstance provided that his basic aims could be fulfilled, is evident.

62. Plut. *Ages.* 15.

63. See especially Badian 1965; Hamilton 1973: 136–41; Heisserer 1980; Bosworth 1988a: 250–58.

64. Bosworth 1988a: 251.

65. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 26. 2–27. 4. Macedonian inscriptions show that "spear-won land" was the king's personal property: Hammond 1986; Hammond 1988: 389–91.

66. Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 4.

Mention of Phoenicia brings us to the non-Greek, "barbarian," inhabitants of the empire.[67] Here it will suffice to focus on Alexander's treatment of the Egyptians, Persians, and Indians. In Egypt, which had suffered cruelly under the Persian yoke, he was initially hailed with enthusiasm. After making the appropriate sacrifices at Memphis, visiting Ammon at Siwah, and founding Alexandria, he established two military districts on the frontiers, then divided the country's thirty-five provinces or nomes into two administrative regions (corresponding to the two ancient divisions of Upper and Lower Egypt), and appointed two men whom Arrian calls "Egyptians" as governors (*Anab.* 3. 5. 2). Yet one actually has an Iranian name, and the other—who is entitled "satrap" in a demotic inscription—soon resigned, allowing the Iranian to take both jobs. If this were not suspicious enough, historians have also noticed that Alexander's "new" administrative structure actually replicated the former Persian one. In fact, real power was held by the Macedonian generals on the spot and by the governor of the eastern frontier, Kleomenes of Naukratis, who was instructed to collect the tribute formerly owed to Darius from the remaining "native" appointee.[68] He soon proved more rapacious than even the hated Persians.

So Alexander clearly had no intention of giving the Egyptians their freedom. Like Ionia and Phoenicia, Egypt was part of the "spear-won land" (*doriktētos gē*), and the city of Alexandria was the fetter that bound it to Asia's new king. He simply moved into the shoes of the pharaohs, using an updated version of the Persian administrative system as his organ of control. As Ernst Badian has remarked, "the whole scheme was perfectly designed to achieve its purposes: the country was held securely, yet without a nucleus for rebellion; and the odium of immediate tax-collection fell on Egyptians and not on the conquerors."[69] All this, in turn, suggests that the effusive tone of the reliefs of the Shrine of the Bark at Luxor (figs. 53–54), authorized and designed by Ammon's powerful priesthood, should not be taken completely at face value. This monument will occupy us further in Chapter 6.3.

Alexander's strategy with the Persians has prompted much speculation about a supposed attempt to create a joint Macedonian-Persian ruling class, the so-called fusion policy. On close examination, his aims seem to have been rather different. During the advance, he actively sought Darius's cooperation in his schemes, but as his vassal. Darius could retain the Persian heartland if he swore loyalty to the new king of Asia.[70] Darius chose not to cooperate and

67. See especially Badian 1965; Bosworth 1980b; Bosworth 1988a: 229–50.
68. Arr. *Anab.* 3. 5. 1–5; see especially Burstein, n.d. (1), in press.
69. Badian 1965: 172.
70. Arr. *Anab.* 2. 14. 7–9, 25. 3; Diod. 17. 54. 6; Just. *Epit.* 11. 12. 3; see especially Ham-

eventually paid for his intransigence with his life, but his satraps who did so were often retained in their posts. So too were other local, non-Persian rulers whose loyalty could be relied on, like Ada of Karia, Sanballat III of Samaria, and Taxiles in India. Sociologists call this system of utilizing local elites to control one's conquests "federal domination."[71] As in Egypt, however, real power lay in the hands of the local Macedonian garrison commanders, and when in the course of time many of these native rulers, Persian or otherwise, proved disloyal, venial, or incompetent, they were ruthlessly purged. But so too were the Macedonians: pragmatic as always, Alexander was no respecter of persons or races when the chips were down.

Nor was he some kind of crusading moralist. In Egypt, Kleomenes' extortions had grown by 324 to a point where complaints began to reach Alexander at Babylon. Yet in a famous letter, he excused both past *and future* crimes on condition that Kleomenes build a sumptuous hero shrine for Hephaistion, lately dead and heroized at Ammon's command.[72] As ever, it was loyalty and a firm grip that mattered to him, not abstract ideals of equity, freedom, and concord.

Of course, some changes were necessary if his position as king of Asia were to be properly defined, and if his pool of manpower were to remain adequate to the task. The dilemma here is familiar: the uniqueness of his position demanded a distinctive style and distinctive policies, yet the more he departed from Macedonian tradition, the more his contact with the Macedonian center would suffer, and the more his charisma and the power that it generated would decline. And since everyone understood that style is the man himself, nowhere is this dilemma clearer than in the matter of costume.

Once Darius was dead, in the fall of 330, Alexander adopted some items of Persian court dress, "the very minimum of Persian attire compatible with his pretensions."[73] Retaining the Macedonian hat (*kausia*) and cloak (of royal purple), he took up the Great King's purple tunic (chiton) with its central white stripe and golden belt and added a diadem (*diadēma*) around his head (T 32–47). A simple white ribbon akin to the Greek victor's fillet, the latter could conveniently symbolize his conquest of and rule over Asia. He never wore the Great King's upright tiara, jacket, trousers, and slippers, for the very

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mond 1986: 80–82. On the so-called fusion policy see especially Bosworth 1980b and Hamilton 1987.

71. Mann 1986: 174; cf. 247.

72. Arr. *Anab.* 7. 23. 6–8, probably published by Ptolemy after Alexander's death in order to discredit Kleomenes.

73. Bosworth 1980b: 7.

good reason that he never aspired merely to be Great King. His eyes were fixed on greater things.[74]

Yet even these limited concessions to Persian costume caused enormous resentment. The army took them as a betrayal of his Macedonian heritage, a sign of increasing arrogance, of estrangement from them, and of capitulation to the blandishments of the conquered. Alexander clearly could not have it both ways, and after the mutinies on the Hyphasis (326) and at Opis (324), his actions spoke accordingly. Having already used native units for the Baktrian and Indian campaigns and having trained thirty thousand Iranian youths as a second phalanx, he now recruited Persians into the officer corps and (after the Opis mutiny was crushed) proceeded with his plan to discharge over half his veterans.

With fine diplomacy, though, he hosted a gigantic banquet before they went, giving the Macedonians pride of place, followed by the Persians, then by the Greeks and other non-Persian Orientals, and "prayed in particular for concord and community in empire for Macedonians and Persians" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 11. 9).[75] In Susa a few months before, he had followed up his own earlier marriage to the Baktrian princess Roxane by marrying the daughters of both Darius and his predecessor, Artaxerxes Ochus, and simultaneously uniting nearly a hundred of his Companions with Persian noblewomen.[76] The banquet at Opis was merely another variation on the same theme. As in Egypt, Macedonians would rule, co-opting the conquered in the task. Yet once he was dead, all his Companions except Seleukos repudiated their Persian wives, and the ruling class of the Successor kingdoms remained almost exclusively Macedonian and Greek.

As for the Indians, since they lay outside the boundary of the Persian empire, Alexander's campaign of conquest both signaled that he had no interest in limiting himself to Darius's domains—for he was king of Asia, not Great King of Persia—and presented him with the problem that his administrative system had to be constructed from scratch. In the end, events shaped his response. Taxiles, ruling west of the river Hydaspes (Jhelum), became a

74. Costume: Neuffer 1929: 7–11, 25–27, 30–38; Pearson 1960: 62–67; Brunt 1976: 533 (appendix 14. 2); Bosworth 1980b: 4–8; Bosworth 1988a: 99–100; Hammond 1986: 82–83; Hamilton 1987: 472–76. On the diadem see Ritter 1965 and Smith 1988: 35–38, who disposes of the opinion of Diodoros and Curtius (T 35–36) that it was Persian in origin. Plut. *Demetr.* 25. 3 proves that he never proclaimed himself King of Kings—i.e., Darius's successor as king of Persia.

75. Cf. Bosworth 1980b: 1–4, 8; Bosworth 1988a: 158, 160–61 (with references to the now-discredited fantasies of universal brotherhood proposed by Tarn and others), 271–73; Hamilton 1987: 484–85.

76. Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 1–8; Plut. *Alex.* 70. 3; Diod. 17. 107. 6; Just. *Epit.* 12. 10. 9–10; eyewitness account: Chares *apud* Ath. 12, 538b–539a (*FGH* 125 F 4).

client king but was assessed tribute and given a Macedonian satrap and garrison, while Porus, east of the Hydaspes, was allowed to retain his kingdom without controls of any sort and eventually found it extended to the Indian Ocean (map 3). Ruthless in punishing disloyalty and incompetence, Alexander knew equally well how to use a man who kept his word and did his duty.[77]

Just as he accepted no limits to his empire, so was he determined to keep all of it firmly under his control. Increasingly multivalent and flexibly applied, his power always remained absolute. Happy to allow local autonomy where it would further his purposes, he tolerated no opposition and brooked no rivals. To this end, he adopted certain universalizing techniques that reduced the power of local elites and centered it on him.[78] Two instruments of his control were his coinage and the Alexandrias he founded. A third, far more controversial, may have been his claim to be in some sense divine.

Probably soon after his accession to the throne, Alexander began to mint bronze units, silver tetradrachms, and gold staters at Pella and Amphipolis (figs. 29–31). The bronze and silver carried a dynastic message. Both featured the head of Herakles on the obverse; his weapons occupied the reverse of the bronze, and a seated Zeus Olympios filled the reverse of the silver. The gold, on the other hand, used the helmeted head of Athena and a winged Nike to symbolize the war of revenge against Persia. Their reverses bore the simple legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, "of Alexander": the word "king" was omitted. This gesture was probably intended to conciliate the Greeks (the main users of the coins), who still jealously guarded their freedom; if they acknowledged his authority at all, it was as *hēgemōn* of the League of Corinth, not as king. By continuing this practice long after he proclaimed himself king of Asia, he signaled that even then their freedom still remained intact, that he actually *ruled* only the barbarians of the "spear-won land."

After the Issos, Alexander opened mints along the Levantine coast and on Cyprus, at Tarsos, Myriandros (soon renamed Alexandria-by-Issos), Damascus, Arados, Byblos, Sidon, Ake, and Salamis. After the occupation of Mesopotamia, these were joined by new mints at Babylon and Sardis, the old Persian satrapal capital in the west, and soon thereafter at Memphis in Egypt. From 325, mints began to appear in the East Greek cities: Lampsakos and Abydos in the Hellespont; Magnesia, Kolophon, Miletos, and Teos in Ionia; and Side in Pamphylia. The mints at Amathos, Kition, Kourion, and Paphos on Cyprus also began to operate at this time, as did the mint at Susa. At about this time too Alexander altered the legend on the gold and silver to the much

77. On his limitless aims in the East see especially Arr. *Anab.* 4. 15. 5–6 and 5. 24. 8; cf. 4. 7. 5 and esp. 7. 1. 1–4 and 19. 6: his aim was to become king of Africa and Europe, too.

78. Cf. Mann 1986: 170–71.

more assertive ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, "of King Alexander." As will appear, this is not the only change in style that he made at this time.[79]

Though some of the East Greek and Cypriot mints seem to have been opened specifically to pay mercenaries or discharged veterans, this coinage as a whole was evidently intended to be a universal currency and achieved not only widespread circulation but long acceptance. Struck from the wealth of Asia in order to pay Greeks and others for goods and services, it turned Alexander into something of a universal benefactor. His generosity was legendary, and as he himself is reported to have said, the best of monarchs is the one that keeps his friends together with gifts and conciliates his enemies with benefactions.[80] Produced for decades after his death (figs. 104, 120), his coins constitute up to 90 percent of all hoarded money for the next century.[81] As such, they offer a lexical standard by which to assess the Alexander coins of the Successors.

The Alexandrias (map 1) bear equally directly upon the present study, for their construction would have been paid for with this money, and their colonists would have revered Alexander as founder (*ktistēs*), a position that normally merited a cult (cf. Appendix 3), altar, and statue. Unfortunately, the only hard evidence to date comes from Alexandria in Egypt (discussed in Chapters 6.3 and 8); a battered inscription recently found in Kandahar (Alexandria-in-Arachosia) remains controversial (T 143). Though Plutarch, contrasting Plato's single, unrealized republic, credits Alexander with "founding seventy cities among barbarian tribes, that sowed all Asia with Greek magistracies, and overcame its savage and brutish ways" (*Mor.* 328E), the reality was somewhat different.[82] Founded on the marches of his kingdom, they functioned as bastions of his far-flung power but also tended to decentralize it and thus to create areas of fissile instability for the empire after 323.[83] Para-

79. Evidence collected in Bellinger 1963: 50–61; Thompson 1982; Mørkholm 1991: 41–54; and especially Price 1991b; cf. also Martin 1985: 122–31. Following Kleiner 1949, Zervos 1982 and Troxell 1991 argue that he did not begin coining in his own name until after the battle of the Issos in 333; Price 1982a and 1991b: 27–28 offers strong reasons for adhering to the traditional date. Coinage and finance: Bellinger 1963: 35–80; Bosworth 1988a: 241–45; Price 1991b: 25–27. Alexander did, however, allow Philip's types and some local issues in Asia to continue alongside his own, presumably in deference to local sensibilities: see Thompson 1982: 116, 119–20; Mørkholm 1991: 48–49; Price 1991a.

80. *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 82, quoted above in Greek; his gifts are listed in Price 1991b: 26–27.

81. Army pay: Bellinger 1963: 58–60; Thompson 1984. Hoards: le Rider 1986. Survey: Mørkholm 1991.

82. Survey: Bosworth 1988a: 245–50. Of course, other cities sometimes claimed him as their founder, but these are not germane to the present argument: see the coins of Apollonia Mordiaion and Gerasa (figs. 110–11) referenced in Appendices 3 and 4.

83. On Ptolemaic Alexandria see Chapter 8; at the news of his death, twenty thousand

sitic on the local population, they often aroused bitter resentment. If a degree of Hellenization resulted, it was a by-product of their existence, not its main purpose.

Just as Alexander's money circulated his fame and advertised his power throughout the empire, so these foundations (however ephemeral many of them proved in practice) had the effect of anchoring him in the landscape from Egypt to India. If he had no Homer to sing his glory (*kleos*) to men, at least he could find immortal honor (*timē*) in hero cult: one universalizing technique somewhat made up for the other. Yet there is evidence that he sought recognition of his power in still another direction, asking the Greeks for honors formerly given only to the gods.

5. GOD INVINCIBLE?

Alexander's supposed pretensions to divinity generated furious controversy in antiquity and continue to do so today.[84] Though the problems are real, part of the reason for this is that the various components of the issue are often confused. A claim to be son of Zeus is emphatically not the same as a claim to be "God Invincible"; honors equal to those given to the gods by no means necessarily imply worship in cult, or even acceptance of divinity; and flattery with divine imagery in a poem or a painting is not the same as an acknowledgment that the subject is either temporarily or permanently animated by the divine spark.

A man may equal or surpass an achievement of a particular god and merit recognition for so doing, but this does not *ipso facto* turn him into a god, let alone entitle him to worship:

> Much confusion has been caused by scholars who, having seen that certain humans were given honors that gods also received, drew the conclusion (by a

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settlers in the East headed for home "out of longing for the Greek way of life" (Diod. 18. 7. 1) but were massacred by troops sent from Babylon: Schober 1981: 27–37; cf. Mann 1986: 144–46.

84. See especially Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 347–74; Balsdon 1950; Bickerman 1963; Habicht 1970: 17–36, 245–55; Edmunds 1971; Seibert 1972: 192–206; Hamilton 1973: 138–41; Green (1974) 1991: 451–53, 472; Badian 1976b; 1981; Bosworth 1977; Brunt 1976: 472–76; Jaschinski 1981: 93–119; Brunt 1983: 495–96; Walbank and Astin 1984: 90–91; Bosworth 1988a: 278–90; Bosworth 1988b: 113–23.

famous logical fallacy) that these kings must have been deified, rather than simply sharing, as a high compliment, some of the gods' divine prerogatives. Sacrifices, sacred enclosures, tombs, statues, prostration, hymns, altars, and other such appanages are all, as Aristotle specifically states,[85] simply marks of honor: the gesture itself, not its recipient (whether god or man), is the important thing.[86]

Indeed, as Aristotle remarks elsewhere, a ruler may be so far above his fellows that he is *like* a god among men: by definition, this entails that he is *not* a god among men.[87]

In Alexander's case, one's position on these issues automatically colors one's interpretation of several key monuments, among them Apelles' painting of him holding a thunderbolt at Ephesos (P 1), the Neisos gem (color pl. 8), the reliefs of the shrine of Ammon at Luxor (S 1; figs. 53–54), the so-called Porus coins (figs. 68–69), and the coins of Ptolemy, Seleukos, and Lysimachos where he wears Ammon's horns and sometimes what may be a Dionysiac *mitra* (color pl. 8; figs. 76–79, 114–15, 117).

During the advance into Asia, Alexander encouraged the belief that he was the son of Zeus. According to Kallisthenes, an eyewitness, he was hailed as such by the priest of Ammon's oracle at Siwah in 331. Of course, the pharaohs had been recognized as sons of Ammon since time immemorial, and the inscribed reliefs of the Shrine of the Bark at Luxor (figs. 53–54), to be discussed in Chapter 6.3, show that Ammon's priesthood accepted him as their legitimate successor. Kallisthenes also recorded his prayer to Zeus before Gaugamela, asking Zeus to protect the army "if I am indeed your son." Whether the idea predated the occupation of Egypt or was prompted by the priest's salutation is a problem that mercifully need not concern us here: what matters is that this was the first public announcement of the relationship.[88]

The claim was backed up by Apollo's long-silent oracle at Didyma,[89] and it was soon a commonplace at court. Challenging it was one of the insults that got Kleitos murdered in 328, and in 324 the mutineers at Opis used it to

85. *Rh.* 1. 5. 9, 1361a34–36.

86. Green 1990: 402.

87. *Pol.* 3. 8. 1, 1284a10–12; in 7. 13. 1–2, 1332b16–22, often cited in support, he actually argues that in critical respects the analogy does not hold, for (among other things) rulers are not necessarily physically superior to their subjects, like gods and heroes are to men.

88. Kallisthenes on Ammon: most directly in Strabo 17. 1. 43, 813f (*FGH* 124 F 14); cf. Diod. 17. 51; Curt. 4. 7. 25; Just. *Epit.* 11. 11. 7–13; Plut. *Alex.* 27. 3; Bosworth 1976: 52; Brunt 1976: 470–72; Bosworth 1980a: 269–74; Kienast 1987; Burstein, n.d. (1), in press. Prayer: Plut. *Alex.* 33.1 (*FGH* 124 F 36); Bosworth 1976: 57–60 (refuting Tarn's rejection of the entire passage). Origins and controversy: Bosworth 1976: 67–75.

89. Strabo 17. 1. 43, 814, again from Kallisthenes (*FGH* 124 F 14); as most commentators have seen, Siwah clearly had priority.

cut Alexander down to size, taunting him that he could dismiss them and continue the campaign with his father if he wanted—meaning Zeus.[90] That same year it was already familiar in Athens, where Demosthenes made his famous quip in the Assembly that Alexander could be son of Zeus and Poseidon too if he wanted: sons of Poseidon were notoriously disreputable characters.[91] Finally, on his deathbed, Alexander allegedly ordered that his body be taken to Ammon: the conflicts that this generated will occupy us in Chapter 7.4.[92]

Whether Alexander "truly" believed in his divine paternity or not is perhaps the wrong question to ask, and in any case it is irrelevant to a book on representations. His qualifications to be a hero were beyond dispute, and to salute him as son of Zeus was the obvious way of formulating this in traditional, mythical terms. In the sense that heroes were indisputably galvanized by the divine spark, it was certainly "true." Yet even though Plutarch and Arrian rightly recognize it as a "technology of power,"[93] it eventually dented his credibility and undermined his charisma with the army. Dual paternity was all very well for mythological heroes like his ancestor Herakles (who was sired by both Amphitryon and Zeus),[94] but in Alexander's case it evidently cut little ice with the hard-bitten Macedonians. Suspicious of such claims in general, they saw this particular one as a studied insult to their true idol, Alexander's real father, Philip.

What kinds of honors did the son of Zeus deserve? Heroic honors were given only to the dead, but honoring him as somehow equal to the gods (*isotheos*) had a respectable pedigree, for it had been a part of the arsenal of encomium ever since Homer.[95] The problem was that it had thereby become a cliché; Alexander deserved more, but how much more? The example of Kallisthenes neatly illustrates the dilemma. In his history of the campaign, cut short by his death in 327, he described Alexander as a thunderbolt-bearer before whom even the waves prostrated themselves.[96] Yet actual prostration (*proskynēsis*) was quite another matter. This was how Persians greeted the Great King, but Greeks and Macedonians reserved it for the gods. So when Alexander tried to impose it upon the non-Persians at court, Kallisthenes refused. The historians represent him as staunchly maintaining the tripartite

90. Kleitos: Curt. 8. 1. 42; Plut. *Alex*. 50. 11. Opis: Diod. 17. 108. 3; Just. *Epit*. 12. 11. 6; Arr. *Anab*. 7. 8. 3.

91. Hyp. *Dem*. col. 31; continuation: T 91.

92. Diod. 18. 3. 5; 28. 2–6; Curt. 10. 5. 4; Just. *Epit*. 13. 4. 6.

93. Plut. *Alex*. 28. 6; Arr. *Anab*. 7. 29. 3; on "technologies of power" cf. Foucault 1977: 23.

94. Cf. Arr. *Anab*. 3. 3. 2; 4. 8. 2–3.

95. Exhaustive study: Roloff 1970.

96. Eust. *ad* Hom. *Il*. 13. 26–30; Polyb. 12. 12b2–3 (*FGH* 124 F 31, 35); cf. Curt. 8. 5. 8.

separation of gods, heroes, and men and citing Herakles as the limiting case: a man of unique *aretē* whose apotheosis came only after his death, and then only at Delphi's bidding.[97]

Yet by 325 Alexander had indeed surpassed the gods themselves, trumping Herakles and Dionysos by taking Aornos and advancing beyond Nysa in western India. So was he himself in some sense divine? The army clearly did not think so. If they had trouble with his divine sonship, then acceptance of his godhead was out of the question *a fortiori*. The witticisms recorded by Plutarch and discussed in the previous section show that Alexander took good care to humor them in this regard.[98]

Yet the Egyptians had already recognized his divinity, and what of the Greeks? Lysandros had been honored with altars, sacrifices, and games for his liberation of Ionia in 405, though it is not clear whether any of these were voted before his death. Philip had dedicated chryselephantine images of himself, Alexander, and the rest of his family at Olympia (S 7) and had his "godlike" (*theoprepēs*) image carried in procession behind those of the twelve Olympians on the day of his murder in 336.[99] So there were precedents for mortals seeking and receiving godlike status, though as yet no irrefutable evidence survives for awarding actual cult before death. Did Alexander merit honors of this kind, either for his liberation of the Asian Greeks or more generally for his unprecedented conquests? And what of his future plans, which might further limit or even abolish the cities' already circumscribed autonomy if he were not placated in advance?

Concerning the Asian Greeks, though cults of Alexander are recorded in Apollonia Mordiaion, Bargylia, Ephesos, Erythrai, Ilion, Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, and Priene (see Appendix 3), the literary sources are silent, and none of the inscriptions predates the third century. Many scholars have inferred that the cults were established in 334/333 to honor Alexander's services as liberator, but on closer examination the evidence is infuriatingly elusive. First, none of the preserved cult titles describes him as liberator: in Apollonia (fig. 110) he was honored as founder, in Ephesos and Erythrai as king, and in the rest of the cities simply as Alexander. Second, although liberation was one of the professed aims of the expedition,[100] the Asian Greeks are never

97. Arr. *Anab.* 4. 11; Curt. 8. 5. 14–19; cf. Plut. *Alex.* 45. 1; most recent discussion: Bosworth 1988b: 113–23. Fortunately, Alexander's motives for attempting to introduce *proskynēsis* at court are not our concern.

98. *Alex.* 28; cf. Ath. 6, 250f–251a. Curt. 10. 5. 6, 11 proves that the Macedonians in Babylon gave Alexander no divine honors during his lifetime.

99. Lysandros: Plut. *Lys.* 18. 5–6; inscriptions: Habicht 1970: 243–44; Badian 1981: 33–38. Philip: Diod. 16. 92. 5, who goes on to remark here, and again at 95. 1, that he exhibited himself "enthroned with" (*σύνθρονος*) the Olympians. Others: Bosworth 1988a: 280–81.

100. Diod. 16. 91. 2 (Philip); 17. 24. 1 (Alexander, in Karia).

described as hailing him as liberator. Third, there is no hint that cultic honors followed this "liberation." Our very full accounts of his reception at Ilion, Ephesos, and the Karian cities say nothing about them; Curtius, who hated this kind of flattery and could be expected to censure it had he known of it, dates Alexander's delusions of divinity to his visit to Siwah in 331; and the inscription recording his dedication of the temple of Athena at Priene simply calls him "king."[101] Had such honors been granted at this time or even during the next decade, why were they apparently not cited as precedents in the mainland Greek "deification" debate of 324/323?

Of these cities, Ephesos merits special attention because Apelles' picture of Alexander with the thunderbolt in the Artemision (P 1) was certainly painted while the king was still alive: Lysippos's caustic comment on it (T 120) would have been pointless otherwise. Yet its connection with the cult of Alexander is less straightforward than is usually assumed. The old Artemision had been burned by a lunatic in 356, and Strabo tells us a series of stories about the building of the new one, quoting the highly respected Ephesian geographer Artemidoros.[102] In particular he relates that when Alexander offered to bankroll the new Artemision if the Ephesians included his name in the dedicatory inscription, not only were they unwilling, but one of them told him that it was inappropriate for a god to dedicate offerings to gods.

This anecdote is often taken to support the prior existence of a cult, but it in fact argues for the opposite. The story is actually a continuation of Artemidoros's indignant refutation of the charge that to finance the reconstruction the Ephesians plundered the treasures deposited in the temple by the Persians. They were unwilling to accommodate Alexander, Strabo says (in his usual ham-fisted way), "just as they would have been far more unwilling to acquire glory by sacrilege and robbery" (14. 1. 22, 641). Artemidoros's point was to praise his countrymen's religious scruples and their understanding that the end never justifies the means. Taking sacred treasures—even for the glory of rebuilding the temple—was of course anathema to them, but they could not even contemplate the much lesser sacrilege of putting a mortal's name on it. The remark about Alexander's divinity appeared to be yet another extravagant compliment, Kallisthenes-style, but it actually put the king in a classic double bind. Whatever option he chose, the answer would be no.

If the liberation of 334/333 was not the occasion for the Eastern Greeks' grant of divine honors to Alexander, then what was? The aftermath of his visit to Siwah in 331, when the oracle at Didyma miraculously broke its 150-

101. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 12; 1. 17. 10–12; Diod. 17. 24. 1–3; Curt. 4. 7. 29–30; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin, 1906), no. 156.

102. Strabo 14. 1. 22–23, 640–41.

year silence to confirm his divine sonship and predict victory at Gaugamela, is subject to most of the same objections as 334/333. Our remaining evidence in fact points not to East Greece but to the Greek mainland, and exactly a decade later.

The most explicit statements appear in two speeches by Deinarchos and Hypereides, delivered in the spring of 323. Their target was Demosthenes, who was on trial for receiving bribes from Alexander's renegade treasurer, Harpalos: the scandal and Hypereides' speech were introduced in Chapter 1.2. Deinarchos is surprisingly brief, perhaps because his fellow prosecutor had already dealt with the issue in full: he merely accuses Demosthenes of inconsistency: "At one time he proposed a motion that forbade acknowledgment of any gods apart from the traditional ones, and then at another said that the *dēmos* must not dispute about the grant of honors in heaven for Alexander" (1. 94). Hypereides was more expansive, but his speech survives on only one mutilated papyrus, and the key section is mostly lost. After noting Demosthenes' public agreement that Alexander could be the son of Zeus and Poseidon too if he wished, it breaks off, to resume some lines later with the statement that someone "wanted . . . to erect a stat[ue of Alexan]der the kin[g and inv]incible go[d" (T 92).

These are the only contemporary accounts of the affair, though in his funeral speech for Leosthenes and the dead of the Lamian War, delivered in 322, Hypereides voices his distaste that Athenians are now forced to "witness" sacrifices made to men, and cult images, altars, and temples perfected for them, and themselves to honor their servants as heroes (T 93). This hints at a context for the debate: Alexander's wish that the recently dead Hephaistion be honored as a hero.[103] If the "servant" were heroized, then his master could hardly tolerate honors less than divine.

Our next source, the early Hellenistic historian Timaios, only adds to the confusion. Demosthenes and his fellow orators, he says, are to be praised for *opposing* any gift to Alexander of "honors equal to those of the gods" (*isotheos* again), while "the philosopher [Kallisthenes] who invested a mortal with aegis and thunderbolt was justly visited by heaven with the fate that befell him" (Polyb. 12. 12b3 = *FGH* 124 F 20). For further enlightenment we have to wait until the Roman period, when Plutarch and others add a few more Athenian witticisms, record a similar response from the Spartans, and reveal that in Macedonia a scandalized Antipatros thought the whole idea to be "blasphemy."[104]

103. Diod. 17. 115. 6; Plut. *Alex*. 72. 2; Arr. *Anab*. 7. 14. 7; 23. 6–8; cf. Lucian *Cal. non tem. cred*. 17; recognized by Habicht 1970: 35, 249–50; cf. Seibert 1972: 201.

104. Plut. *Mor*. 219E, 804B, 842D; Val. Max. 7. 2, ext. 13; Ath. 6, 251b; Ael. *VH* 2. 19; 5. 12; Hesychios and *Souda*, s.v. Ἀντίπατρος.

This is all. The Alexander historians do not mention the affair (though both Arrian and Curtius are lacunose at this point), unless Arrian's cryptic remark about the embassies from Greece coming with crowns in early 323 "as if for all the world like sacred envoys to honor a god; yet he was not far from his end" (7. 23. 2) is an oblique reflection of it.[105] Presumably Alexander indeed made it known that he wanted recognition of his divine sonship, but the statue of him as "Invincible God" indicates a more fulsome response, at least in Athens. Yet suggestively the word Hypereides uses is *eikōn*, the usual term for a secular portrait.

The title "invincible" (*anikētos*) had, or purported to have, a long history.[106] Tyrtaios had used it of Herakles in the seventh century, and as for Alexander, we first meet it in Plutarch's account of his visit to Delphi in 336, on his return home from the crucial meeting of the League of Corinth when war was declared on Persia, and he was voted the leadership. The priestess, unwilling to come to the temple on an inauspicious day, greeted his attempt to drag her there with the words "You are invincible, my child!"[107] The story is obviously invented, as is the "Vulgate" account of the oracle at Siwah's supposed prediction that he would be "invincible for ever."[108] Alexander was alone in the shrine and never revealed what went on. Yet there is no need to assume that the invention was posthumous. The Gordian knot had presaged his conquest of Asia, and predictions of this kind would have strengthened the morale of the army. Invincibility was the litmus test of Zeus's special favor, the one secure basis for Alexander's claim to divine parentage and his right to honors "equal to those of the gods." It was his trump card, and he and his court surely played it for all it was worth.

In 324, with Alexander now back in Babylon and planning further conquests, his invincibility was all too evident. Circumstances indeed dictated that the son of Zeus be appeased. Krateros was on his way with the army of discharged veterans and a commission to supplant Antipatros as regent and, more ominously, to "take care of Macedon, Thrace, and the freedom of Greece" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 12. 4). The Harpalos affair had goaded Alexander to the brink of war with Athens, and the Exiles Decree threatened Athenian control of Samos. A remark by Demades, the alleged proposer of the motion,

105. On the the critical δῆθεν see Walbank and Astin 1984: 91 n. 98 for alternatives and bibliography.

106. Basic study by Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 338–46; see also Levi 1984.

107. Tyrtaios 9 (7). 1; Alexander would have approved. Pythia: Plut. *Alex.* 14; cf. Diod. 17. 93. 4; Hamilton 1973: 34–35. Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 338–46 vigorously defended the Pythian story's authenticity on the grounds that Plutarch, a priest at Delphi, would have consulted the official records; yet since the Pythia gave no *formal* response, his defense collapses.

108. Diod. 17. 51. 3; Curt. 4. 7. 27; Just. *Epit.* 11. 11. 7–11; cf. Plut. *Alex.* 27. 6 and *Mor.* 335A, 336E–337B. Presaged at Gordion: Arr. *Anab.* 2. 3. 8.

perhaps puts the whole issue into perspective: he warned the Athenians to be careful not to pay so much attention to heaven that they lost the earth.[109] All in all, one's impression is that compared to the upheavals caused by the Harpalos affair and the Exiles Decree, it was irritating but no more; though it outraged the pious, others simply saw it as a (heaven-sent?) occasion for a witty put-down.

Whether the Greeks of Asia also granted Alexander divine honors, even actual cult, at this time is unclear, but several factors suggest that they did. First, the cults offered to the Successors during their lifetimes, beginning with Demetrios and Antigonos at Skepsis in 311, make it abundantly clear that to the early Hellenistic Greeks "it was the temporal power of the *living* ruler that was assimilated to the divine."[110] And second, why should the cities grant him divine honors when he was dead, and therefore impotent—and irrelevant? The Roman senate granted such honors posthumously, but Hellenistic Greek cities normally did not, for the perfectly good reason that only a live king could help or harm them.[111] All the evidence is indirect, to be sure, but from Krateros's ominous commission to Alexander's command that Hephaistion be heroized, this last, tension-filled year of his reign seems to fit the bill as none other.

On June 10, 323, the son of Zeus went to join his father.[112] The Athenians, soon in open revolt, must have swiftly repudiated their decree, and we know that they fined Demades ten talents for proposing it in the first place.[113] The Asian cities, however, did not join the rebellion, and their cults continued to function, some of them for over five hundred years. Whatever one's sentiments, Alexander was now safely removed from reality, and one could worship him or not, according to choice and expediency.

109. Val. Max. 7. 2, ext. 13.

110. Bosworth 1988b: 117, italics supplied.

111. Cf. Habicht 1970; Price 1984: passim; Bosworth 1988b: 117.

112. Curt. 10. 5. 6, 6. 6–7; *Liber de morte Alexandri* 114; acknowledged in documents soon after his death: Diod. 18. 56. 2; *OGIS* 4. 5.

113. Ath. 6, 251b; Ael. *VH* 5. 12 increases the fine tenfold.

4

MASKS OF YOUTH

1. YOUTH AND REJUVENATION

The sources record several portraits of the young Alexander. Pliny tells us of an "Alexander puer" by Antiphilos (P 11), who also painted him with Philip and Athena (P 2); Apelles, too, painted him in company with Philip, "so often that a tally is superfluous" (T 82; P 8). Though translators usually render *puer* as "boy," the Romans actually considered anyone under seventeen a *puer*. *Pueri* could thus be quite mature: Pliny even calls the Doryphoros of Polykleitos a *puer*.[1]

Some or all of these pictures may have been painted when Alexander was crown prince, but since no other information about them survives, one cannot be sure. Pliny tells us that Antiphilos was born in Egypt, and both Pliny and Lucian place him at the court of Ptolemy I (where he reportedly instigated the libel that led to Apelles' famous picture of Calumny).[2] If his portraits were posthumous, then his "Alexander puer" (P 11; T 63) could have been a rejuvenated Alexander rather than simply a youthful one.

With the sculptures one is on somewhat firmer ground. Lysippos made bronzes of Alexander "a pueritia eius" (T 113; cf. T 114; S 15), and we hear of no fewer than seven studies of him with Philip (S 7–11, 32, 34). Of those that are certainly historical, the chryselephantine quintet by Leochares in the Philippeion at Olympia (S 7) was in progress at the time of Philip's murder in 336, and the bronzes dedicated by the Eleans at Olympia (S 11) may belong before Antigonos's death at Ipsos in 301. The Athenian group in the Agora (S

1. Gell. *NA* 10. 28. 1; Pliny *HN* 34. 55.

2. Pliny *HN* 35. 114, 138; Lucian *Cal. non tem. cred.* 2 (Overbeck [1868]1959: nos. 1839, 1942–43).

8) has been plausibly ascribed to the aftermath of Chaironeia in 338, when Philip quite unexpectedly treated them with great lenience, and they showered honors upon him for it. Some associate it with the two remaining Alexander-Philip groups, by Euphranor ("in chariots") and "Chaereas," both mentioned only by Pliny in his book on bronzes (T 100–101; S 9, 10), but this is pure hypothesis.[3] All we know is that Euphranor, who "flourished" in the years 364–361, probably did not work much, if at all, beyond 330, and that the otherwise unknown Chaereas, if identical with Lysippos's pupil Chares of Lindos, was active under the Successors.[4]

Despite these meager returns, one fact stands out. Studies of the youthful Alexander were by no means confined to the period before his accession in 336 but were also commissioned under the Successors. By then he had already passed into the heavens: as son of Zeus he would have assumed the eternally youthful persona of Zeus's other sons, the younger gods like Apollo and Hermes. Greek culture has been aptly called a youth culture, literally worshipping youth in the form of Apollo. In 324/323, Alexander became part of the paradigm: first he received honors equal to those of the gods (Chapter 3.5), and then six months later he died. It follows that the portraits of him as a youth should probably be dated either before 336 or from 324/323—though one cannot exclude the possibility that those who wished to flatter him may have commissioned studies like this at any time in between. As it happens, the portraits of Queen Elizabeth I of England show the same kind of rejuvenation during the last years of her life, though for rather different reasons.[5] In our case, the evidence may sometimes encourage us to prefer one period over the others, but *a priori* grounds for doing so are rare indeed.

2. ATTIC AND LYSIPPIC

Two youthful portraits, the so-called Akropolis-Erbach and Dresden types, have a strong claim to be the earliest studies of Alexander to survive (color pl. 1; figs. 5–6, 9). The first is known in three examples, the second in two, and both are identified by their *anastolē* (over the right eye in both cases) and

3. For arguments pro and con see Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 373 and Palagia 1980: 45 (who like many others simply assumes the connection with Chaironeia).

4. On Chaereas/Chares see Schreiber 1903: 268–72; for the dates of Euphranor and Chares see Pliny *HN* 34. 41–42, 50, with Stewart 1990: 287–88, 289–90.

5. The "Coronation" portrait, formerly dated to 1547, is now known to have been painted around 1600, just before she died: Pomeroy 1989: 8–13, 43–44, pl. 4.

decidedly leonine hair.[6] Styled just like that of the Azara herm, it is "neither too bristling nor too curly at the ends" (ps.-Arist. *Physgn.* 5, 809b26). Most scholars date both types around or shortly after 340. Though no inscription certifies the identification, it is difficult to see who else but Alexander could be intended. The existence of copies demonstrates the sitter's importance in Roman times, and one would be hard put to find another late fourth-century teenager with the appropriate credentials.

Why were the Romans interested in these two Alexanders? The answer perhaps lies in their open, frank expression and level poise. This is not the "crazed adolescent" of Stoic dogma, but a subtler kind of exemplum for would-be aspirants to rank and position within the empire: the young Alexander uncorrupted by power and passion whom Curtius so wistfully describes.[7] Indeed, the Erbach head (fig. 6) probably belonged to the emperors, for it was found "in the ruins of Tivoli" in 1791, by which the excavator almost certainly meant Hadrian's Villa.

It is best to begin with the Akropolis-Erbach type, for it is by far the more conservative and can thus serve as a standard for assessing the other. One problem immediately presents itself: is the Akropolis head (color pl. 1; fig. 5) the original or a copy? Though opinions on the issue have oscillated over the years, the view that it is a late Hellenistic copy has recently attained almost the status of dogma, at least in Germany. Its most disturbing feature is the hair at the back: the locks wriggle across the surface like worms and often lack any organic connection with the skull. For all its chilling classicism, the Erbach head succeeds where this one fails and even preserves many details of the coiffure that it omits.[8] Yet Attic parallels in the second and first centuries B.C. are nonexistent,[9] and it is hard to see why Greeks of that period would be interested in dedicating a copy of a fourth-century Alexander on the Akropolis. An unbiased glance at the pictures of it, the Demeter of Knidos, and several heads from the friezes of the Mausoleum published by Bernard Ashmole in 1951 should dispel any doubts about its credentials: it was surely made in the later fourth century, by the same workshop as they.

In the same article, Ashmole pointed the way towards a solution: "It is just possible that two originals of similar type, one in marble and one in bronze, were produced by the fourth-century sculptor, and that the Erbach

6. For replicas and bibliographies see Appendix 4.

7. *Vesanus adulescens*: Sen. *Ben.* 1. 13. 1; 2. 16. 1; *Ep.* 91. 17; 94. 62. Curtius's panegyric in 3. 6. 17–20 could almost be based on the two types: *cultus habitusque paulum a privato abhorrens, militaris vigor; quis ille vel ingenii dotibus vel animi artibus, ut pariter carus et venerandus esset, effecerat.*

8. See, most conveniently, Smith 1988: pl. 2.

9. For the relevant material see Stewart 1979: chaps. 2–3. Despite repeated assertions to the contrary, the side hair of the Akropolis head does have analogies within the fourth century: e.g., Comstock and Vermeule 1976: no. 69.

head . . . is copied from the lost bronze."[10] Yet two simultaneous honors of this kind would be unparalleled in this period, and Ashmole's suggestion does not take into account the unsatisfactory treatment of the Akropolis head at the back. It is easier to believe that a now-lost bronze was the archetype for all three marbles, in which case the Akropolis head would represent a second commisssion from the same workshop, slightly later than the original one. It would presumably have been prompted by a second deed of Alexander's thought to merit recognition, in the form of a votive to Athena on the Akropolis.

Before discussing some possible occasions for all this activity, yet one more piece of evidence needs to be considered. This is the so-called Alkibiades type, first proposed as Philip of Macedon by Paul Arndt in 1900 (fig. 4).[11] It is preserved in seven copies, of which one wears a crown or *stephanē* in the hair. Though opinions have swung back and forth over the years, there is no denying that its physiognomy is a mature version of the Akropolis-Erbach Alexander, with which it is also identical in style. The two share the same erect poise, strongly ovoid skull, balanced facial proportions, assertive grid of horizontals and verticals, smooth, understated modeling of the flesh, undulating lips, quite deep-set eyes, wide-swinging eyebrow with prominently flattened underside, and forehead articulated with a swelling "Michelangelo bar." The "Alkibiades" also has a small *anastolē* at the center of the hairline, modeled on the *anastolai* of mid-fourth-century Herakles types like the Lansdowne.[12] In scale, it is about 10 percent larger than the Alexander.

Arndt compared the "Alkibiades" with the Mausoleum marbles and, noting that the Athenian sculptor Leochares worked both on the Mausoleum and on the Philippeion (S 7), proposed him as the author of the Alkibiades type too. It was Gebauer, though, who first noticed its close relationship with the Akropolis-Erbach type, suggesting that both were perhaps actually copied from the Philippeion group. This view was endorsed by Ashmole, who completed the edifice by identifying Mausoleum slabs BM 1006 and 1013–15 from the Amazonomachy frieze, the charioteer BM 1037 from the Chariot frieze, and the Demeter of Knidos, BM 1300, as products of the same workshop as the Alexander and "Alkibiades"/Philip. In conclusion, he asserted that the guiding hand in all cases was probably Leochares, "a step out of the shadows."[13]

10. Ashmole 1951: 15 n. 19.

11. Arndt 1900; Poulsen 1954: no. 5; further bibliography in Richter 1965: 106; von Graeve 1973; Weski 1987: 181–84 (no. 61).

12. Stewart 1990: fig. 548.

13. Gebauer 1939: 72–73; Ashmole 1951: passim, but esp. 15 and 16 n. 23. On Leochares' career see Stewart 1990: 282–84.

Few can bring themselves to reject this reconstruction entirely.[14] Elegant, plausible, and (in the case of the surviving pieces) supported by detailed photographic documentation, it suffers from only one defect: the Philippeion group, being chryselephantine and therefore extremely delicate, could not have been copied directly. As with other chryselephantine statues, any copies would have been made freehand and thus would exhibit considerable variation in both scale and style. This is not the case with either the Alexander or the "Alkibiades"/Philip. In addition, since Olympia had no quarries to provide marble suitable for sculpture, no copyists' workshops were located in the sanctuary, and copies of its statues are exceedingly rare.[15] If the two types are taken from a single Alexander-Philip group, then that group is most likely to be the one that Pausanias saw in the Athenian Agora (S 8); unfortunately, he tells us nothing about its material, author, or date.

As remarked in Section 1, historians have regularly connected this group with Philip's lenient treatment of Athens after the battle of Chaironeia in 338. The sequence of events has to be pieced together from a number of different sources, for only Justin and Diodoros give any connected account, and neither tells the whole story.[16] Briefly, as panic gripped the city, Philip set up the orator Demades as go-between and then, much to everyone's surprise, negotiated extremely generous terms with him, Aischines, and Phokion. This move earned him Athens' fulsome thanks and supine acquiescence in his plans.

Though their confederacy was dissolved, the Athenians retained their independence, and their three thousand dead and prisoners were returned without ransom. Alexander led the peace mission into the city (his first and last visit there), and he and his father were granted citizenship in an outpouring of gratitude and relief. The sources are united in recognizing this as a great coup de main, for at a single stroke Philip had both emasculated and conciliated his most formidable opponent. Bronze statues of the two new citizens and benefactors would certainly have been an appropriate honor, and Pausanias's comment that they were erected out of "sycophancy on the part of the people towards Philip and Alexander" (T 99) certainly suggests that the statues were voted in Philip's lifetime. Conversely, it is hard to think of another

14. Doubters: Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 343 n. 41, 378 n. 29, to whom add Weski 1987: 183; the identification of the "Alkibiades" as Philip is also dismissed as "pure hypothesis" by Smith 1988: 148.

15. Cf. Stewart 1990: 25–26.

16. Just. *Epit.* 9. 4. 4–5. 5; Diod. 16. 86–87 and 32. 4; the Athenians' gift of citizenship to Philip and Alexander, for example, is mentioned only by Plut. *Dem.* 22. 4 and a scholium to Aristeides 1. 178, 16 (Dindorf). See also Polyb. 5. 10. 1–5; Plut. *Phok.* 16; *Alex.* 9. 2; and *Dem.* 20–21; Dem. *Ep.* 3. 11–12; ps.-Demades *On the Twelve Years* 9–10; Aristeides 13. 182; 19. 258.

occasion between Philip's recognition of Alexander as crown prince in 340 and his assassination in 336 that could have prompted the commission.

If this was when the original of the Akropolis-Erbach type was created, and perhaps even the "Alkibiades"/Philip too, then when and why was the Akropolis head made? It cannot be from the statue of Alexander the Invincible God that was apparently voted by the *dēmos* in the winter of 324/323 (T 92; S 2), for this statue would never have been dedicated to Athena, and Alexander's straightforward, uncomplicated demeanor ill fits the Attic-style portraits created after his conquest of Asia. Politically speaking, Athens was at best a sullen bystander while Alexander conquered the East, a near-enemy when he returned to Babylon and promulgated the Exiles Decree, and the leader of the great revolt when news of his death eventually reached Greece.[17] The only time the Athenians had to thank him was when he dedicated three hundred suits of armor and weapons captured at the Granikos in 334 to Athena on the Akropolis.[18] This action cemented his relationship with the expedition's divine patroness and to some extent recompensed her and her city for the sack of 480. Nothing in the style of the Akropolis head would argue against this date.

Skeptics may justly dismiss all of this as mere hypothesis. What cannot be denied, though, is the Akropolis-Erbach type's close relationship with ideal statuary of its period, particularly the ephebes on contemporary Attic gravestones and statues in the round (fig. 7).[19] To use Pollitt's felicitous phrase, it is a "role portrait,"[20] with Alexander cast in the role of a youthful Athenian citizen, and perhaps also Philip cast as a mature one—which, at least after 338, is what they officially were. It would be wrong to dismiss this telling choice as purely a matter of convenience, still less poverty of imagination. An array of expressive fifth- and fourth-century portraits shows that other modes were available had the sculptor cared to use them, but clearly he did not.[21] Furthermore, the strategy of aligning a portrait with a well-known sculptural type already charged with positive connotations had good precedent at Athens, for it was exactly that of the Attic portraits of successful generals or

17. On Athens and Alexander see the excellent account in Bosworth 1988a: 204–28.

18. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 16. 7; Plut. *Alex.* 16. 17–18. Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 8 might suggest another occasion, the return of Antenor's statues of the Tyrannicides from Susa in 331 (less likely, 325/324: Arr. *Anab.* 7. 19. 2); yet though Pliny *HN* 34. 70 endorses Arrian's account, Paus. 1. 8. 5 credits Antiochos I with returning them, and Val. Max. 2. 10, ext. 1, credits Seleukos. The principle of *lectio difficilior* tips the scales against Alexander and suggests a date between 292 and 281, when the two Seleukids reigned jointly: so, plausibly, Bosworth 1980a: 317.

19. Its debt to prevailing sculptural ideals is best documented by Ashmole's photographs (1951: pls. 11–12, 15–16); cf. Himmelmann 1989: 88–92.

20. Pollitt 1986: 59.

21. Cf. Gauer 1968; Stewart 1990: figs. 232, 299, 482, 536.

stratēgoi. In the two generations since the first of them was voted, for Konon in 394, they had faithfully imitated the portrait of the Athenian fifth-century *stratēgos* par excellence, namely, Perikles (fig. 2).[22] Aristotle tells us why: he was the exemplary "man of practical wisdom" (*phronimos*) in a democratic state.[23]

These two studies, then, appealed to the same model spectator as Perikles and the *stratēgoi*: the ideal, law-abiding, Athenian citizen. In his eyes, their conventionalizing strategy would domesticate the otherwise alien and immensely powerful Macedonians, aligning them as far as possible with familiar categories and values and denying the city's impotence in the face of their success. Because Alexander's bravery and irresistible dynamism had broken the Theban line, Philip's power was now absolute: as Hypereides put it, Macedonian shields had blotted out the city's laws.[24] So like the award of citizenship, these portraits ask to be interpreted not as an act of mere gratitude but as an attempt to co-opt the two overwhelmingly powerful and charismatic Macedonians—to bring the two tyrants within the laws.

To this end, their balanced features, level gazes, and measured demeanor neutralize all but a fraction of their subjects' energy and dynamism, belying the evidence of the leonine *anastolai* above. What the sculptor gives with the one hand he tries to take away with the other. Honoring the two men for posterity, he pays tribute to Alexander's leonine character by giving him a lionlike mane of hair but in his features simultaneously attempts to suppress as much of his "power to" (*dynamis*) as he can, and all of his (and his father's?) "power over" (*hēgemonia*). A critical spectator, familiar with the wide range of expression open to late classical sculptors, and able to read this unique combination of typecast face and leonine hair, would have understood the point. To us, such an ambivalent response to the Greek world's new ringmaster marks the beginning of that process that the ancient commentators later understood all too well: Athens' gradual resignation of her leading role in Greek politics, her retreat into isolationism and into the great solace of her intellectual and cultural superiority.[25]

If the Akropolis head really is a copy, and from a statue dedicated after the Granikos (or later), then the contradictions multiply dramatically. For not only did Alexander "by common consent win the palm for bravery and was

22. Gauer 1968: 120–24, 142–43; Stewart 1990: 51, 78–79, 173, figs. 397–98. Wollheim 1987: 179 justly remarks that borrowing is never context-free but is always undertaken by the artist in reference to its context and always brings with it some portion, however small, of that context.

23. *Eth. Nic.* 6. 5, 1140b8.

24. Plut. *Mor.* 849A; cf. Lykourg. *Leokr.* 50.

25. See especially Diod. 16. 86 and 32. 4, with Polyb. 5. 10. 5; ps.-Demades *On the Twelve Years* 10; Paus. 1. 25. 3; cf. Stewart 1979: 36–37 and passim; Green 1990: 36, 147, 255, 565, 568.

regarded as the chief author of the victory" (Diod. 17. 21. 4), but now he was no mere boy wonder but king of Macedon and official *hēgemōn* of Greece.[26] In these circumstances, to choose not to erect a new statue but to copy one produced when he was crown prince was almost an insult. One recalls that when Philip was assassinated, the Athenians were restrained only with difficulty from passing a resolution congratulating his murderers, and a year later had to plead for the lives of their leading men before Alexander.[27] Familiarity breeds contempt: encountering this image of the immature Alexander daily in the Agora or on the Akropolis would certainly have reinforced the Athenians' persistent habit of both belittling him and underestimating Macedonian power. For these mistakes they were to pay dearly.

Against this background, the Dresden Alexander (fig. 9) is like a breath of fresh air. It has been almost universally ascribed to Lysippos, chiefly because it is clearly not Attic and seems quite revolutionary in character. Attempts to account for this difference by reassigning it to the period after 323 stumble on the fact that Lysippos's style was itself revolutionary.[28] Furthermore, as will appear, those youthful Alexanders that seem on stylistic grounds to belong to this later period are quite different in character. The Dresden copy is a fine piece of sculpture, carved with care and precision; that in Fulda is blander and smoother.

Meaning resides in the play of difference, and the gulf between these heads and the Akropolis-Erbach type is wide indeed. Nor can one find ready precedents in contemporary Peloponnesian sculpture, whose history at this time is quite well known from both originals and copies.[29] Its nearest relative is the Agias (fig. 8), erected at Delphi as part of a votive group of nine statues between 337 and 332 and almost certainly a copy of Lysippos's bronze Agias at Pharsalos.[30] Though the modeling of the Agias is slurred and watery, both heads are proportioned in the same way (built vertically) and display a similar relationship between flesh and bone. In addition, the placement of the features, the high cheekbones, the flat cheeks, the deep chin, and the detailing of the mouth and eyes are all closely comparable.

Yet while the sculptural vocabulary is similar, the syntax of the Alexander is subtly different, and the end result is much more arresting. Inclining his

26. On his valor at the Granikos see Diod. 17. 19. 6–21. 4; Arr. *Anab.* 1. 14. 7, 15. 6–8; Plut. *Alex.* 16. 7–11. As Bosworth 1980a: 48–49 establishes, *hēgemōn* was his official title, and Philip's before him.

27. Plut. *Phok.* 16–17; *Dem.* 22–23; Diod. 17. 3. 2 and 15. 1–5.

28. So, for example, Himmelmann 1989: 99, 102–5.

29. Stewart 1990: figs. 441–47, 550.

30. For the attribution and earlier bibliography see Moreno 1987a: 34–43; Ridgway 1990: 46–50, pls. 22–23 (skeptical, as ever); Stewart 1990: 187, figs. 551–53.

neck to his left shoulder just as Plutarch describes (T 10; cf. T 21), he raises his head and looks confidently out, scanning his surroundings. The firm-set lips and slightly raised eyes create an impression of inner strength and purpose, and the *anastolē* and cascading mane of leonine hair produce a kind of final cadence, first continuing to draw the eye upwards, and then allowing it to relax and wander slowly down again.

Set against the Akropolis-Erbach Alexander, this type demonstrates the power of Lysippos's phenomenal idealism with stunning clarity.[31] Here, the optic (visible) and ontological (supposed) properties of the subject now take precedence over the conventional. While the specificity of the modeling introduces a very distinctive individual (for this is no callow Athenian ephebe), the coordination of the features reveals his lionlike and virile character, and the attention to detail (*akribeia*) brings the whole composition to life. The subtle idealization and meticulous detailing function as persuasive devices, enhancing the power of the portrait while simultaneously convincing us of its mimetic truth. Elevating Alexander into a personal ideal, a unique individual whose compelling vision we are urged to follow, they also offer us that subtler pleasure "of learning and inferring, as we look at these images, what sort of man is portrayed" (Arist. *Poet.* 4. 5, 1448b15–17).

3. PROGENY

For reasons that are not entirely clear, the Lysippic tradition of youthful Alexander portraiture is thin and only reemerges in one or two studies evidently produced a considerable time after his death. This phenomenon will receive further attention in Chapter 9.4, so it can be left aside for the moment. The Attic tradition, on the other hand, is perpetuated in a series of monuments, two of which merit discussion here, because they may still fall within his lifetime.

The first is the Rondanini Alexander in Munich (figs. 10 and 12).[32] Formerly displayed in the Palazzo Rondanini in Rome, it owes its identification and (in good measure) its reputation to Winckelmann, who in 1767 judged it the only "real" Alexander then in existence. For two hundred years it was universally accepted as a secure portrait of the king, but in 1975 Schwarzen-

31. Stewart 1990: 186, 274–75; cf. Chapter 1.2.
32. For replicas and bibliography see Appendix 4.

berg declared it to be a classicizing work of the late Hellenistic period representing Achilles putting on his armor. Though some have accepted this revisionist opinion, it has been vigorously repudiated by others; lacking external evidence of any kind, both sides have been forced to argue from style alone.[33] No other replicas of the statue exist, though it may have helped to inspire the tradition that leads from the new Thasos head to Lysimachos's tetradrachms (figs. 96, 117). In addition, an Alexander-like character binding his sandal on a Hellenistic gem in the British Museum signed "Pheidias" (!) and the central figure, probably Meleager, on the Alsdorf relief in Chicago (fig. 15: part of a sarcophagus) have been suggested as versions.[34] There is universal agreement that the original was Attic: a glance at the Akropolis Alexander and the "Eubouleus" (figs. 5 and 13) will demonstrate why.

Now that Thorwaldsen's restorations showing the figure as an athlete anointing himself have been removed, his pose is clearer, though the motif as a whole remains a puzzle. In the statue's current state, only the right leg is not ancient, but the position of the right buttock and what remains of the upper thigh certify that it is more or less correctly placed. The optimum viewpoint is generally accepted to be the three-quarter one reproduced in figure 10; this was certainly true for the Roman copy, since at this angle one gets a full frontal view of the cuirass, as one would expect in Roman art. Since the Romans normally tended to deemphasize three-dimensionality, to flatten out their copies in order to adapt them to architectural surrounds (niches, walls, or colonnades), we may accept that this oblique viewpoint held good for the original too.

The composition has been variously reconstructed, with most votes going to Alexander stepping up into a chariot while gripping the reins, buckling on his right greave, or simply gazing out into space with (presumably) his forearms resting on his knee. As Adolf Furtwängler realized long ago, whichever theory one chooses, the two arms, being virtually parallel to each other, must have been engaged in the same task.[35]

Adherents of the chariot theory often like to see the statue as taken from Euphranor's "Alexandrum et Philippum in quadrigis" (T 100; S 9), though the technical difficulties inherent in reproducing a chariot group in marble are

33. Pro-Schwarzenberg: Ridgway 1990: 115–16; anti-: Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 374–75; Himmelmann 1989: 99.

34. Pheidias gem, BM 1179: Furtwängler 1900: 163, pl. 34. 18; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos . . . in the British Museum* (London, 1926), no. 1179; Zazoff 1983: 206, n. 76, pl. 53. 3; M.-L. Vollenweider, in Chamay 1987: 129, pl. 29. 84. Alsdorf relief (supposedly from Antioch): see Appendix 6.

35. Cf. Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 370.

daunting indeed, and hardly any such copies are known. In addition, if he were actually stepping up into the car and grasping the reins, his arms should be almost horizontal.[36] The second theory, that he is buckling on his armor, is suggested by the support—a cuirass and military cloak—and further endorsed by a tradition of depicting Achilles in this very pose. This could, of course, suggest that the statue represented Achilles himself, not Alexander.[37] Yet the cuirass was a favorite decorative motif among the Roman copyists (who tended to use it without regard for context), and the images of Achilles arming himself are few and virtually restricted to Attic vase painting of the mid-sixth century.[38] Furthermore, his head is raised, not lowered to concentrate on the job, and his arms should be lower if his hands were indeed fastening the back of his greave.

This thrusts Achilles back into the shadows and leaves only the step-up or "Jason" pose with one or both forearms crossing the thigh. Known from contemporary Apulian vase paintings depicting funerary statues of heroized youths (fig. 11), this pose was a favorite of later strongmen in both the Hellenistic world and Rome.[39] It is essentially static and inactive, which could explain why the sculptor has taken great care to enliven his figure by flexing the left leg, twisting the torso, dropping the left shoulder, and turning the head. To use the terminology introduced above, though the statue radiates "power over" (*archē*) as Alexander surveys his subjects, it is also charged with latent "power to" (*dynamis*): this is no self-satisfied monarch of all he surveys, but an active, dynamic ruler looking out towards the future.[40]

So although the Rondanini type is often placed before the invasion of Asia, this is unlikely to be right. Other factors, too, indicate that its youthful demeanor is not biographical, but an idealization. The heavy facial proportions and powerful modeling take it far beyond the compact oval and understated musculature of the Akropolis-Erbach type. Together with the rich, voluminous hair, they are best paralleled on heads from the very latest of the

36. See Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 371–72 and Palagia 1980: 47 for a history and spirited defense of the charioteer theory. Yet neither of them sees fit to discuss the *comparanda*: see la Rocca 1987 for a good selection, including the Esquiline charioteer and others in Attic vase painting and on the Lokrian plaques.

37. Schwarzenberg 1975; Palagia 1980: 46–47 adds that the plinth is also "in the shape of a shield": the last vestige of the pre-Thorwaldsen restoration, this has now been removed.

38. *LIMC*, q.v., nos. 187, 196, 202, 906 (?), with Furtwängler 1900: pl. 27. 26 (the sole later example known to me, not certainly Achilles).

39. References and illustrations, Himmelmann 1989: 99, fig. 50, pl. 13; cf. Stewart 1990: fig. 625.

40. A citation, perhaps, from the fourth-century iconography of heroes like Herakles: see Stewart 1990: 184–85, figs. 548–49.

Attic grave reliefs and related works (fig. 14). Since the gravestones were banned in 317, it is likely that the Rondanini type either was created at the very end of Alexander's life or is posthumous, in which case its youthfulness would be an index of divinely sanctioned rejuvenation.[41]

To reconstruct the pose in this way also brings the Rondanini statue closer to the hero at the center of the Alsdorf relief (fig. 15). Yet this man has a cloak draped across his buttocks, his left arm is by his side, his torso is slightly more erect, his head is turned to his left and was perhaps supported in the palm of his right hand, and his coiffure is different, with a prominent symmetrical *anastolē*. Some or all of these variations could be due to the sculptor of the relief, an Athenian working towards the middle of the third century A.D.; paraphrasing classical statues was common practice in these workshops.[42] Alternatively, his figure might echo another original entirely.

The most optimistic assessment of the relief would classify it as a reproduction of an entire fourth-century group representing "the glorification of Alexander."[43] The two corner figures would then be his ancestors Herakles and Thetis, and the standing men that flank him would be Hephaistion and another Companion. The tight, M-shaped composition and the fact that the men are not wearing normal Greek cloaks but long Macedonian ones could argue in favor of this interpretation. Unfortunately, though, most of these sarcophagus carvers were less scrupulous and more eclectic in their citations, so until further evidence emerges this reconstruction must remain in the realm of conjecture.

As remarked above, critics of the connection between the Alsdorf hero and the Rondanini statue have rightly pointed to the considerable differences in detail between the two. Fortunately, there is another monument much closer to the figure on the relief, the Alexander head in Malibu (color pl. 2; figs. 16, 146–49). Its poise, facial features, and coiffure are all but identical with those of the Alsdorf "Meleager."

The Getty Alexander is among a collection of thirty-two fragments acquired between 1972 and 1988 (figs. 146–211). They are reported to have come from Megara, and a full catalogue of them is given in Appendix 5. Since they were not found in a controlled excavation, the obvious question is whether they belong together. On the positive side, most of them look late fourth-century in style, and two wear Macedonian jewelry. Some, too, share the same technical features and damage patterns: identical jointing techniques

41. So Himmelmann 1989: 95.
42. Koch 1978: 130–35; Koch and Sichtermann 1982: 402, 458.
43. Vermeule 1971: 176.

on six of the limb fragments, brutal recutting of the hair of four of the heads, and destruction of their noses, mouths, and chins by repeated hammer blows from above. All in all, they look like debris from a limekiln.[44]

On the negative side, one is not entitled to assume that debris of this kind comes from a single group rather than from several statues or groups that happened to be in a single location—a sanctuary, an agora, or whatever—when the vandals came along. One of the heads (no. 32; fig. 208) is certainly late, and isotopic analysis of the rest of the fragments indicates that their marble comes from three quite distinct areas, Attica, Paros, and Asia Minor. Among these, the Asian samples are from quarries (Usak or Aphrodisias) that are normally considered to be Roman in date. For these reasons, I will consider the Alexander head alone in this chapter, and the complete set of fragments in Chapter 7.3.

The Alexander (fig. 16) must be about contemporary with the original of the Rondanini statue. It too corresponds quite closely to the last stage of development of the grave reliefs: together, the Aristonautes, a head in the Museo Barracco, and a head in Athens ascribed by Jiri Frel to his "Budapest Sculptor" (fig. 18) provide the closest parallels.[45] Their equivalents in free-standing sculpture are the "Eubouleus" (figs. 13, 20) and the "Ariadne" from the south slope of the Akropolis.[46] Though all of them display, to a greater or lesser extent, the same powerful, "open" structure, nervous surface handling, and tight-stretched, quivering flesh surfaces as the Alexander, the Budapest head is the closest. It differs only in the greater asymmetry of the features (for it comes from a high relief) and much coarser modeling. One is tempted to

44. Nos. 7 and 9 wear Macedonian bracelets; the same carver has been at work on nos. 7, 9, and 11; nos. 5, 6, 9, 18, 19, and 22 were jointed with rectangular dowels of more or less uniform size, set into holes around 6 cm deep cut into joining surfaces already picked with the point; the reworked heads are nos. 1–4; the left shin, no. 14, shows traces of burning.

45. Aristonautes, Athens NM 738: Diepolder 1931: pl. 50; Stewart 1990: fig. 585; for the head alone, see *AJA* 82 (1978): 311, fig. 18. Barracco head: Himmelmann 1989: 93, fig. 33. Head, Athens NM 187: Frel 1969: 50, no. 359, pl. 50.

46. The "Eubouleus," known in nine examples, is sometimes identified as an Alexander (Harrison 1960: 382–89, followed by Bieber 1964: 26), but without good cause. Though it does wear a narrow fillet, its bloated face and ice-tong forehead locks indicate a quite different subject; the large number of replicas, of which two are from Eleusis and one from the Akropolis, also tell against Alexander. For a succinct summary of the problem see Ridgway 1990: 117; cf. Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 375–78, with Schwarz 1975, 1980, and 1987 for more wide-ranging studies. In my view, G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik* (Munich, 1950): 241 may have been right in suggesting that the bust from the Ploutonion at Eleusis, Athens NM 181 (figs. 13, 20) was a contemporary adaptation of Praxiteles' Iakchos in Athens, and Schwarz and others are certainly right in supposing that it was cut down to a bust in Roman times, for the hair is recut in exactly the same way as the Getty Alexander. Perhaps it was damaged during the Kostovokian sack of A.D. 170. "Ariadne," Athens NM 182: Pochmarski 1975: pls. 52–58; Ridgway 1990: 332, pl. 172.

ascribe it to the same workshop, engaged in the more humdrum production of gravestones for a buyers' market.

Like the Akropolis Alexander, the Getty head also echoes an Attic ephebe type, but one that is animated, full-featured, and extroverted and so is found less on gravestones than on votive sculpture: mostly, on the Parthenon frieze (fig. 17).[47] Unlike the Akropolis Alexander, this one looks out towards the horizon, his face full of an emotion that any Greek would instantly recognize as *pothos* or "yearning." The Attic grave reliefs, while not offering much assistance with the type, furnish numerous examples of figures with similarly upturned heads and "melting," anguished gazes. They are the servants and family members who look up in *pothos* at their departed loved ones.[48]

To the Greeks, "limb-relaxing" Pothos was the third brother to Eros and Himeros, and he was represented thus at Megara and Samothrace, probably in the 330s, by the sculptor Skopas.[49] The copies (fig. 19) show the familiar upward turn of the head, languid and soft, as on the gravestones, and often the emotion-filled, melting gaze as well.[50] A glance at the Getty Alexander will confirm both how much it owes to this already conventionalized *pothos* imagery and how problematic was the task of transforming this imagery to fit the king's unique and driving *pothos* for success (discussed in Chapter 3.3). The mouth, eyes, and poise of the Getty head are more vigorous, their coordination in an overall expression of strong, outward-directed emotion is more measured, and the mood is consequently more robust. But even so, it still recalls the kind of rendering the king censured (T 9) as inadequate to his virile demeanor and towering *aretē*. Since Alexander's *pothos* was very different from that of the average Athenian mourner, the sculptor's task was to adjust these denotative conventions for unsatisfied desire and embed them in the framework of his image in such a way as not to undermine the subject's unique charisma and limitless power. If he did not succeed, was it because he was a lesser artist than Lysippos, because his preliminary choices made his task all but impossible, or because he simply could not ignore the strong Athenian discourse of resistance to Alexander's power?[51]

47. Parthenon frieze: F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* (Mainz, 1977), pls. 9–10, 56 top left, 98–99, 128; Mausoleum frieze: Robertson 1975: pl. 145a; cf. also the white-ground lekythos, Robertson 1975: pl. 108b.

48. Diepolder 1931: pls. 31, 36. 1, 40, 45. 1, 47; Robertson 1975: pl. 124c; Stewart 1990: fig. 516. On *pothos* for the dead and missing see *Il.* 24. 5–12; *Od.* 11. 202; and Aisch. *Pers.* 62.

49. Paus. 1. 43. 6.

50. Stewart 1990: 184, fig. 546; doubts in Ridgway 1990: 87–88, pl. 53.

51. Cf. Hyp. *Epit.* passim; also Demades' quips in 323 that Alexander could not be dead, for the whole world would be stinking of his corpse, and that Macedon without Alexander would be like a Cyclops without its eye (Demetr. *Eloc.* 283–84).

These questions by no means exhaust the head's complexities: its uneasy union of an extroverted Parthenonian ephebe type and the iconography of *pothos* has still more to offer. By reenacting Alexander's personal drama of *pothos* continually satisfied and renewed, it immediately breaks the traditional bounds of Greek civic portraiture as established during the 150 years since the Persian Wars. Greek classic portraits like the Perikles and the Akropolis Alexander (color pl. 1; figs. 2, 5) defer to the civic constraints of the *polis* through their discreetly restrained postures, composed features, and compact, stable, and internally balanced modeling. These "role portraits" aim to strengthen the *polis* by demonstrating that the commemorated individual, however powerful or successful, respects its norms and subscribes to its egalitarian ethic. The Getty Alexander, on the other hand, turns the world into his own stage and projects his charisma to the very edges of the *oikoumenē*. Gazing at far horizons, he declares himself for what he is: a king unfettered by the norms and limitations of the *polis*.

Yet though this Alexander decisively rejects the constraints of civic decorum, it paradoxically does so by using traditional means. Here, the concept of the role portrait itself remains very much alive. The sculptor's choice of type aligns the king with the Athenian ideal of the dynamic, youthful citizen that was conceived during the fifth century, immortalized on the Parthenon (fig. 17), and perpetuated thereafter in both sculpture and literature, but it also presents him as these youths' miraculously rejuvenated and therefore (by implication) superhuman avatar. The spectator is encouraged to see him as the successor to those young Athenians whose energies Perikles harnessed, focusing them away from destructive internal competition within the *polis* and towards the aggrandizement of Athenian power and the extension of the Athenian *archē*. According to Thucydides 6. 24. 3, "*pothos* for far-off sights and scenes" was one of the prime factors motivating the sons of those ephebes of the Parthenon frieze to make their bid for far-flung empire in Sicily. And like Alexander, they stopped at nothing:

> They are bold beyond their strength, venturesome beyond their better judgment, and still, in the midst of danger, remain confident. . . . If victorious over their enemies, they pursue their advantage to the utmost . . . , using their bodies in the service of their city like the bodies of other men, but their minds as if they were wholly their own, to accomplish anything on her behalf. And whenever . . . they go after a thing and obtain it, they consider that they have accomplished but little in comparison with what the future holds in store for them. . . . For with them it is the same thing to hope for and to attain when once they conceive a plan, for the reason that they swiftly undertake whatever they determine upon. . . . In this way they toil with hardships and dangers all

their lives long, and least of all men do they enjoy what they have because they are always seeking more. (Thucydides 1. 70. 3–8)[52]

Alexander succeeded where these Athenians failed. At Syracuse their *pothos* for acquisition and adventure drove them to defeat and disaster, whereas his, tempered by brilliant and rational calculation,[53] led him to conquer the world. Stepping into their shoes, he achieved more than they had ever dreamed of. Athenians like Isokrates and Speusippos had encouraged Philip to turn east again and lead a Panhellenic crusade against Persia, and Athenian sculptors like Leochares and Euphranor had immortalized his and Alexander's triumphs in chryselephantine and bronze (S 7, 9).[54] After Philip's death, some Attic politicians—Aischines, Demades, and their supporters—transferred their support to Alexander, and Leochares continued to work for him (S 13). The Getty Alexander, Athenian-carved in a mode that quite explicitly portrays him as heir to Athens' imperial aspirations, betrays a sculptor either sympathetic to this faction or at least prepared (for suitable reward) to fall in with its ideas. And of course, just as Athens itself was of two minds, so were the other mainland states. Sikyon, for instance, ruled alternately by anti-Macedonians and a pro-Macedonian tyranny,[55] produced Alexander's court sculptor, Lysippos.

As for the Megarians, they responded by awarding Alexander their citizenship. At first he refused it, but, learning that he was the first to be so honored since Herakles, he was duly impressed and contrite.[56] In 323, they stayed out of the Lamian War, but they were rewarded by Kassandros making their city a Macedonian base in 315.[57] Though the context of the Getty Alexander will probably always remain a mystery, one cannot help wondering whether, if it truly did stand in Megara, anyone noticed the

52. This speech is put into the mouths of the Corinthians, reiterated by the Athenians in the same debate (1. 74–75), and, perhaps most importantly, stressed continually by Perikles in his three speeches: 1. 144. 4; 2. 39. 4, 40. 3, 41. 4, 43. 1; 2. 62. 5. See Stewart 1985: 53–73; Stewart 1990: 165–66.

53. See Kraft 1972; Engels 1978; on Alexander's own daring see, for example, Arr. *Anab.* 7. 28. 3.

54. Isok. *To Philip* (5) 128–31, 144–48, 154; cf. *Paneg.* (4) 71–72, 85–99; *Letter to Philip* (3); Speusippos *Letter to Philip* (*EpSocr* 30 = A. Mullach, *Fragmenta philosophorum Graecorum*, vol. 3 [Paris, 1881], 83, frag. 187); Markle 1976.

55. *RE*, s.v., col. 2540.

56. Plut. *Mor.* 826C. In *ZPE* 66 (1986): 165–77, B. M. Kingsley argued that the gift was bestowed in thanks for Alexander's grain benefaction of ca. 331, recorded in a Cyrenaican inscription, *SEG* 9 (1954): no. 2, lines 14, 36; cf. P. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*, BCH Supplement 12 (Paris, 1985), 44.

57. *RE*, s.v. "Megara," cols. 314–15.

supreme irony that it cast the king in the mold of the city's most bitter enemies from the age of Perikles.

4. KING AND *POLIS*

If one accepts the dates proposed above for the Akropolis and Getty Alexanders, it will be evident that both sought to reinscribe the king within the *polis* system precisely when Philip and he had humiliated its leading cities and sharply curtailed their power of action. In 338 Philip not only defeated the Athenians and Thebans but also coerced them and all the other Greek states except Sparta into the League of Corinth and installed himself as its "leader" (*hēgemōn*). In 335 Alexander destroyed Thebes and cowed the rest of the Greeks into submission. Ten years of relative quiescence followed in Greece, broken only briefly by Sparta's revolt in 331, its crushing defeat by Antipatros a year later, and its forced entry into the League shortly thereafter. In 324, however, Alexander moved again. Against the express provisions of the League's constitution he compelled the cities to readmit their exiles, nearly went to war with Athens over his renegade treasurer, Harpalos, and apparently requested divine honors for himself. When the news of his death arrived in the late summer of 323, the Greeks exploded in open revolt, only to be brutally crushed by Antipatros the following year. By 317 Athens had seen its citizenship rolls slashed in half, had suffered coup and countercoup, and had been forced to accept the dictatorship of a Macedonian puppet. The orator Lykourgos was right: Greek freedom had been buried with the dead of Chaironeia.[58]

Whereas the Rondanini Alexander (fig. 10) unabashedly celebrates the king's *archē* and *dynamis*, the Akropolis and Getty portraits (figs. 5, 16) seek to reclaim him for *polis* society by presenting him as a typical or ideal manifestation of that society's paradigm, the ephebe: man at the apex of his life on earth. We have seen the tensions that this approach tries to mask, the conflicts that it generates. If these heads owe their existence to Macedonian domination, they also owe much of their form to Greek resistance to that domination—a resistance that is inscribed in them as power's irreducible opposite. They are part and parcel of the discourse of power in this troubled age, for

58. *Leokr.* 50.

though discourse "produces and transmits power, reinforces it, it also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it."[59]

In these two heads we see an attempt to sanitize Alexander's power in order to make it tolerable to a resistant Greece; but by that same token they also represent, in classic fashion, "foci of resistance and starting-points for an opposing strategy."[60] Their reassuringly traditional mode would have appealed to the naive spectator, and the complex discourse that they set up between past and present, and between Greece and Macedon, would not have been lost on the discerning critic. If power is tolerable only on condition that it mask a substantial part of itself, and its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms,[61] then the converse is also true, that a mask is always a mask, and so will always be vulnerable to the probing eye.

59. Foucault 1978: 101.
60. Foucault 1978: 101.
61. Foucault 1978: 86.

5

CHARGES TO REMEMBER

1. IN MEMORIAM

In the early spring of 334 Alexander invaded Asia, and in May he won his first great victory over the Persians, at the river Granikos. Characteristically, he immediately took steps to make sure the significance of his triumph was properly appreciated at home. He commissioned Lysippos to make bronzes of those who had fallen in the initial charge, for dedication at the Macedonian national sanctuary of Zeus at Dion, below Mount Olympos, and sent three hundred captured Persian panoplies to Athens, for dedication to Athena on the Akropolis.[1] The Lysippic group stood at Dion for almost two hundred years, until in 146 the victorious Quintus Caecilius Metellus took it to Rome and rededicated it within his new Porticus Metelli, which enclosed an older temple to Juno Regina and his new marble one to Jupiter Stator (T 103–7).

After a relatively long period of scholarly neglect, this group (S 12) has recently attracted considerable attention. Until 1968, debate had centered upon whether a bronze horse from Trastevere was an original from it, and whether a superb equestrian statuette of Alexander from Herculaneum (fig. 21) was copied from it. A subsidiary argument centered on Pliny's remark that all the Companions were represented "with the utmost likeness" (*summa . . . similitudine*: T 81): how was this possible if they were already dead and buried? In that year, however, H. B. Siedentopf proposed that a collection of fragmentary marble horses and riders from Lanuvium, now in Leeds and London, were copies of it too (fig. 24). His idea received a mixed reception, and subsequent suggestions that horsemen on reliefs and frescoes in lo-

1. Plut. *Alex*. 16. 18; Arr. *Anab*. 1. 16. 7; cf. Chapter 4. 2.

Source	*Cavalry Dead*	*Infantry Dead*	*Total*	*Statues*
Aristoboulos (T 103)	(25)	9	34	All
Arrian (T 106)	ca. 25; 60+ after	ca. 30 total	(115+)	25 cavalry
Justin (T 107)	120 (CXX)	9	(129)	All
[—Justin emended	25 (VXX)	9	34	All—]
PHamb. 652	[?]	[?]	3[0–39]	
Pliny (T 105)				*Turma*
Plutarch (T 103)	(25)	9	34	All
Velleius (T 104)				*Turma*: cavalry

cations as diverse as Taranto (fig. 88) and Alexandria were also indebted to it have only complicated matters further.[2]

Predictably, recent opinion is completely polarized. On the one hand, a monograph by Giuliana Calcani published in 1989 judiciously reviews the entire problem, adds yet more possible versions, and boldly proposes that the vanquished were also represented, acting as supports for the horses.[3] On the other, Ridgway skeptically wonders whether the Herculaneum statuette is an Alexander at all, since the same site has also produced both a second, riderless horse and a riding Amazon of the same scale and related style (figs. 22–23).[4] Yet all this activity has inevitably tended to deflect attention from other very real issues that arise from the incomplete state of the sources and from the group's very novelty but that are nevertheless fundamental to its interpretation.

First, exactly who was represented? The sources disagree, and their disagreements are perhaps best represented in tabular form (see the table above). Although modern scholarship, following Arrian and Velleius, generally agrees that Alexander commissioned images of the twenty-five cavalry only, this ignores the explicit statement of Plutarch (T 103: quoting Aristoboulos) that the nine infantry who fell in the first assault were represented too.[5] Furthermore, Arrian had never seen the group (he thought that they were still at Dion), and one brigade of infantry was indeed assigned to the

2. Lanuvium marbles: Woodward 1914, 1929; von Roques de Maumont 1958: 42–46; Siedentopf 1968: 72–73; Gualandi 1980; Coarelli 1981; Moreno 1987a: 84–90; Calcani 1989: 36, 38–41, 78–80 (with full bibliography); Ridgway 1990: 120–21.

3. Calcani 1989; review of the scholarship on pp. 31–42.

4. Ridgway 1990: 119–21. For bibliography to these statuettes see Appendix 4.

5. Most art historians ignore the discrepancy, Pollitt 1986: 43 being the honorable exception; Hamilton 1969: 42 and Hammond 1980b: 87 agree in ascribing it to Plutarch's carelessness, and Bosworth 1980a: 125, while admitting that "there is no problem with the infantry," nevertheless concludes that "Arrian . . . is doubtless correct in limiting the statue-group to the first casualties."

vanguard: they were the elite hypaspists armed with the long pike, the *sarissa*.

Arrian preserves the Macedonian order of battle.[6] Sokrates' squadron of Companions, numbering about two hundred, was detailed to lead the charge across the river; it was backed up by a mixed force comprising the hypaspists and two more cavalry units, the Lancers and the Paionians. The hypaspists covered the left flank of the assault and maintained its connection with the phalanx, which was stationed still farther to the left. The Lancers were in the center, and the Paionians to the right kept contact with Alexander and the rest of the Companion cavalry on the right flank.[7] Charging across the river and up the bank, these units were able to throw the mass of Persian cavalry into some confusion before being forced back by their losses. This maneuver was one of the riskiest that Alexander ever attempted, and it very nearly led to disaster. The vanguard was all but annihilated, but fortunately for him, their sacrifice opened the way for the main assault, and his eventual victory.

One reason for thinking that the infantry might have been represented is Arrian's own casualty list, which reveals that the nine foot soldiers who fell were not the total infantry casualties but only those who died in the first shock. Since the hypaspists were continuously engaged from the moment they charged across the river, and the phalanx immediately followed on, one wonders where the historians got this figure of nine. Did it come from Lysippos's group, which surely provided the figure of twenty-five for the cavalry? Yet Velleius, who certainly seems to be giving an eyewitness account of the group, explicitly calls it a cavalry squadron (*turma statuarum equestrium*: T 104). If the nine hypaspists were represented, did Metellus leave them at Dion, were they taken to Rome but removed in Augustus's restoration of the Metellan precinct,[8] or did the cavalry overshadow them to such an extent that Velleius simply forgot them? Though I suspect that Lysippos did include them, none of these questions can be resolved on the evidence to hand.

Of course, if one takes Velleius's description to argue against the inclusion of the infantry, by the same token it also argues against the presence of defeated Persians under the horses.[9] The vanguard was facing cavalry, not infan-

6. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 14. 1–3, 6; Plut. *Alex.* 16. 3 telescopes the sequence of events, and Diod. 17. 19. 6 omits this opening action entirely; his utterly divergent account is dismissed by Hammond 1980b, but Bosworth 1988a: 40–44 is more cautious. Fortunately, these discrepancies over the later course of the battle have no bearing on the Lysippic group.

7. See the plan included by Hammond 1980b: 83, fig. 3; on the problem of the Lancers (*προδρόμοι*) see Bosworth 1988a: 262–63. Green's provocatively revisionist account of the battle has now been withdrawn: Green (1974)1991: xiv; cf. 489–512.

8. Restoration: Vitr. 1. 1. 2; Suet. *Aug.* 29; Vell. 1. 11. 3; Pliny *HN* 34. 31; summary: Calcani 1989: 26–27.

9. So Calcani 1989: 129–47.

try, and had Lysippos included the Persian dead and injured, one would expect Velleius or Pliny to have used the standard term for such compositions, a *proelium equestre* or "cavalry battle,"[10] but neither does so. In fact, the vanguard was driven back by showers of arrows and javelins before it could penetrate the Persian ranks; Persian losses in this first phase of the assault were minimal to nonexistent.[11]

Velleius is also our only authority for Alexander's inclusion in the group. He speaks of the squadron as "Alexander's" and tells us that Lysippos "inserted" (*interponeret*) Alexander among them. This complicates matters even more, for Alexander actually joined the vanguard only as its remnants were falling back towards the river: indeed, *interponeret* could even suggest that Velleius knew this.[12] So what narrative moment did Lysippos represent? If it were the charge proper, then Alexander's presence was an anachronism; if the retreat, then the twenty-four Companions were already dead, and in any case, retreats are hardly the stuff of which victory monuments are made.

There are precedents in Greek art for a "synoptic" mode of narration, which brings together different moments of action, and tampering with time by showing Alexander at the head of the charge would not have run counter to Lysippos's overall strategy of "phenomenal idealism"—of manipulating form for persuasive ends while creating the illusion of reality through utmost attention to detail.[13] As Velleius remarks in the same sentence, the portraits of all the Companions were, or at least appeared to be, realistic. No one in Macedonia would object to adjustments of this kind, for those who knew the truth were still in Asia, and everyone was aware of the king's bravery, even foolhardiness, in battle. This is how myths are born. Indeed, the tradition in Diodoros and Plutarch that Alexander opened the battle by personally leading the headlong cavalry charge across the river must have started somewhere. Could it too have begun at Dion?[14]

What kind of portraits did Lysippos make? Velleius gives the clue by telling us that he produced a "likeness" (*similitudo*) of each Companion, and Pliny is even more emphatic, saying that the portraits were done with "utmost likeness" (*summa similitudine*: T 104–5). As mentioned above, debate has raged as to how explicit these "likenesses" were or could have been consid-

10. E.g., Pliny *HN* 34. 66 (Euthykrates), 35. 129 (Euphranor).

11. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 15. 1–2.

12. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 15. 3; von Roques de Maumont 1958: 24 thought the Alexander was a Roman interpolation.

13. On "synoptic" narration see most recently Stewart 1990: 79; on Lysippos's "phenomenal idealism," see Chapter 1.2, above.

14. Diod. 17. 19. 6; Plut. *Alex.* 16. 3–6; normally thought to be derived from Kleitarchos, whose home city is unknown; cf. Pearson 1960: 226 n. 56 for the view that it was Kolophon, in Asia Minor.

ering that the subjects were all in their graves.[15] Herein lies the clue: these remarks have nothing to do with physiognomic accuracy but simply represent Roman responses to difference. The Companions' faces were no doubt particularized by judicious detailing, to the point where they could be *taken for* individual portraits—though the sculptor's task was surely made easier by the fact that, as on the Alexander Sarcophagus (fig. 102), helmets would have covered their cheeks and foreheads. The "realism" was generic, not specific, and served two complementary purposes: to distinguish the Companions from each other and to single out Alexander, who was surely represented in idealized form, perhaps with his helmet pushed back or even omitted, as on the Alexander Mosaic and his statue as founder of Alexandria (T 126; color pl. 5; fig. 52).[16] The monument was just as much an affirmation of his charisma and dashing leadership as a memorial to the bravery of the fallen.

Unfortunately, no heads are preserved among the suggested replicas of the Companions from Lanuvium (fig. 24). Filippo Coarelli has made a good circumstantial case for the Granikos monument as their source of inspiration and has suggested that they were dedicated to celebrate the victories of Lucullus and Murena over Mithradates VI of Pontos in 74–73 (one of them near the Granikos). Yet since only horse fragments, torsos, and miscellaneous body parts remain, and these show some variation in style and some Romanization of trappings, armor, and dress, little more can be said.

The Herculaneum bronze (fig. 21) seems a better proposition, but here Alexander wears the diadem, which he only adopted in 330,[17] and is slashing downward with a sword at an opponent below him. His armor may also have been Romanized somewhat. Not only was the opposition probably not represented on the Granikos monument, as we have seen, but at this stage in the battle Alexander was using his spear (*doru*). Though it broke later on, he borrowed another from one of his Companions, only changing to a sword when this lance, too, was shattered in his desperate duel with Rhoisakes.[18] There is also the question of the Amazon, whose outsize scale and mannered drapery betray her as a Roman creation (fig. 23). Though the Alexander may well echo a Hellenistic original, could the pair be a Roman illustration of his alliance with Thalestris, the Amazon queen? Invented by Kleitarchos, the

15. Summary: Calcani 1989: 35, 36–38.

16. Thus Calcani 1989: 43–48; but he wore his helmet throughout the melee: Arr. *Anab.* 1. 15. 8; Plut. *Alex.* 16. 10; Diod. 17. 20. 6, 21. 2. On Lysippos and "likeness" see especially Quint. 12. 10. 9, where Lysippos is said to have had the "best" approach to truth, for unlike Demetrios he was not obsessed by it and so was not more fond of "likeness" than beauty. Commentary and literature: Stewart 1990: 238, 245–46, 293.

17. Bernoulli 1905: 101 was the first to notice this problem; most others ignore it. The Klagenfurt statuette, another candidate, is also diademed: Calcani 1989: 44, fig. 11.

18. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 15. 6; Plut. *Alex.* 16. 8; Diod. 17. 20. 4–5.

story was accepted by many Alexander historians, and according to the *Alexander Romance* she even gave him a squadron of one hundred of her warriors for a year.[19]

So what did the Granikos group look like? The Macedonian tomb paintings (fig. 100) and other monuments painstakingly collected by Calcani offer numerous examples of riders in armor, wielding spears either overarm or underarm. On the Alexander Sarcophagus, the Alexander Mosaic, the "Porus" coins, and the Sagalassos coin (color pl. 4; figs. 68–69, 102, and 112) the king uses the long cavalry *sarissa* (often called a *xyston*) in both of these ways.[20] As for the other Companions, no doubt their postures and weapon handling were as varied as on the Mosaic, whose left-hand side seems as good a model as any.

Most studies of the Granikos monument stop at this point, yet to do so is to be content with exploring only one part of its character as a memorial icon: its relationship to the event that it memorialized. Yet it was both embedded in a particular context of time, space, and action and designed to be seen and thought about for generations. One must not forget the activity of memorialization that took place between it and its viewers, and between those viewers and their lives in the light of this memorialized past.[21]

As far as concerns its immediate public, it was accompanied by an exemption of the parents and children of the fallen from all taxes and obligations, and it doubled both as a votive to Zeus and as a memorial (*mnēma* or *mnēmeion*).[22] It was also immensely expensive: Justin (T 107) even remarks upon its enormous cost. In the early Hellenistic period, bronze portraits normally cost 3,000 drachmas or half a talent, a price apparently based on the weight of metal used. Since a horse requires about four times as much metal as a man, Alexander's outlay per figure would have been about 15,000 drachmas or 2.5 talents. The total cost for twenty-six horsemen would thus have been 390,000 drachmas or 65 talents, plus another 27,000 drachmas or 4.5 talents if the commission included the infantry. To put this in perspective, we know from Aristoboulos that the king's entire war chest on landing in Asia was exactly 70 talents.[23]

19. Amazons: Plut. *Alex.* 46 (discussion of sources); Diod. 17. 77. 1–3; Curt. 6. 5. 24–32; Just. *Epit.* 12. 3. 5–7; ps.-Kallisthenes 3. 25–27. As Ridgway 1990: 121 points out, the ship's rudders that support both the riderless horse and Alexander's could well be restorations and therefore are no evidence for an allusion to the river Granikos (so Johnson [1927]1968: 225)—which, in any case, was and still is too shallow to be navigable.

20. Calcani 1989: figs. 10–11, 13, 36, 59, 60, 74–75, 76–77, 78–85, 86–92; cf. Markle 1982; Bosworth 1988a: 262–63.

21. Paraphrasing Young 1989: 71.

22. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 16. 4–5.

23. Plut. *Mor.* 327E, 342D; *Alex.* 15. 2 (*FGH* 139 F 4); cf. Arr. *Anab.* 7. 9. 6; Curt. 10. 2. 24.

So this dedication was clearly no frivolous gesture but a lavish and carefully crafted act of policy. Alexander chose Dion because this was the Macedonian national sanctuary, the site of the Macedonians' own Olympic festival to Zeus Hypsistos, and the army's central shrine. It was also an important burial ground, though there is as yet no evidence to suggest that it was the nation's equivalent of Arlington National Cemetery. Alexander had held a lavish nine-day festival there for the Companions and others before his departure.[24] He chose Lysippos to execute the monument not merely because of his superior artistic gifts but because his improved production techniques apparently used less metal than before and enabled him to get the job done more quickly than anyone else.[25]

Alexander's intent was evidently to send a message to the home front not only that he had scored a decisive victory and that the vanguard had won honor and glory for themselves and Macedon, but also that he cared deeply about his men and their families. Taking his cue from the single riders often represented on Northern Greek tomb monuments,[26] Lysippos produced a memorial that anticipated any possible criticism of the war and its inexorably mounting casualty list by valorizing the suffering of the troops and their families and by mobilizing Zeus as the entire enterprise's patron. To this end, he explicitly traded on "the shock of the new": in size and subject matter his group was unlike any victor monument previously seen in Greece.

Whereas previous victory dedications had mythologized the event, allegorized it by means of a Nike or similar figure, or (more rarely) represented either the battle itself, the victors, or the captives, Lysippos now refocused the whole genre on the glorious dead.[27] By thus openly recognizing the honor (*timē*) won by the vanguard, he gave them the equivalent in bronze of the glory (*kleos*) conferred on dead heroes by the poets, who also recalled traditional heroic icons and formulas for the same reason and to the same effect. As Alexander himself observed on separate occasions, the difference was that Lysippos was adequate to the task, whereas Choirilos and his "chorus of flatterers" were not.[28]

This estimate of the monument's cost is based on Greek and Roman evidence for calculating costs of metal statuary by "poundage": see Stewart 1990: 66–67.

24. Dion and the army: Borza 1990: 167, 173–74; Calcani 1989: 19 (but with incorrect references to Justin and Athenaios). Festival: Diod. 17. 16. 3–4; Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 1.

25. This assertion is based on his extraordinarily prolific output (Pliny *HN* 34. 37, 61; and T 113) and the shortcuts taken by the author of the Getty bronze: see Stewart 1990: 39, 291 for the evidence.

26. See, for example, Calcani 1989: 94, fig. 49; 134, fig. 79.

27. For examples see Stewart 1990: 47–49, 51–53, and on Lysippos's genre mixing in general, p. 189.

28. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 12. 2; Plut. *Mor.* 65C, etc., with T 51, 53, 119, 121, 123: see Chapter 1. 1.

On one level, then, the Granikos monument matched Alexander's ostentatious care for the wounded (he visited them, examined their wounds, and allowed them to boast of their exploits, to sing their own *kleos*),[29] and for the families of the dead. Yet on another level, it stridently proclaimed his irresistible "power to" and his qualifications to lead: in Greek terms, his *aretē* and *dynamis*, not his *tychē*. By emphasizing his success and the solidarity between him and the army upon which this success was based, it sought to justify his inordinately foolhardy risk taking.[30] Looking to the future, it both fortified and inspired the home front, boosting the morale of noncombatants and of those tens of thousands who were waiting to serve.[31] And finally, it was complemented in Greece by the three hundred panoplies sent to Athena at Athens. Avenging the Persian sack of 480 and taunting the Spartans for their intransigence, these were inscribed "Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks, except the Spartans, from the barbarians living in Asia" (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 16. 7). He commissioned no statues to stir the hearts of his southern allies: their role was simply to make no trouble.

The Granikos monument announced, then, that together the king and his army were invincible. No wonder that it became a "place of memory" for the Macedonians; no wonder that its arresting image of Alexander heroically leading his Companions into battle so captured the imaginations of the historians that the "official" account was all but forgotten;[32] and no wonder that in 146 Metellus lost no time in taking it to Rome.

2. THE ALEXANDER MOSAIC: A READING

Since its discovery in 1831, the Alexander Mosaic (color pls. 4–6) has generated so many pages of print that to add to them seems presumptuous.[33] Yet

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On *timē* and *kleos* see Nagy 1979; King 1987: 10–11, 32–37, 45–49; and Svenbro 1988; and on praise and blame as the ultimate function of Greek sculpture, Stewart 1990: 53–55.

29. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 16. 5.

30. On the dangers of which for the campaign and for Macedon itself see Bosworth 1988a: 43; and cf. Diod. 17. 16. 1–2.

31. For the constant stream of reinforcements sent east see Engels 1978: 146–50 (appendix 5) and Bosworth 1988a: 266–68, and for the devastating effects on Macedonian society that resulted see Bosworth 1986.

32. "Places of Memory": Nora 1984–86. As remarked above, Diod. 17. 19. 6 and Plut. *Alex.* 16. 3–6 forget the vanguard and have Alexander personally leading the assault. I agree with Calcani 1989 that the monument probably generated many imitations—a considerable discourse of its own—including at least some of those illustrated in her book; but with the original lost, and exact replicas at present unidentified, one can go no farther.

33. For the bibliography see Appendix 4.

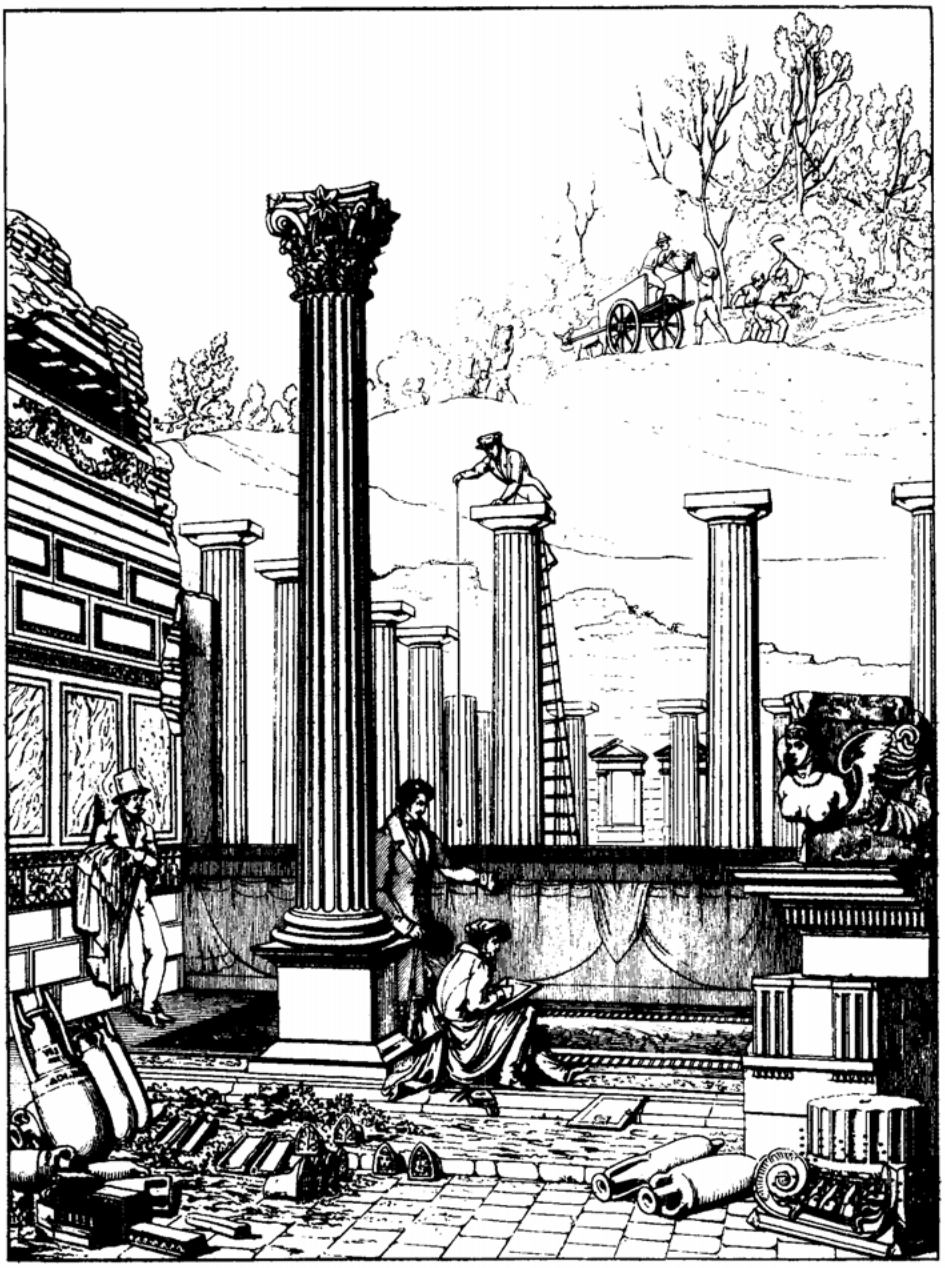
not only is its presence *de rigueur* in any study of Alexander's portraiture, but, as will appear, its riches are perhaps not yet mined to exhaustion.

The Mosaic was found at Pompeii in the House of the Faun, the residence of an old Oscan family there, the Satrii. Measuring 3.13 meters by 5.82 meters (just over 10 by 19 ft.), or 2.71 meters by 5.12 meters without its frame of dentils, it occupied most of the floor space of an exedra at the rear of the atrium and was probably made in the late second century B.C. Fronted by a Nilotic mosaic and entered via two columns *in antis*, the exedra was decorated with First Style imitation masonry embellished with trompe l'oeil drapery on its socle, and a figured frieze in stucco on the central section of the wall.[34] The Mosaic thus performed the function of a huge carpet and was correspondingly almost impossible to see all at once. It employs almost one million tesserae, laid in the *opus vermiculatum* (wormy) technique, so called because it imitates the wormlike brush strokes of painting. Badly damaged in the earthquake of A.D. 62, it was crudely repaired where possible and filled in with plaster where not, only to be buried for good in the eruption of A.D. 79.

First, a brief description. We are standing on a flat plain, with some scattered rocks in the foreground and a dead tree behind. Alexander charges in from the left at the head of his men, cutting through the Persian resistance as he goes. One Persian falls victim to his spear as his horse founders beneath him, covered in blood. But Alexander's real target is Darius, who stands high in his chariot, reaching out with a gesture of entreaty whose exact meaning will occupy us later on. Between him and us, an aide struggles to control the horse that always accompanied him in case his chariot were disabled. Meanwhile, his charioteer is intent on escape. He whips up his team, crushing two Persians under the hooves of the wildly plunging horses. Darius's Royal Guard cluster around the fleeing vehicle, thrown into chaos by their king's sudden flight. Some look over their shoulders at a hedge of spears in the background: are they Persian or Macedonian? Do they signal rescue or final disaster? We, and they, will see in a moment.

The Mosaic clearly copies a late fourth-century painting. Not only does it use a version of the four-color palette (black, white, yellow, and red) popular with classical painters from Polygnotos through Apelles, but recent discoveries in Macedonia, particularly the Hunt fresco from Tomb II at Vergina (the so-called Tomb of Philip: text fig. 11), offer numerous parallels for individual

34. Satrii: Fuhrmann 1931: 187–94. Exedra: Fuhrmann 1931: 127–28, pl. 1 (frontispiece); Laidlaw 1985: 172–207. Donderer 1990 reveals that a small piece of the Mosaic has turned up "elsewhere" (but does not care to reveal its location) and speculates that it may have been booty from the East.



1. The Alexander Exedra in the House of the Faun at Pompeii, drawing by A. Niccolini, 1831–32.

motifs.[35] The presence of Darius certifies the subject as either the battle of the Issos (333) or of Gaugamela (331)—not, as some would have it, a compendium of the two or (even less likely) of them and the Granikos as well.[36]

The original picture cannot have been painted long after the events it describes, for the Mosaic displays a rich and exact knowledge of Achaemenid *realia*, of details of dress, armor, and trappings, that would have faded relatively quickly after the conquest. It clearly anticipates an audience of cognoscenti. Its portrait of Alexander, too, shows none of the romanticism, rejuvenation, or quasi divinity of his posthumous portraits. Often cited in support of this early date are the king's reappearance chasing Darius in a chariot on some Apulian vases dated to the 320s and the reappearance of his dying opponent on the long battle frieze of the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus of around 320–310 (text figs. 4–5; figs. 25–27, 102). Unfortunately, as will appear, some of these scenes may have been invented independently. The painting's later renown is documented not only by the Mosaic itself, but by reproductions on Etruscan ash urns and Umbrian relief bowls of the second and first centuries B.C.; these have suggested to many that the painting was brought to Rome from Macedon either after 168 or after 148.[37]

The painter remains unknown, and all attempts at identification have encountered major difficulties.[38] According to the texts, Alexander's battles with the Persians were commemorated in two or perhaps three paintings (P 9, 10,

35. Technique: Cic. *Brut.* 18. 70; Pliny *HN* 35. 50; cf. Scheibler 1974; Gage 1981. Vergina: Andronikos 1984, with Pollitt 1986: 191–92, 212.

36. So, for example, Fuhrmann 1931: 170–71; Andreae 1977: 25–26; Pollitt 1986: 46; *contra*, most recently, Messerschmidt 1989: 84. It is often asserted that since the helmet on the ground below him could be his (its two side plumes correspond to Plutarch's description of his helmet at the Granikos, *Alex.* 16. 7), and since he lost this helmet at the Granikos, the artist could be referring to this incident. This theory rests on a misinterpretation of the texts. In fact, Rhoisakes or Spithridates only sheared off its crest and cracked it: Arr. *Anab.* 1. 15. 8; Diod. 17. 20. 6; Plut. *Mor.* 326F and *Alex.* 16. 10. Curt. 8. 1. 20, in a rhetorical context, cannot stand against these. The texts are silent on whether he lost it at the Issos or at Gaugamela, but one can never prove a negative case: Hölscher 1973: 129–30 surveys the options. Hölscher's work shows that whenever we have enough information to judge, monumental *Historienbilder* of the classical period turn out to be specific. When Greek art generalizes, it generalizes "up front" by explicitly mythicizing and/or heroicizing, often by including nude or seminude figures and generic weapons and armor, as in the Alexander Sarcophagus (fig. 102).

37. Sarcophagus: Chapter 10.1. Vases: Section 3, below. Italian reproductions: Andreae 1977: figs. 21, 23; Giuliani 1977: 27–28; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 45. Plunder: e.g., Fuhrmann 1931: 42–43, 199. I omit the Chigi shield illustrating Gaugamela (Fuhrmann 1931: 84–92, pl. 3; Sadurska 1964: 84–88, pls. 16–17; Moreno 1974: 47, no. 20, and 135–39, fig. 38; Calcani 1989: fig. 95) since this has nothing in common with the Mosaic and seems a purely Roman confection; cf. Moreno 1981: 187.

38. For the most thorough exposition of the possibilities see Fuhrmann 1931: 26–92; for the most succinct and sensible, Robertson 1975: 501–2.

14). Two of them are usually thought to have been posthumous. Pliny tells us that the first, Philoxenos of Eretria's picture of "Alexander's battle with Darius" (T 83; P 9), was painted for "King Cassander." Kassandros assumed the diadem only after 303, but scholars prefer to date the commission after he assumed the regency in 317. In addition, Philoxenos, though a disciple of the "four-color" painter Nikomachos, was famed for his speed and "shortcuts," which seem difficult to reconcile with the painstaking technique of the Mosaic. The second picture, of the Issos by Helen, daughter of Timon of Egypt (P 10), could have been painted under Kleomenes, Ptolemy, or even later: we have no means of telling. Though it was in Rome by Vespasian's day, the Romans' first plunder from Egypt arrived only in 30, a full century after our painting began to inspire the flurry of Italian imitations noted above. Finally, Aristeides of Thebes's hundred-figure Battle with the Persians (P 14) is even more enigmatic, for we do not know for sure whether it even featured Alexander: Pliny is interested only in its astronomical price.[39]

The Mosaic illustrates the battle of the Issos.[40] Although at both the Issos and Gaugamela Alexander broke through the Persian left wing at the head of a cavalry wedge, then wheeled inward to attack Darius but was cheated of his prey as the king fled (text figs. 2–3), the course of the action differed sufficiently in each case to enable one to decide which is represented here. A single bare tree and some rocks provide the setting, but at Gaugamela Darius cleared the field of all such obstructions to enable his chariots and cavalry to maneuver freely.[41] The tree is leafless, and the Persians are wrapped up against the cold, as befits a battle fought in November or early December, with the first snows about to fall: Gaugamela was fought on a scorching, dusty desert on October 1.[42]

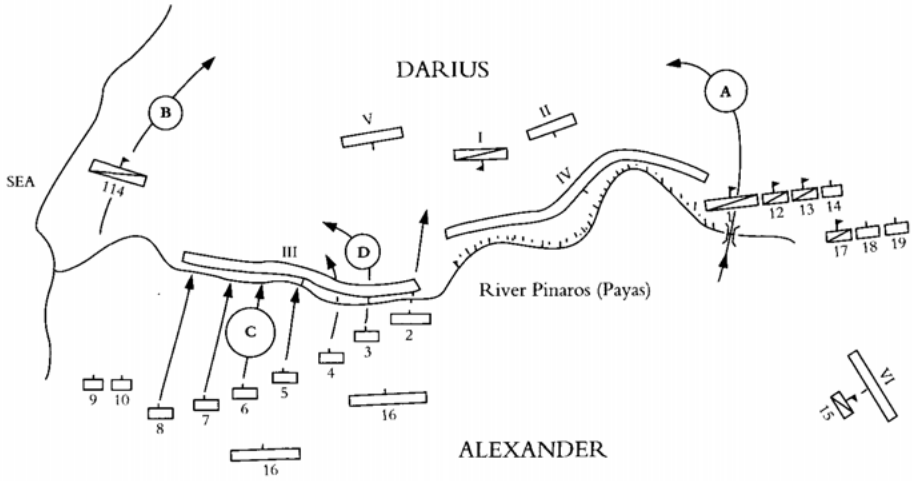
Alexander charges in from the left at the head of what seems to be a

39. But it was probably painted during or shortly after Alexander's lifetime, for Pliny *HN* 35. 74, 98, and 110 shows that Aristeides was a contemporary of Apelles, and his patron on this occasion, Mnason of Elateia, was a friend of Aristotle (Timaios, *FGH* 256 F 11a); on his dates see Fuhrmann 1931: 83–84.

40. So, unanimously, recent historians of the campaigns: Bosworth 1980a: 215; Hammond 1980a: 329; Bosworth 1988a: 61–62; and Devine (personal communication, 1984). Survey of art historians' views: Hölscher 1973: 145–51 (who opts, cautiously, for Gaugamela); Robertson 1975: 498 and Salviat 1988 decide for the Issos; Pollitt 1986: 46 for a compendium of all three. On the Issos and Gaugamela see especially Devine 1985, 1986, who reestablishes the "Vulgate" tradition's credibility, chiefly as transmitted through Curtius, but underestimates Darius's staying power and the ferocity and duration of the fighting around him. Salviat 1988 recognizes the similarities between the Mosaic and Curtius's account of the Issos (3. 11. 7–12) but then derives the original painting from Curtius's source, which he agrees is probably Kleitarchos.

41. Arr. *Anab.* 3. 8. 7; especially Curt. 4. 9. 10.

42. Issos: Arr. *Anab.* 2. 11. 10; cf. Curt. 3. 8. 8; on the clothing, Rumpf 1962: 232. Gaugamela: Curt. 4. 10. 1–7; Plut. *Alex.* 31. 8; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 7. 6. On the dates see Bosworth 1980a: 219, 287.



2. The Battle of Issos, November/December 333. Alexander's breakthrough, after a reconstruction by A. M. Devine.

THE MACEDONIAN ARMY

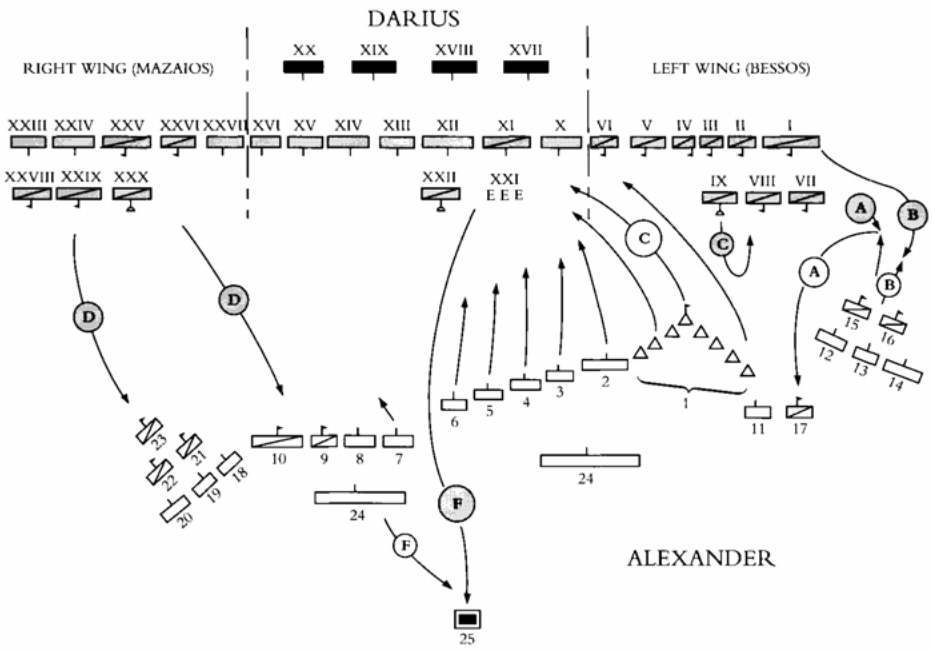
1. Alexander and Companion cavalry (commanded by Philotas)
2. Hypaspists
3–8. Phalanx (Foot Companions)
9–10. Cretan and Thracian auxiliaries
11. Thessalian cavalry
12–13. *Prodromoi* and Paionian cavalry
14. Macedonian archers
15. Detached cavalry
16. Greek mercenary infantry
17. Companion cavalry (2 squadrons)
18–19. Agrianians and Greek mercenaries.

THE PERSIAN ARMY

I. Darius and Royal Cavalry Guard
II. Royal Infantry Guard
III. Greek mercenary phalanx
IV. Persian infantry
V. Infantry levies
VI. Detached infantry

Manoeuvres:

A. Alexander breaks through the Persian left and advances toward Darius.
B. Thessalian cavalry rout and pursue Persian right-wing cavalry.
C. Macedonian phalanx advances against Darius's Greek mercenaries.
D. Phalanx battalions of Koinos and Perdikkas break through Darius's Greek mercenaries and wheel left to aid remaining battalions of phalanx.


DARIUS
RIGHT WING (MAZAIOS)
LEFT WING (BESSOS)
XX XIX XVIII XVII
XXIII XXIV XXV XXVI XXVII XVI XV XIV XIII XII XI X VI V IV III II I
XXVIII XXIX XXX XXII XXI EEE IX VIII VII
A B C D E F
ALEXANDER

3. The Battle of Gaugamela, October 1, 331, after a reconstruction by A. M. Devine.

THE MACEDONIAN ARMY

1. Alexander and Companion cavalry (Philotas)
2. Hypaspists
3–8. Phalanx (Foot Companions)
9–10. Greek and Thessalian cavalry
11–14. Agrianians, archers, and "old mercenary" infantry
15–18. *Prodromoi,* Paionian cavalry, and mercenary cavalry
18–20. Thracians, Cretans, and Achaians
21–23. Greek, Odrysian, and mercenary cavalry
24. Greek infantry
25. Thracian infantry, guarding the baggage

THE PERSIAN ARMY

I. Baktrian cavalry (Bessos)
II–VIII. Daha, Arachosian, Persian, Susian, Kadusian, Skythian, and Baktrian cavalry

The Persian Army (continued)

IX. Scythe-chariots
X, XIII. Greek mercenary infantry
XI–XII. Darius and Kinsmen cavalry; "Apple-bearers"
XIV–XX. Indian, Karian, Mardian, Uxian, Babylonian, "Red Sea" (tribal), and Sitakenian infantry
XXI–XXII. Elephants, scythe-chariots
XXIII–XXIV. Syrian and Mesopotamian infantry (Mazaios); Median infantry
XXV. Parthian and Sacae horse-archers
XXVI. Tapurian and Hyrkanian cavalry
XXVII. Albanian and Sakesinian infantry
XXVIII–XXIX. Armenian and Kappadokian cavalry
XXX. Scythe-chariots

Manoeuvres:

A–A. Skythian and Baktrian cavalry attempt to envelop Alexander's right; Greek mercenary cavalry counterattack and are forced back.

B–B. *Prodromoi* and Paionians counterattack in support; main body of Baktrians attacks and is repulsed.

C–C. Scythe-chariots attack and are routed; Alexander attacks Darius, leading Companion cavalry in wedge-formation supported by hypaspists and several phalanx battalions.

D–D. Mazaios attacks the Macedonian left.

F–F. Persian cavalry attack Alexander's baggage; reserve Greek infantry turn and rout them.

relatively small group of Companions. Presumably this is the Royal Squadron, his personal bodyguard: the Macedonian in a gold-wreathed helmet just behind him would then be Philotas, their commander. At the Issos, the king and the Companions penetrated the Persian line alone, whereas at Gaugamela he took with him a huge force composed of all the Companions and most of the phalanx. Here, only one Macedonian fights on foot: his face is just visible behind Alexander's right elbow, and his *sarissa* can be seen above Boukephalas's left front fetlock. Yet he is no lone phalangite (an absurdity!), for he wears a Macedonian soft hat or *kausia*, not the metal helmet of the phalanx. He is therefore either a Companion who has lost his horse or a *hamippos* (cavalry aide) detailed to protect the king.[43] Alexander himself wields the long cavalry *sarissa* or *xyston* and wears a Macedonian-style cuirass and sleeved chiton. Though the sources are silent on what he wore at the Issos, Plutarch describes his apparel at Gaugamela as a Sicilian tunic, an iron gorget, a two-ply linen jerkin, and a splendid purple cloak (T 29).[44] His horse is certainly Boukephalas, "Oxhead," whom he rode in both battles: like no other horse on the Mosaic, the inside of his ear is colored white to make it appear like an ox horn.[45]

The rest of the foreground is occupied by the enemy. Most are Persian, though two are Greek mercenaries in Persian pay whose units were stationed next to Darius's bodyguard in both battles. They are to be seen between Boukephalas and Alexander's victim and are recognizable by the hoplite shield one carries and the Corinthian helmet on the head of the other.[46] Other Persians are visible in the background, but only two actually bar Alexander's path to Darius: the one impaled by his *sarissa* and another, behind him, who draws his sword ready to strike. Now, at the Issos, Alexander took Darius completely by surprise. The Great King was saved only by the quick thinking of his brother Oxathres, who saw the Macedonians coming and interposed his cavalry squadron in the gap. This second Persian, who wears a distinguishing ribbon (*tiarodesmon*) around his turban, might be he.[47] Yet though Oxathres' squadron fought with extreme bravery, Alexander got so close that the dead, both cavalry and infantry, actually lay piled around the chariot itself, as in the

43. Markle 1982: 107–9; on the equipment of Macedonian phalangites see especially Messerschmidt 1989: 75–76.

44. On equipment and other details like this see especially Hölscher 1973: 127–45; he reconstructs the left side of the Mosaic on p. 136.

45. Plut. *Alex*. 32. 12; cf. Arr. *Anab*. 5. 19. 4–6, with Hamilton 1969: 15 for the correct explanation of the name, dismissing the tradition that he was black and had a white, ox-shaped blaze on the forehead. On Boukephalas and his legend see Anderson 1930.

46. Mercenaries: Hölscher 1973: 139–40.

47. Oxathres: Curt. 3. 11. 8; Diod. 17. 33. 5, 34. 2. *Tiarodesmon*: Polyainos 7. 11. 12; cf. Hölscher 1973: 139.

Mosaic; and when Alexander was wounded in the thigh, some even gave Darius the credit.[48]

At Gaugamela, the Persian king was better protected. Plutarch and others paint an awesome picture of the massed ranks of cavalry around him, and Alexander barely got within javelin-range. He did, however, manage to topple Darius's charioteer with a well-aimed shot, and then chaos set in. Darius himself seized the reins and turned the chariot to flee.[49] This is clearly not the situation depicted in the Mosaic, where the Persians barring the way are few, the charioteer is still alive, and Alexander carries no javelin. In both battles, however, the sources are confused as to whether Darius fled in his chariot or on a horse kept nearby in case the chariot were disabled: on the Mosaic, this horse is the brown stallion represented in bold foreshortening just below him.[50]

Yet there are other combatants in the picture, the owners of the spears in the background. Some of the Persians have heard them coming, and turn around to look: are they friend or foe? In fact, the artist clearly specifies who they are and what they are doing. The Macedonian helmets of two of them are visible under Darius's outstretched arm, and a third appears under the charioteer's chin, all moving to the right; the one under Darius's hand clearly has his *sarissa* shouldered and reversed, which was its usual position when not in action. The hand of a fourth grips a Macedonian rallying-standard or *phoinikis*, and the *sarissai* around and to the right of it are pointing in the opposite direction. So this can only be part of the main body of the Macedonian cavalry, wheeling into action and leveling their *sarissai* for the charge at the command of their standard-bearer.[51] Hence the small size of the group with Alexander, the confusion of the Persians in the background to the right,

48. Diod. 17. 34. 1–7; Curt. 3. 11. 7–10; Plut. *Alex*. 20. 8–9 (from Chares). Arrian's account (2. 11. 4) of a terrified Darius fleeing at once has long been recognized as a calumny: Brunt 1976: 161; Bosworth 1980a: 215–16.

49. Diod. 17. 60. 1–3; Curt. 4. 15. 21–31; Plut. *Alex*. 33. 4–5 (omitting the death of the charioteer).

50. Issos: Curt. 3. 11. 11; Ael. *NA* 6. 48 (takes to horse on the battlefield—a mare according to Aelian); Diod. 17. 34. 7 (flees in a *second* chariot); Arr. *Anab*. 2. 11. 5 (takes to horse later). Alexander certainly captured his chariot: Arr. *Anab*. 2. 11. 6; Plut. *Alex*. 20. 10. Gaugamela: Curt. 4. 15. 32–33; Arr. *Anab*. 3. 15. 5 (flees in his chariot—not contradicted by Diod. 17. 60. 3–4 and 61. 1); Plut. *Alex*. 33. 8 (flees on a newly foaled mare).

51. First identified as Macedonian by Pernice in 1908, and argued most thoroughly by Rumpf 1962: 230–38; accepted, e.g., Robertson 1975: 500; Andreae 1977: 15; Hammond 1980a: 329. Not the phalanx, for infantry would be invisible behind the Persian cavalry, and their *sarissa* drill was different; cf. Hammond 1980: 55, fig. 4; Green 1990: 6, fig. 3 (infantry), with Markle 1982: 107, figs. 27–30 (cavalry); so presumably another squadron of the Companions, or if these were all behind Alexander, the *prodromoi* or Paionians: on these see Bosworth 1988a: 262–63, with Devine 1985: 53 and 59, fig. 2. Nylander 1983 is apparently alone in his belief that the standard is not Macedonian but the Great King's: cf. Polyb. 2. 66. 11.

and the action of Darius's charioteer, who has seen the danger from his high vantage point and loses no time in whipping up his team to take the only route out.

The Mosaic therefore describes a two-pronged Macedonian attack. After breaking through the Persian left wing, Alexander must have separated from the main body of the cavalry and circled around to the rear in order to catch Darius off guard. This maneuver can have taken place only at the Issos, for at Gaugamela the Macedonian assault was both far more straightforward and carried out on an incomparably larger scale as, leading his giant wedge of Companions and phalangites, Alexander tried to cut through the wall of cavalry surrounding Darius. At the Issos, on the other hand, Diodoros describes him as scanning the battlefield in order to find Darius, and when he saw him, charging him with his personal bodyguard while the cavalry battle swayed this way and that.[52] By that time, then, he was already separated from the action proper, leading his own strike force on a personal "search-and-destroy" mission. This brilliant stratagem explains why the Persian king was so unprotected and why Oxathres had to fling his squadron into the gap.

Here then, the artist has selected the critical point of the battle. The fight with Oxathres is still undecided, but the Companions have routed the main body of the Persian cavalry and are now on their way to help. Can the Great King escape in time?

So far, realism has been the Mosaic's keynote. Yet the critical spectator will have noticed one jarring detail in the background: the extreme elongation of the *sarissa* that crosses in front of the tree. In real life it would be projecting an incredible sixteen feet or so behind the shoulder of its bearer. One has the distinct impression that this elongation is contrived precisely so that the spear crosses the tree: why? The answer, perhaps, is to be found in the tree itself, which is not merely bare, but—and this is rarely observed—lopped off at the top. Furthermore, its trunk and limbs echo the profiles of Darius and his charioteer: it functions like a visual rhyme. It can hardly be coincidence, too, that it is placed directly above and behind the group of Alexander spearing the fallen Persian. Hence the elongation of the *sarissa*, for the tree could not be moved without disrupting this relationship. As it happens, Alexander's favorite poet, Homer, likens the death of Simoeisios at Troy to the felling of a mighty poplar, and he and the archaic poets often compare the decline and fall of mortals to the withering and falling of the leaves. This metaphor even-

52. Diod. 17. 33. 5; Curt. 3. 11. 4–8 omits Alexander's anxious search for Darius but is otherwise fully compatible.

tually found its way into Greek vase painting, where a drooping tree often accompanies scenes of mayhem and mourning.[53]

This metaphor for the death and dismemberment of the Persian empire takes us for the first time below the surface of the Mosaic. If its significance has hitherto gone unnoticed, that is probably because the artist's relentless empiricism tends to inhibit a critical reading of this kind. Whereas Lysippos's use of realistic detail gave selective emphasis and persuasive force to whatever ideal he was trying to promote, the Mosaic seems at first sight closer to the brute realism of the painter Dionysios of Kolophon, famed for his *akribeia*, or of the sculptor Demetrios of Alopeke, a man "more fond of likeness than beauty."[54] While we do not know whether there was more to their art than this, the realism of the Mosaic is by no means naive or purposeless. It has a quite specific function: to turn the spectator into an eyewitness.

Not only is the battle sectioned through the middle for our benefit, but Boukephalas and all four of Darius's horses actually look directly at us, drawing us right into the action and focusing our attention on the protagonists. Yet while Alexander's piercing gaze and the swiveling eyes of the Gorgoneion on his cuirass, reinforced by the gazes of the two Macedonians right behind him, take us straight to Darius, we get nothing so clear-cut from the Great King, his charioteer, and his chariot team. Differing levels of attention translate into differing levels of concentration, of ability to act, and ultimately of power itself.

This brings us back to the two protagonists (color pls. 5 and 6). Since Alexander looks so individual and the Mosaic is otherwise so stridently realistic, many commentators have been content with simply labeling him as such and moving on.[55] Yet if so, where are his "true" physiognomy's subtle intimations of femininity (Chapter 3.2)? The big sideburns and dark, unruly hair certainly suggest direct observation at work, but the low-set ear, sulky mouth, high cheekbones, and arched forehead are also found on the Lysippic Schwarzenberg and Azara heads (figs. 40, 45). This similarity to the Lysippic portraits, which were certainly idealized, could suggest that here too the artist may be reworking Alexander's features somewhat, not merely reproducing

53. *Il.* 4. 472–89, 6. 146–49, 21. 462–66; Mimn. frag. 2; Hurwit 1982, 1983; cf., among others, Robertson 1975: pl. 80c. In W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom,* 4th ed. (Tübingen, 1966), no. 1165, Erika Simon has already argued that the tree is a proleptic indication of victory, but, as Hölscher 1973: 281 n. 872 remarks, her suggestion that it is ready-made for a trophy is contradicted by Paus. 9. 40. 7, who tells us that the Macedonians never erected trophies after winning battles.

54. Lysippos: Pliny *HN* 34. 65; and cf. Chapter 1.2, with Arist. *Poet.* 25, 1460b8–11. Dionysios: Arist. *Poet.* 2, 1448a7; Acl. *VH* 4. 3. Demetrios: Quint. 12. 10. 9; Overbeck (1868)1959: nos. 903, 1076, 1078; Stewart 1990: 186, 274–75.

55. So most recently Lauter 1988: 727–34.

them. Indeed, the deep chin, curling lip, powerful nose, huge eyes, jutting brow, swept-back hair, and generally forceful modeling are so emphatically virile as to positively demand that he is.

As Smith has seen, all this gives Alexander "a near maniacal royal *deinotēs*,"[56] a ferocity that emphatically belies the near-femininity of his "real" appearance as described by Plutarch (T 9–10; Chapter 3.2). As the kingship-theorist Diotogenes later pedantically explained, "ferocity [*deinotēs*] makes the king appear formidable and invincible to his enemies, and noble-spirited and courageous to his friends."[57] In a less banal vein, this is the kind of gaze that the Hellenistic poets were describing when they spoke of his "glance of fire," continuing: "no longer do we blame / the Persians, for cattle may be pardoned for fleeing the lion" (T 115). Though the Gorgoneion on his chest is a standard apotropaic device, here it would remind the spectator of the expedition's divine patroness, Athena. Like her, Alexander is invincible, *anikētos*, and his glance, like hers, is power personified. He is *gorgōpos*, "the Grim-eyed One," subjecting Darius to his will by the unsublimated force of his gaze.

This is raw *pothos* in action. Alexander's "perpetual desire to do something new and extraordinary" (Arr. *Indica* 20. 2), to be the first to kill a Persian king in battle, has turned the contest into a personal *agōn* between the two men. Young, glorious, and implacable, surrounded by equally youthful companions, he challenges an empire grown old, led by a middle-aged man. The late afternoon sun shines from behind him, illuminating his armor, lighting his path, and casting long shadows from the horses of the enemy. Whether this is factual or not, its function is similar to the motif of the tree and *sarissa*.[58] Radiant like the sun, he blazes into action like Achilles, pursuing his fleeing

56. Smith 1988: 60.

57. Diotogenes *apud* Stob. *Flor.* 8. 62; Smith 1988: 51.

58. In both battles the decisive moment occurred late in the afternoon, and on the Mosaic Alexander's attack coincides with the sun's azimuth. Compare the following calculations, kindly furnished by Fred Baganoff of the Department of Astronomy at U.C.L.A.

Date	*Place*	*Sun's Altitude at 4:00 P.M.*	*Sun's Azimuth at 4:00 P.M.*	*Sunset*
12/1/333	Issos	8°5′	236°2′	4:51 P.M.
10/1/331	Gaugamela	21°18′	251°9′	5:52 P.M.

So on the Mosaic, he is supposedly riding appproximately northeast (Issos) or east-northeast (Gaugamela); the earlier in the afternoon that the charge occurred, the more northward must be its direction. Yet at the Issos the Macedonian front faced northwest; Alexander's attack on the Persian flank would have taken him first to the west, then perhaps southwest or even south if his envelopment were as wide as suggested above. At Gaugamela we do not know the exact orientation of the battle lines, but the Mosaic is (just) compatible with the southward-facing Macedonian front that is normally assumed by military historians.

Hektor from the field. Soon the motif would develop into a fully fledged solar imagery (figs. 131–32, 136–37), echoes of which are to be found in the Hellenistic poets, quoted above, in Plutarch's account of his attack on the Malloi, and in the assertion that those lands that he did not conquer remained forever sunless.[59]

Yet the Mosaic pointedly avoids showing Alexander as in any way divine. Instead, he is first among equals, a man very much in touch with Macedonian society's true center. Like Achilles, he strives "ever to be best and to excel in all things," his endeavors reinforced by the hard-bitten profiles and steely gazes of the men around him. The Mosaic, like the Granikos monument, forcibly reminds us that his charisma was "synergistic"—it needed his Companions to transpire.[60] Earlier Greek thinkers had been adamant that kings could not have friends, only subjects, but in Macedonia the Companions (*hetairoi*) had been a fixture of the king's entourage from time immemorial, just as in Homer's *Iliad*. Alexander's Successors, lacking the Argead monarchy's hereditary status, simply called their Companions "friends" without more ado.[61] Here the artist shows that he understands and is playing to this heroic style of kingship, which Alexander elevated to a fine art. The message is that united, the king and his Companions will conquer the world.

Predictably, their unalloyed lust for victory is defined against its opposite: barbarian despotism turned to chaos. For as usual in Greek art and thought, the Persians are portrayed as hierarchical, luxurious (many wear jewelry), and emotional—but, in a radical departure from precedent, not cowardly.[62] Darius (color pl. 6) is elevated high above his men, in the chariot that was a symbol both of his apartness at the top of a hierarchical system and of his ultimate vulnerability. Among the Alexander historians, Curtius understood the contrast: "Alexander performed the duties more of a soldier than a commander, seeking the rich renown of killing the king; for Darius stood high in his chariot, a great incentive to his own men to protect him and to the enemy to attack him" (3. 11. 7).[63] Here, his troops indeed rush to die for him, yet he cruelly crushes two of them like insects under his chariot and team. As Euripides had acidly remarked a century before, "among barbarians, all are slaves but one" (*Hel.* 276). Here, Darius treats them as such. Against the determi-

59. Blazing Achilles: *Il.* 19. 15–17, 366, 374–98 (*τεύχεσι παμφαίνων ὥς τ' ἠλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων*); 20. 490–94; 22. 26–31. Blazing Alexander: Plut. *Alex.* 22. 9 and 63. 4–5; *Mor.* 330D. Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–222) seems to have been the first Hellenistic monarch to adopt the solar crown as such: Smith 1988: 42 and pl. 75. 9; cf. L'Orange (1947)1982: passim.

60. Schweitzer 1984: 28, quoted in Chapter 2. 3.

61. On kings and friendship see Hall 1989: 194–95; on the *φίλοι* of the Successors, see Billows 1990: 245–50.

62. On the stereotype see Said 1978; Hall 1989: 80.

63. On the symbolism see Hall 1989: 80, 95–96.

nation, discipline, and driving energy of the Macedonians, the Persians are individually brave—a new development in Greek art—but collectively doomed. Victims of their system and their uncontrolled emotions, they cannot hold.

As the target of Alexander's gaze, Darius simultaneously becomes the pursued, flinging out his arm in a gesture of entreaty that is often used by the vanquished and particularly by rape victims in Greek art, where chariot abductions had a long history (fig. 25). The visual language is one of sexual domination and is reinforced by the emphatic images of Alexander's phallic lance and Darius's empty quiver.[64] Yet the way in which he strains towards Alexander and shouts to him seems to suggest that he is to some extent a willing object for the Macedonian's desire. Perhaps these gestures are proleptic for his offer of peace and friendship after the battle, an offer that included his daughter and half his kingdom. But the content of the message does not matter, for not only Alexander's intransigence but Darius's inability to communicate in anything more than barbarian babble have doomed it to failure. As all Greeks knew, barbarians were incomprehensible by definition.[65] Accordingly, Darius's open mouth is answered by Alexander's closed one, and his open hand by Alexander's closed fist and murderous *sarissa*, whose point pierces the exact center of the picture.

Effeminization of the Persians had been habitual in Greece for a century and a half and was symbolized by the dichotomies of manly spear versus cowardly bow, man versus woman, and penis versus anus.[66] In Aischylos's *Persai*, defeated Asia, "piteously, piteously bowed to her knees" (929–31), is symbolized by the figure of the old Persian queen, Atossa, and the chorus of Persian men lament their fate like women.[67] A red-figure oenochoe of ca. 465 features a Greek armed only with his penis about to bugger a Persian soldier, who—referring to Kimon's recent victory on the Eurymedon—says, "I am Eurymedon, stationed bending over!" In the late fifth-century frieze of the temple of Athena Nike, the defeated Persians are plump and suspiciously full-breasted.[68] And finally, in the early fourth century, we read that the Spartan king Agesilaos actually carried theory into practice:

64. Gaze and sexual domination: Mulvey 1975. Gesture: Boardman 1989: figs. 35, 76, 165, 167 (rape of Leukippidai), 181, 203 (rape of Oreithyia?), 290–91 (rape of Deianeira), 292, 338, 421.

65. On the offer see Arr. *Anab*. 2. 14; Curt. 4. 1. 7–14; Diod. 17. 39. 1–2. On *bar-bar* see, for example, Aisch. *Pers*. 635 and Soph. *Aj*. 1259–63, with Hall 1989: 76–77, 200.

66. Aisch. *Pers*. 147–49, 239–40, 729, 817, 926, 1020–25; Hall 1989: 85–86.

67. *Pers*. 598ff.; cf. Said 1978: 57; Hall 1989: 83–84.

68. Eurymedon: Schauenberg 1975; cf. Dover 1978: 105. Nike frieze: Stewart 1985: figs. 16–17; Stewart 1990: 165–66, figs. 415–16.

> Believing that contempt for the Persians would kindle the fighting spirit of his men, he gave instructions that the barbarians captured in the raids should be exposed for sale naked. So when his soldiers saw them white because they never stripped, and fat and lazy through constant riding in carriages, they thought that the war would be exactly like fighting with women. (Xenophon *Agesilaos* 1. 28)

In the *Life*, Plutarch emphasizes that Alexander redirected his sexual energies into the pursuit of power, and even has him cunningly invert the image of phallic Greek and womanly Persian, anticipating talk of a retreat in Hyrkania by warning the army that now the enemy saw them as if in a nightmare, but if they simply caused chaos and then went home, then the enemy would fall upon them as if upon so many women.[69] By so doing he played on every Greek and Macedonian's fears, evoking "the discourse by which the European imagination has dominated Asia ever since [Aischylos], by conceptualizing its inhabitants as defeated, luxurious, emotional, cruel, and always as dangerous."[70] The army took the point and went on—this time.

No wonder that Alexander's portrait is so aggressive, and no wonder that the Persians in the Mosaic are so conflicted. Even as he and his Macedonians overcome them like women, they resist effeminization as energetically as did their legendary counterparts, the Amazons. Darius may have shot his last bolt, but unlike Alexander he at least wears a beard. He is also certainly no coward, and neither are the men who have leapt to his defense. Though they are bejeweled, dressed in embroidered clothes, and shout, grimace, gesticulate, and turn this way and that in an uncontrolled display of emotion, their bushy beards and their spirited resistance belie their effeminate dress and behavior. By rescuing them from degradation, the artist exalts the achievement and power of Alexander and his Macedonians, for a victory over "mere cattle" (T 115) would have been no victory at all.

But though Alexander's attention is maniacally focused on Darius, he is actually doing something else, and this bifurcation of energy leads us to the heart of the picture. His great *sarissa* impales the Persian ahead of him, and Boukephalas rears up over the foundering horse as if to mount it, but by his heroism this man has saved his king. He has taken the thrust meant for Darius, buying enough time for the charioteer to turn his chariot around. For the cavalry *sarissa* or *xyston* could not be couched like a medieval lance, en-

69. *Alex.* 5, 21–22, and 47. 1; cf. Livy 9. 19. 11, where Alexander the Molossian (Alexander's uncle) recalls his campaign in Asia as a war on women.

70. Hall 1989: 99.

abling the attacker to skewer his opponent by the shock of his charge. Since stirrups were as yet unknown, unless he released it at the very second it entered his victim's body, he would end up ignominiously on the ground behind his horse. In fact, the historians make it clear that it was designed for thrusting and jabbing and was psychologically devastating in that it completely outranged the opposition. Stabbing at the face and neck, *sarissa*-armed cavalry could throw even the most disciplined unit into confusion: this is exactly how Alexander routed the Persian Royal Guard at Gaugamela.[71]

So for Alexander's *sarissa* to have transfixed this Persian so completely, the Persian must have actually thrown himself on it. No womanish Oriental, he is a man of high courage, one who belies the racist stereotype of the craven barbarian. Because of him, Alexander will have no choice now but to drop his *sarissa* and draw his sword. He will next encounter the Persian with beribboned tiara, who has already drawn his own sword in anticipation. Whether it was this individual who wounded Alexander in the thigh or not, the king's golden opportunity is swiftly evaporating.[72] As the Persians prove tougher than expected, and Alexander sees his prey slipping from his grasp, the rhetoric of dominance and penetration turns to conflict and frustration.

In Aristotelian terms, this Persian's self-sacrifice has created a dramatic reversal or *peripeteia*:[73]

> A recognition [*anagnōrisis*] or reversal [*peripeteia*] will often involve either pity or fear, and it is actions such as these that, according to our hypothesis, tragedy represents; and moreover, misfortune and good fortune are likely to turn upon such incidents. . . . A third element is calamity [*pathos*]. . . . Calamity is a destructive or painful occurrence, such as deaths in full view, acute suffering, wounds, and so on. (*Poetics* 11. 1452b1–10)

In fact, the Mosaic has often been likened to a tragedy, and these prescriptions for a good tragic plot have occasionally been applied to it. For not only were they empirically based, but fourth-century Greeks, artists included, naturally thought in tragic terms. Tragedy simply stylized the way in which they had been accustomed to construct reality ever since Homer.[74] Even in their academic, Aristotelian form, these prescriptions would have been familiar to some members of the Macedonian elite from the philosopher's sojourn at

71. Curt. 4. 15. 31; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 14. 3.

72. Diod. 17. 34. 5; Curt. 3. 11. 10; Just. *Epit.* 11. 9. 9; Plut. *Mor.* 341B and *Alex.* 20. 9; Arr. *Anab.* 2. 12. 1.

73. *Poet.* 11, 1252a25–34.

74. See, for example, *Od.* 18. 130–37.

Philip's court. Indeed, Pliny tells us that later on Aristotle actually advised Protogenes on how to paint Alexander's deeds (T 64).[75]

In fourth-century parlance, Alexander has missed his *kairos* or "opportunity."[76] His *aretē* has brought him within an ace of his goal, only to be frustrated by Tyche, who flings a Persian in his way. The New Achilles is chasing a Hektor who succeeds in running away. The artist grounds this peripeteia in the figure of the charioteer, who actually turns the plot around with his chariot, and further develops it in the circling motion of the eye from Darius to Alexander and back to Darius again. But the reversal is a double one. Darius, now offered a perfect target, finds that he has expended all his arrows: this is a *hamartia* or tragic error in the first degree.

So while stopping Alexander in his tracks, Fortune nevertheless saves him from the consequences of her own intervention. Thus Plutarch aptly remarked in his second essay entitled *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*: "O Fortune . . . you impede him in pursuit, you sabotage his victories, you turn his hopes around" (341D).[77] Although it is these late essays of Plutarch's that present the most fully worked-out version of the Tyche-Arete struggle, we do know that Alexander's Tyche was already a matter of discussion as early as 327, when Aristotle's pupil and eventual successor, Theophrastos, wrote his *Kallisthenes, or On Grief.* As mentioned in Chapter 1.1, he noted that Kallisthenes had had the misfortune to fall in with a man who was most fortunate and most powerful but who did not know how to bear his good fortune; and that not wisdom but Fortune rules human life.[78] Announcing that skill and courage can always be frustrated by Chance, our artist seems to agree.

The Olympians have no say in all this—at least not in the Mosaic. Their absence has often been remarked and contrasts notably with the painting's predecessors in the genre, with its contemporaries, like the vases to be discussed in the next section, and with successors such as the group illustrated on the Sagalassos coin (text figs. 4–5; figs. 25–28, 112). Seldom noted, however, is that this omission helps to compensate for Alexander's frustration. The artist is concerned not only to locate him decisively in the here and now, but to emphasize that he alone is the architect of his victory. In life, battles

75. Cf. Winter 1909: 7; Fuhrmann 1931: 146–47; Andreae 1977: 18–19; Pollitt 1986: 3–4.

76. On *kairos* and fourth-century art (Lysippos), see Stewart 1978; Pollitt 1986: 53–54, fig. 47; Moreno 1987a: 125–31.

77. Compare Plutarch's account of the Issos itself (*Alex.* 20. 7), where he remarks that Alexander's generalship was better than Fortune's provisions for his victory. The Mosaic's theme recurs in Curtius's account of Gaugamela, where on receipt of Parmenion's call for help "frendente Alexandro eripi sibi victoriam e manibus et Dareum felicius fugere quam se sequi" (4. 16. 3).

78. Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 21; 5. 25.

are chaos, and whatever order is imposed upon them is largely aesthetic and after the fact, but here the tactical clarity of the composition implies the almost deterministic working out of a plan.[79]

A plan requires a planner: the Mosaic states emphatically that Alexander's knowledge, forethought, leadership, and courage—in short, his military *aretai*—are the prime ingredients of his success. Note, for instance, how firmly he controls not only his men but even his horse, the notoriously hot-blooded Boukephalas: he knows the military art like none other. Contrast the pleading Darius, his impulsive charioteer, his plunging chariot team, his chaotic troops. The power/knowledge nexus is decisively affirmed, and the *akribeia* of the rendering concretizes and validates it. Yet even Alexander cannot succeed without his army, and even he is still subject to Fortune. His power and charisma, stridently asserted in every detail of the rendering, from his own physiognomy to the precisely calculated maneuvers of his troops, are nevertheless "impure," in that they depend precisely upon those troops to follow where he leads, and vulnerable, in that Tyche may frustrate even the best-laid plans.

Who painted the original, and for whom was it painted? Thus far, the Mosaic's qualifications as a copy of Philoxenos's painting for Kassandros (P 9; T 83) are impeccable. Its original was certainly by a painter whose work was "second to none" (*cuius tabula nullis postferenda*), it spotlighted Alexander and Darius (*Alexandri proelium cum Dario*), it posited an audience familiar with Macedonian military practice, and it might have come to Italy from Pella. But what of Pliny's description of Philoxenos's "speed" (*celeritas*) and invention of "even more shortcuts in painting" (*breviores etiamnum quasdam picturae compendiarias*), and what of the inference that many have drawn from Pliny's description of Kassandros as "king" that the picture was painted seventeen years or more after the event?

First, "speed" and "shortcuts." Pliny explicitly states that Philoxenos (T 83) and his teacher Nikomachos were top-quality painters. His point is to emphasize not that they painted impressionistically but that they were first-rate *even though* they worked quickly.[80] And to a Roman critic, first-rate meant finished with skill and meticulous attention to detail: Vitruvius, who never shrinks from condemning substandard painting, praises Nikomachos for just these qualities.[81] Philoxenos's "shortcuts" therefore cannot have been

79. So, already, Hölscher 1973: 164–67.

80. *HN* 35. 109: *Nec fuit alius in arte velocior. Tradunt . . . [Nicomachum] Telesti poetae monimentum . . . paucis diebus absolvisse et celeritate et arte mira.*

81. Vitr. 3 *praef.* 2; on attention to detail see Pollitt 1974: s.vv. ἀκρίβεια, "diligens," "sollers."

a kind of impressionism.[82] Furthermore, impressionism was above all a Hellenistic technique, but to Pliny and Vitruvius, Hellenistic painting was decadent art. The simple fact that they praise the technique of the two painters excludes impressionism altogether.

Fortunately, there is another explanation that is all too often overlooked. In the Greek lexicographers, "brevity" and "speed" in painting are associated with the abbreviation of figures, with letting the part stand for the whole. This practice went back to the painter Mikon in the mid-fifth century, whose picture of the hero Boutes hiding behind a rock showed only one eye and a helmet, exactly like Philotas in the Mosaic. Hence, we are told, the proverb "Quicker than Boutes." Since such figures occur in Attic vase painting from this period onwards, abbreviation of this kind is probably what Pliny means by "speed" and "shortcuts."[83] And the Mosaic is a *tour de force* of abbreviation: it has a dozen Bouteses in the background alone.

Second, Kassandros. As remarked above, Philoxenos's painting is usually dated after 317, when Kassandros assumed the regency of Macedonia. The fact that Pliny calls him "king," a title he did not claim until after 303, is usually explained (or explained away) by invoking Pliny's own notice of a portrait of "King Seleucus" by Lysippos. Since Lysippos was almost certainly dead by 305/304, when Seleukos assumed the diadem, the usual inference is that in each case the title is not meant to be taken literally.[84] Yet by the same token, in Kassandros's case why hold to 317 and the regency? Philoxenos could have worked for him at any time after the battle of the Issos. He was at least twenty by then: he served in the invasion army of 334, then seems to have returned to Macedon. In 324, though, Alexander summoned him to Babylon.[85]

82. Against impressionism see especially Pollitt 1974: 328–31; its association with Hellenistic painting, and thus with what Romans regarded as decadent art, would disqualify it from consideration here simply because Pliny *praises* Nikomachos and Philoxenos.

83. Mikon: Zenob. *Prov.* 4. 28; Photios, Hesychios, and *Souda*, s.v. Θᾶττον ἢ Βούτης; Overbeck (1868)1959: no. 1085; Robertson 1975: 258, pls. 87, 88a. On *compendiariae* and the Mosaic see Winter 1909: 8–9; Fuhrmann 1931: 47–49 (but although *συντομία* is probably the original Greek, it cannot mean "perspective": LSJ, 9th ed., s.v.: "conciseness," "abridgement," "a shortcut"); Pollitt 1974: 331; cf. Pollitt 1986: 45. I omit all arguments for the attribution that are based on Tomb II at Vergina, since they are completely circular: Salviat 1988: 197 is the latest to attempt this particular route.

84. Lysippos: both Johnson (1927)1968: 67–68 and Moreno 1974: 37–39, 47, no. 17, fig. 41 do take it literally, but they are in the minority: see Stewart 1990: 289–94 for the conventional view. On Kassandros, Seleukos, and the diadem see Gruen 1985: 258–59.

85. Ath. 1, 18a shows that he was born before 354. Fuhrmann 1931: 41–42, 203–12 is the staunchest defender of Kassandros's candidacy; see also Hölscher 1973: 158–62.

This date, 324, is a crucial one, for it is most unlikely that Philoxenos painted his picture after it. Arriving in Babylon, Kassandros fell foul of Alexander to the point where the king actually beat him up in public. Until Alexander died he lived in terror of his life and thereafter had severe anxiety attacks whenever confronted with the king's portrait (T 111). One or two art historians have noted the quarrel, but no one seems to have drawn the obvious conclusion from it. Unless the sources are exaggerating, or Kassandros managed to suppress his hatred of Alexander in his quest for legitimacy as regent, Philoxenos's picture should date between his return to Macedon after serving in the invasion army of 334 and his disastrous journey to the East ten years later.[86]

To attribute the original of the Mosaic to Philoxenos and Kassandros, and to date it in the immediate aftermath of the Issos, now becomes a more attractive proposition. Such an attribution both is consistent with the Mosaic's unrelenting attention to detail and adds another dimension to it. It suggests that the picture's function was not only commemorative but didactic: to help instruct the young Macedonian, now far from the fighting in Asia, in the ways of war. For this purpose the usual divine machinery of Greek history painting was irrelevant, and its quasi-heroic duels were useless. Only the facts, appropriately edited for effect, could both instruct Kassandros in the military art and warn him of the unpredictable vagaries of Fortune.

Viewed as a technology of power for Kassandros, the picture presents a foretaste of Alexander's role under the Successors. Given the young Mace-

86. Quarrel, etc.: Plut. *Alex.* 74; argued away by Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 299 and Goukowsky 1978: 105–11, but reinstated by Hamilton 1969: 206 and accepted by Green (1974)1991: 473 and Bosworth 1988a: 162, among others. On how Kassandros translated his hostility to Alexander and his memory into policy see Errington 1976: 149–52, 156, 161. Diodoros's note that he commanded the Thracians and Paionians in 334 (17. 17. 4) has often been dismissed as a mistake, since others led these units at the Granikos and the Issos; yet it is vigorously defended by Adams 1979 (who suggests that he returned to Macedonia around 331) and accepted by Billows 1990: 36. Fuhrmann 1931: 40–41 and Hölscher 1973: 170–71 both explain the commission in the context of his quest for Macedonian support around 316, necessitated by his all-but-ruinous quarrel with Olympias (Diod. 19. 51. 2–5; Just. *Epit.* 14. 6. 9–12; Paus. 9. 7. 2). Yet his claim to be the true protector of the Macedonian royal line (Diod. 19. 52. 5; Ath. 4, 155a), his overtures to Philip's daughter Kleopatra (Diod. 20. 37. 4), and his eventual marriage to her half sister Thessalonike (Diod. 19. 52. 1; Just. *Epit.* 14. 6. 13; *Heidelberg Epitome* 2. 4) would by no means have compelled him to hail Alexander and his victories; Macedonian traditionalists revered Philip's memory much more. As to Philoxenos's chronology, his teacher Nikomachos had already worked for Antipatros (ps.-Plut. Περὶ ἀσκήσεως: *RhM* 27 [1872]: 536—naming Antipatros as "king of the Macedonians," a title he never held or claimed). Nikomachos was a contemporary of Philip II, so his pupil could easily have been active by 333; on his life and works see Fuhrmann 1931: 30–38.

donian's subsequent career, it is tempting to speculate that its message sank home. Kassandros's authoritarianism, his keen eye for the main chance, his ruthless treatment of his rivals, his respect for that apostle of Fortune's power, Demetrios of Phaleron, and, last but not least, his deep resentment of Alexander's vicious brutality—all find ready analogues within the Mosaic's ample frame.[87]

3. APULIAN ECHOES

The earliest images of Alexander's campaigns to survive in the original appear on four Apulian vases painted, according to the style's current chronology, around 330 (text figs. 4–5; figs. 25–28).[88] All four illustrate the same general theme as the Alexander Mosaic, though the protagonists have undergone some striking changes and are surrounded by a host of new characters. Yet by process of elimination the two men must be Alexander and Darius: who else could they be? Two of the vases, an amphora and a volute krater, come from the Etruscan cemetery at Ruvo; the others are unprovenanced. One is known only in an eighteenth-century engraving of its main scene (text fig. 5), and another is a mere fragment (fig. 28); the volute krater (figs. 25–26) is missing Darius, some surrounding figures, and the central section on the other side also; only the amphora is more or less intact (fig. 27). The three preserved vases are generally attributed to the so-called Darius Painter, the most prolific of the Apulian vase painters, who was active in the 330s and 320s; as for the lost one, Tischbein's drawing suggests that this was either his too or by his associate the Underworld Painter.

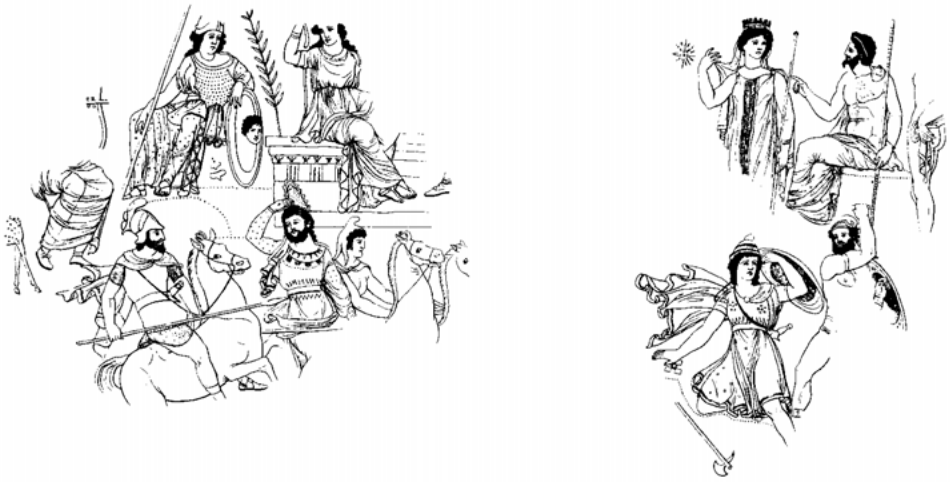
When one contemplates these pictures, several problems immediately come to mind. Are they all based on a single model? If so, was that model the original of the Alexander Mosaic or some other painting? What are they (and the painter's name piece, showing Darius the Great and an event from the 480s)[89] doing amid the otherwise wholly mythological corpus of Apulian painting? And finally, what image of Alexander do they present, and why?

87. *RE*, s.v. "Kassandros"; Walbank and Astin 1984: 40–61; Green 1990: index, s.v. "Cassander."

88. For brief descriptions and bibliography see Appendix 4.

89. Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982: 18/38; Trendall 1989: fig. 203.

4. Apulian volute krater, from Ruvo. Alexander pursuing Darius, gods above. Ca. 330 B.C. Naples.



5. Apulian vase. Alexander pursuing Darius, gods above. Ca. 330 B.C. Ex-Hamilton collection, now lost.

Since H. Heydemann's pioneering article of 1883, the pendulum of discussion as to whether these pictures are actually based on the original of the Alexander Mosaic (color pl. 4) or not has swung back and forth. The chief objection to this theory has been the prevailing view that since this original was probably Philoxenos's painting for Kassandros (P 9; T 83), it must therefore belong around 316, half a generation after the vases. Some have re-

sponded by trying to place the vases after 316; others have denied the connection between the Mosaic and Philoxenos, between the Mosaic and the vases, or between Philoxenos and the vases; and still others have conjured up yet another lost painting, executed immediately after the event, as a common source for *all* of the pictures, Philoxenos's included.[90] Most recently, the last of these theories has undergone a novel twist: a vanished folk-art tradition (*Trivialikonographie*) in Macedonia was the common source, later transmitted to Apulia via pattern books, which are also lost.[91] One is reminded of the increasing desperation of the pre-Galilean defenders of the geocentric universe, adding epicycle to epicycle in order to save the phenomena.

Ironically, since most scholars seem to believe in some connection between the Mosaic and the vases, the revised chronology for it and Philoxenos proposed above could theoretically allow this particular counterpart to the geocentric theory to stand. Unfortunately the difficulties are insuperable. The originals of the Mosaic and the vases must be completely independent of each other, conceived for patrons and purposes with nothing in common.

The only consistent feature of the vase paintings is the group of Alexander and Darius. Alexander charges on horseback from the left, while the Great King stands in his chariot to the right as his charioteer whips up the horses. Yet since Greek art normally places victors on the left, the only truly relevant details among those that they share with the Mosaic are Alexander's underarm thrust with the lance, the chariot, and (on the Naples amphora only) Darius's gesture. Not only has all else changed, but Alexander is bearded and wears wholly conventional Greek armor, including the now-obsolete Corinthian helmet.[92] His self-sacrificing Persian opponent—selected as the encounter's most distinctive feature by the designer of the Alexander Sarcophagus (fig. 102) and by the Italian coffin carvers—has vanished. Darius is in standard theater costume for a barbarian and rides a Greek-style chariot whose driver wears Greek charioteer's dress and a Phrygian cap.

Clearly, the Darius Painter cannot have seen the original of the Mosaic, a sketch of it, or any other painting of Alexander produced for the Macedonian court.[93] He simply did not know what Alexander looked like. Had he done

90. Summary in Hölscher 1973: 175–77.

91. Giuliani 1977, already questioned by Moreno, *Dialoghi di archeologia,* ser. 2.2 (1984): 148; accepted, however, by Stamatiou 1988: 215, who conjures up "a kind of widely-distributed newspapers [*sic*] which copied the main events of Alexander's campaign." He finds this "a thrilling possible existence," as indeed it is.

92. References: Hölscher 1973: 176 n. 1074.

93. So, most recently, Messerschmidt 1989: 83–84.

so, he would not have shown him bearded. The king's smooth chin was his most distinctive attribute, especially at this small scale, and could not be ignored. In addition, the fact that warriors in Apulian painting are usually young or miraculously rejuvenated (as befits the funerary function of the vases) virtually proves that the Darius Painter wanted to paint some kind of a portrait but in the absence of any precise indication of Alexander's real appearance had to resort to guesswork.

In his ignorance, he simply assumed that a king would be bearded, and accordingly fell back on the image of martial prowess he knew best: the victorious *stratēgos* of classical sculpture and painting. Fourth-century Greek commanders fought on horseback, and as for Darius, anyone who had seen Aischylos's *Persai* knew that Persian kings fought in chariots.[94] The similarity of Darius's gesture on the Mosaic and the Naples amphora (color pl. 4; fig. 27) is a coincidence and no more. These artists were drawing on the same basic repertoire of gestures, which in the case of a defeated enemy were limited to two: tearing one's hair or flinging one's hand out in supplication.[95] Both were already clichés in Apulian painting, and the Darius Painter needed no special dispensation from Macedonia in order to employ the second of them on his Naples amphora.

If the Darius Painter himself invented the composition, as seems almost inevitable, his source must have been oral. The news of Darius's defeat must have traveled like wildfire around the Greek world, and one can imagine the way in which it reached Apulia: "Great battle in Kilikia! Alexander attacks! Darius flees!"[96] But what did he make of it, and why?

As remarked above, the painter's treatment varies markedly from vase to vase. While the Naples amphora and the Hamilton vase focus on Alexander's duel with Darius, adding more combatants to the side but doing nothing to motivate the latter's escape, the volute krater interposes two Persians between the protagonists. In each case, the Persians are but thinly disguised Amazons, wearing much the same clothing and cast in the same repertoire of standard poses.[97] On the fragment, only the heads of the chariot team are preserved. Yet here, as on both the Hamilton vase and the krater, gods and personifications appear too, and on the krater and amphora a number of other pictures complement the main scene.

94. *Pers.* 84.

95. Examples: Trendall 1989: figs. 148–49, 179, 195, 208, 211, etc.

96. Cf. the gist of the battle as retailed in Just. *Epit.* 11. 9. 9: *proelium ingentibus animis committitur. In eo uterque rex vulneratur. Tamdiu certamen anceps fuit, quoad fugeret Darius.*

97. Moret 1975: 155–59, 207–8.

Of the personifications and deities, the most prominent is Hellas: her name is inscribed on the fragment (fig. 28), where Nikai crown her from both sides.[98] On both the krater and the Hamilton vase she should be the woman sitting on the altar above Darius's horses: this is how she appears, labeled, on the painter's name piece in Naples. Placed right above the Great King's chariot, she ties a victor's fillet around her own head and is crowned by Nike on the krater and perhaps also on the Hamilton vase. The painter thereby announces that this is not a victory simply for Macedon, but for Alexander as *hēgemōn* of all the Greeks. The Hellas whose altars were profaned by Darius the Great and Xerxes has sent him forth, the ideal Greek general, and now gets her revenge in style.

On the Hamilton vase (text fig. 5), Hellas is joined by a seated Athena, an Apollo *kitharōidos* (singing the victor's *kleos*?), and part of Artemis's deer; opposite them are Hera, Zeus, and perhaps Hermes. On the krater, Athena, Apollo, and Zeus recur, but now Athena is in a chariot, and Apollo has crossed to the other side of the picture, has laid aside his kithara, and is talking with Artemis; on the left, Pan, Eros, Aphrodite, and Poseidon complete the scene. Pan, whose job is to instill Panic into the enemy, had been present at Marathon and was associated with Alexander by Protogenes as early as 305 (P 3; T 64; we shall meet him again in Chapter 9.4; fig. 99). Otherwise, this looks like a fairly standard divine assembly, come to witness the battle and to congratulate Hellas on her triumph.

But why did the Darius Painter choose to paint Alexander's victory in the first place? Here one must turn to context. The most frequent suggestion is that these pictures simply reflect pro-Macedonian "propaganda," perhaps in relation to the exploits of Alexander's uncle, Alexander the Molossian, in Italy.[99] In 333 the Tarentines, severely pressured by the Lucanians, invited him over from Epeiros to restore their fortunes. His swift and far-ranging success, however, soon made them suspicious that what he really wanted was his own empire in southern Italy, so they withdrew their support. Much weakened, Alexander fought on, staking all on a final decisive battle, but was stabbed in the back in the hour of victory. The chronology is loose, but this event apparently occurred in the fall of 331.

The term "propaganda" apart, these events are an attractive source of

98. See especially Curtius 1937 and Hölscher 1973: 178–79 on these and the other nonhistorical figures.

99. *RE*, s.v. (6); see especially Werner 1987. The connection is made by Schmidt, Trendall, and Cambitoglou 1976: 107–8; Moreno 1979: 515–18.

inspiration, for they match the presumed date of the vases perfectly and help to explain both the ephemeral popularity of the subject and the painter's choice of type for Alexander. One could even fantasize that the vases were intended for the graves of those who had heroically fallen in the fighting. Yet on closer inspection, matters are not quite what they seem, for in at least two of the pictures, Alexander's heroic triumph turns out to be less than complete.

On the krater, not triumph but frustrated pursuit seems to be the main theme, for in its other pictures no fewer than three mythological couples in chariots are eluding their pursuers and riding away scot-free (fig. 25). Alexander's vain pursuit of Darius on the reverse is complemented on the neck by Oinomaos and Myrtilos vainly pursuing Pelops and Hippodameia, and answered on the obverse by three armed figures, possibly the Korybantes, vainly pursuing Hades and Kore while the gods look on; above them, a couple—plausibly identified as Eos and Tithonos—rides a chariot between a pursuing Helios and a departing Selene. A Fury and Eros accompany Oinomaos, and Eros and Nike accompany the lovers on the other side.

Since this is a funerary vase, the three mythological couples galloping off to a life of bliss are quite easy to understand.[100] The effect of their juxtaposition with the Alexander battle, though, is not only to feminize the hapless Persian king much more thoroughly than ever before, by implicitly equating him with Hippodameia and Kore, but to turn Alexander's heroic victory upside down. Seen as a whole, the imagery of the vase is hopelessly conflicted. Even allowing for the two Persians interposed between Alexander and Darius (their function should now be clear), this picture sets one up with expectations of heroic triumph, deploying the typical divine machinery of Greek epic poetry and history painting to drive the point home. Yet its three fellows subvert this reading completely: as structuralists would say, the ensemble's syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes are utterly at variance with each other and cannot be reconciled.[101] Presumably then, the painter did not invent the Alexander scene for this particular vase but simply imported it, with minimal adaptation, from another.

The Naples amphora presents roughly the same message in a less elaborate and more diffuse manner (fig. 27). With the two intervening Persians now

100. Though Apulian funerary symbolism is a vast subject, this aspect of it is quite well understood: see especially Schmidt, Trendall, and Cambitoglou 1976: passim; Trendall 1989: 255–68 gives a conspectus, but (since he is rather reticent on the symbolism of the myths) see also his bibliography, pp. 273–76.

101. On the relevance of these terms for understanding Greek narrative ensembles see Stewart 1983: 67–68.

out of the way, Alexander has come within a split second of killing Darius; above, Boreas abducts Oreithyia, who flings her hand out, just like the fleeing king. But are we to take Boreas as the charioteer's counterpart, or as Alexander's?[102] The painter gives us little help until we turn to the reverse. Here, Dionysos drives Ariadne away in a panther-drawn chariot, accompanied by his *thiasos* of satyrs and maenads, while above a head in a Phrygian cap is flanked by dancing women.

Could the Dionysos picture be a reference to the god's Indian triumph, and thus to Alexander as a New Dionysos?[103] If so, it would not only be the earliest one we have by far (cf. Chapter 3.3), probably antedating even Alexander's own campaign in India, but it would also be both inexact as an analogy and inappropriate to the vase's funerary function. Ariadne has nothing to do with India but very much to do with a life of bliss in the hereafter. As for the head in the Phrygian cap, if he is Orpheus, then he too carries the promise of a happy afterlife.[104] Yet Darius looks for all the world not like a man about to get clean away but one about to meet a very nasty fate: the contradictions are even sharper than on the krater, and the Great King's escape (for those aware of the outcome) is even more miraculous.

Although we cannot know what images accompanied the Hamilton and Copenhagen pictures, and it is futile to speculate whether either of them could have been the Darius Painter's first essay in the genre, it seems very clear that both the Naples vases are using Alexander's victory in a most idiosyncratic way. Like the Athenian dedicator or dedicators of the Akropolis Alexander (color pl. 1), this painter is co-opting the king to his own purposes. He represents him as the ideal Greek general, casting him in the role of the traditional protector of the *polis*, mature in years, favored by the gods, and dutifully revenging Hellas by punishing the impious and womanish barbarian. Yet he also hedges him about with a host of images that stress his enemy's lucky escape. Should one refer this ambivalence to the conflicted feelings of the Tarentines about Alexander the Molossian's ambitions and their rupture with him in 332?

Though both attractive and psychologically intriguing, this explanation takes no account of the demands of the genre. The Molossian's successes may have stimulated the Darius Painter to paint Alexander's victory, but his treatment is probably determined less by contemporary politics than by pictorial

102. So Heydemann 1883: 25, comparing Hdt. 7. 189.
103. So Heydemann 1883: 26–27.
104. Cf. Trendall 1989: 255, 256, 268.

tradition and by the needs and expectations of his clients. To him and presumably to them as well, Darius's miraculous delivery from imminent death provided unexpected support for their own fantasies of wish fulfillment. Looked at in this way, these vases subordinate Alexander's triumph, none too subtly, to the Western Greek dream of immortality.

6

SPEAR-WON LAND

1. UNIFYING IMAGES

As described in Chapter 3.4, Alexander clearly intended that his Macedonian royal money should be minted and used in the areas he conquered: that it should become the world's first imperial currency. His types (figs. 29–31) would circulate in the "spear-won land" (*doriktētos chōra*);[1] his wealth, his name, and his chosen imagery would guarantee virtually every monetary transaction. His decision to open new mints in Cyprus, Syria, Phoenicia, Egypt, Babylonia, and Persis, and to require many of those already operating in those areas to convert their types to his own, was soon extended to the nominally free East Greek cities. Only the eastern half of the empire, the so-called Upper Satrapies beyond the Zagros Mountains, remained untouched, for the excellent reason that its economy was still nonmonetary. Though Alexander apparently took considerable amounts of coin with him to Baktria and India to pay troops and to reward client kings, systematic introduction of coinage to this area would be the task of the Seleukids.[2]

Before taking a closer look at the imagery he selected, there is a myth to dispel: that by 323 the Herakles of the silver coinage had become a crypto-portrait of Alexander himself.[3] Methodologically, the proposal is triply

1. Diod. 17. 17. 2; Just. *Epit.* 11. 5. 10. Zervos 1982 and Troxell 1991 propose a date after the Issos, in late 333 or early 332, for Alexander's first coinage; *contra*, Price 1982a and 1991b, who argues for 336.

2. Plut. *Alex.* 59. 5; Curt. 9. 1. 6; Indian mercenaries are mentioned by Arr. *Anab.* 4. 26. 1, 27. 3 and Plut. *Alex.* 59. 6; on the puzzle of Alexander's finances in the east see Bellinger 1963: 70–77.

3. See, among others, Gebauer 1939: 2–18; Cahn 1975: 118–19; Bieber 1964: 48–49; Hölscher 1971: 46–47; Schwarzenberg 1976: 275–76; Vermeule, in Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 27; Pollitt 1986: 25; *contra*, Bellinger 1963: 13–21; Göbl 1978: nos. 648–50, 655, 657–59;

flawed. First, what looks individual to us was not necessarily intended as such: this is to mistake vividness for particularity.[4] Although the only safeguard is to study and illustrate all the *comparanda*, one or two coins are invariably selected as representative, even though dozens of dies are involved and the variation among them is great. Second, though the Herakles head was certainly *taken* to represent Alexander after his death (fig. 121), this proves nothing as to original intent. Appeals to sculptured heads wearing the lion scalp, none of which can be independently placed before 323, are vain, for only the one on the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus is demonstrably an Alexander (fig. 103)—and it is posthumous.[5] And third, since Ptolemy both continued this series and from ca. 321 minted coins that clearly bore Alexander's portrait (figs. 76–79)—but with the elephant scalp, not the lion scalp—the obvious inference is that the head with the lion scalp was at that time *not* considered to be a portrait of Alexander.

In any case, since the entire question concerns only the Egyptian mint and a couple of others that seem to take their cue from it, not royal policy but private initiative is the point at issue—and the chances are that these men had no idea what Alexander looked like, for he left Egypt for good in 331.[6] Alexander's own goal was uniformity. If he had wanted his portrait on his coins, then he would no doubt have got it, clearly and unambiguously; for since most users of these coins would never have seen him, a "cryptoportrait" would be senseless. The ideology the coins reveal is far more interesting.

Alexander's three main types were Athena/Nike for the gold, Herakles/Zeus for the silver, and Herakles/bow and club for the bronze (figs 29–31). Together, they offered a comprehensive "portrait of empire," adapting quite conventional imagery to signify the extension and stability of his power.[7] On the gold, Athena, helmeted as befitted a war goddess, was the patron of the whole endeavor and the recipient of the spoils of the Granikos (Chapter 4.2); a Nike with a *stylis* or ship's standard held out the wreath of victory and was accompanied by the legend "[money] of Alexander." It has been suggested that both images reproduced statues on the Athenian Akropolis—Pheidias's Athena Promachos and one of the golden Nikai in the Parthenon. More likely, however, the Athena is Corinthian, the traditional symbol of the city

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Thompson 1982: 119; Smith 1988: 12, 59; Himmelmann 1989: 85; Mørkholm 1991: 52; Price 1991b: 33; plus every numismatist whom I have consulted personally.

4. Wollheim 1987: 69–75 exposes the fallacy.

5. Sjöqvist 1953, elegantly demolished by Bellinger 1963: 19–20, presents the classic case of such vicious circularity.

6. Cahn, in Schwarzenberg 1976: 273, places the engraver "at the court of Alexander," forgetting that in 325 the king was actually on his way back from India.

7. Price 1982a: 188–90; cf. Mann 1986: 247.

and (by extension) of the Corinthian League, whose *hēgemōn* Alexander became in 336; if so, given his determination to prosecute the war of revenge against Persia, the Nike could refer to the Persian rout at Salamis.[8] As to the silver and bronze, Herakles was both Alexander's ancestor and his predecessor in the conquest of the East, and his father, Zeus Olympios, was the traditional prototype of royal authority and the patron of the Macedonian army.

Yet, as pointed out earlier, the king's retention of the simple legend "of Alexander" long after he proclaimed himself king of Asia cleverly left the Greeks with at least the illusion of freedom. Only when his royal style changed decisively, after his return from India, did he reveal the true nature of his rule, finally adding the word "king."[9] Yet both legends could also be read in another way. Though they conventionally referred to Alexander as the author and guarantor of his currency, their location around and alongside the Nike, the Zeus, and Herakles' weapons hinted that these too were "Alexander's," that he was appropriating them for himself. Taken in this way, they could indicate that Alexander's "power to" and "power over" were divinely sanctioned, generated, as well as enforced, by Herculean might. In relation to Zeus, however, the sharp-eyed would have noticed that the normal structure of relationships signified by the genitive was reversed. Alexander might or might not be the son of Zeus, but on these coins Zeus was being claimed as "Alexander's." Fortunately, archaeology has furnished us with a precedent. During Philip's preliminary campaign in Ionia in 336, altars were set up at Eresos to Zeus Philippios, that is, to Zeus in his special capacity as Philip's protector.[10] So this Zeus could be understood as Alexander's special protector, Zeus Alexandreios.

Sociologists distinguish four components of imperial power: military and economic strength maintain political power, which is in turn reproduced by ideology.[11] In its unprecedented distribution, quantity, and iconographic coherence, Alexander's coinage spoke to all four. Replacing the chaotic array of local currencies, it proclaimed a new centralization of power, and thus of knowledge (both theoretical and practical), in his own person.[12] Produced to pay his army and to finance the construction of his cities, it established him as the universal benefactor, releasing the wealth of Persia for the benefit of

8. Athenian: Bellinger 1963: 12–13; Mørkholm 1991: 43–44; on the statues see Stewart 1990: 257, 259, 261, with figs. 315, 361. Corinth and Salamis: Price 1991b: 29–30; for the helmeted Athena on Corinthian coins see Kraay 1976: pls. 13–14.

9. On the date see now Price 1991b: 32–33, against, for example, Troxell 1991: 60–61.

10. Eresos: Dittenberger 1903: no. 8a; *IG* xii. 2, no. 526; Habicht 1970: 14–16; Schwarzenberg 1976: 261; Heisserer 1980: 27–78 (with radically different chronology); Badian 1981: 40–41.

11. Mann 1986: 22–32, 518–19.

12. Cf. Barnes 1988: 121–23.

the Greeks. Circulating randomly throughout Greece and Asia, it symbolized his omnipotence, omnipresence, and wholehearted support from Olympos. And finally, after 325 it announced that his empire was nothing less than the earthly counterpart of the kingdom of the gods. Irresistible, universal, and limitless, it was presided over by a king who combined the roles of the all-knowing Zeus and his invincible enforcer Herakles, of father and sibling together.

This coinage, then, circulated Alexander's fame (*kleos*) throughout the empire and beyond, in the same way as the winged words of his court poets would have done had these men been up to the task. It used the same means, repeating his name in the company of the appropriate gods and heroes, and reached much the same audience. As such, it neatly complemented those focal points of his *kleos*, his portraits in sanctuary and city.[13]

2. ALEXANDER DORYPHOROS

According to Plutarch, Lysippos responded to Apelles' picture of Alexander with the thunderbolt (Alexander Keraunophoros) at Ephesos by remarking that "not this but the lance [*longchē*] was his true and proper attribute, whose glory Time could never take away from him" (T 120). In the *Essays*, Plutarch concludes his section on Apelles, Lysippos, and Stasikrates by referring to "the statue that takes its name from the spear [*aichmē*]" (T 134). This is the entirety of the literary evidence, and it is not impressive, yet Lysippos's alleged statue Alexander with the Lance (S 16) has inspired more pages of print than one cares to count, with only an occasional voice raised in protest.[14] In fact, Lysippos made many bronzes of Alexander (T 113, 118–19, 121), and a considerable number of replicas survive that can be referred to statues of this kind. This is emphatically not to say that these types are all necessarily Lysippic: their interest lies in what they tell us about the propagation of Alexander's image in the world he created.

Before turning to the replicas, there is the question of names. Though Plutarch calls the attribute a *longchē* and an *aichmē*, he elsewhere reveals that they are but synonyms for the *doru*, the basic symbol of prowess and author-

13. Cf. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 1–3; comments: Stewart 1990: 54.

14. Smith 1988: 62 correctly notes that "there was probably no one such famous statue," but optimistically calls it an "archaeological Chimera," to be killed off with a "brief word." To me, it seems more like an archaeological Hydra.

ity in the Greek world (cf. T 149).[15] At the Hellespont, Alexander had proclaimed Asia as *doriktētos* or "spear-won," a description that the Successors eagerly took up after his death.[16] The historians often describe him using a *doru*, the stabbing and throwing spear as distinct from the long pike or *sarissa*, in battle.[17] Antiphilos of Byzantion wrote an epigram on the *doru* he dedicated to Artemis (at Ephesos?), and on the Chigi shield a relief of the battle of Arbela (Gaugamela) is inscribed "Kings and their peoples, as many as Ocean allots the lands of the earth, cowered before my *doru*."[18] Schreiber's suggestion that Lysippos's statue was an Alexander Doryphoros thus seems vindicated and is further supported both by Lysippos's own ironical remark that Polykleitos's Doryphoros was his master, and the portrait's own markedly Achillean character.[19]

Three statue types of this kind survive in replica (chiefly, though not exclusively, bronze statuettes), and two or perhaps three head types (figs. 32–49).[20] Among them, only the inscribed Azara herm (fig. 45) is irrefutably an Alexander. Yet though the rest are identified solely on grounds of probability, the arguments for the identification are by no means negligible. All three statue types became popular as vehicles for ruler portraiture, beginning in the early Hellenistic period, and we know that Alexander miniatures were much in demand as talismans in the later Roman Empire and perhaps before.[21] We also know that the Romans had little use for Alexander's Successors and rarely reproduced their portraits. As Augustus retorted when asked if he

15. Synonyms: Plut. *Mor.* 331D and 338A–B; cf. also T 149, with A. Alföldi, *AJA* 63 (1959): 18 on the spear and authority before Alexander, citing several texts on the *doru*, and also Theopomp. *apud* Plut. *Dion*. 24. 10 (*FGH* 115 F 331). Lucian and Kallixeinos (T 69 and 95) call it a *longchē*.

16. Hellespont: Diod. 17. 17. 2; cf. 18. 39. 5 and 43. 1 (Ptolemy), 19. 105. 4 (general), 20. 76. 7 (Antigonos), 21. 1. 5 (general), 22. 1. 3 (Decius at Rhegion); see especially Mehl 1980–81; Walbank and Astin 1984: 66, 122, 148, 296, 411; Green 1990: 5, 187, 194, 198, 367.

17. E.g., Arr. *Anab*. 1. 15. 6–7; and Plut. *Alex*. 16. 8 (Granikos). Arr. *Anab*. 1. 15. 6–8 shows that this and the *xyston* are the same weapon; see in general Brunt 1976: lxxx; Markle 1982. Kleiner 1951: 222 confuses it with the *sarissa*.

18. Antiphilos: *Anthologia Graeca* 6. 97: Δοῦρας Ἀλεξάνδροιο. Chigi shield: *IG* xiv. 1296: ἔπτηξαν βασιλῆες ἐμὸν δόρυ ἔθνεα τ' αὐτῶν; for illustrations and commentary see Fuhrmann 1931: pl. 3; Sadurska 1964: 74–76, pls. 16–17; Moreno 1974: 47, no. 20; 135–39, fig. 38. Hafner 1978–80: 135–36 infers from Plutarch that the statue was called the Alexander Aichmophoros, then proceeds to cite Antiphilos (but only in German translation) and Diodoros (with neither text nor translation) in support!

19. Schreiber 1903: 104 n. 8. Lysippos's comment (Cic. *Brut*. 86. 296): cf. Stewart, n.d., in press. Doryphoros as Achilles: Stewart 1990: 160. Lysippos's Alexander-Achilles: Schwarzenberg 1967: 62, 68–70, and passim. N.B.: in T 149 Antiochos's statue is called a *doryphoros*, and in T 56 Apuleius carelessly attributes Lysippos's Alexander to Polykleitos (cf. also T 109).

20. For replicas and bibliography see Appendix 4.

21. S. H. A., *Thirty Tyrants* 14. 4–6.

wanted to see the Ptolemies as well as Alexander, "I have come to see a king, not corpses."[22] Unfortunately, the statuettes vary quite considerably in detail, only one of the head types (a version of the Schwarzenberg) sits atop a body, and dates are, as usual, problematic.

The statue types are as follows:

1. The Fouquet type, known in six replicas and several versions (figs. 32–33). Naked, standing on left leg, right withdrawn, right arm by side, left arm raised with spear, head turned to right.
2. The Nelidow type, known in five replicas and versions (figs. 35, 38). Naked, standing on right leg, right hand on hip, left arm raised with spear, head turned to left.
3. The Stanford type, known in nine replicas and versions (figs. 39, 59, 62–63). Naked but for cloak over left shoulder, standing on left leg, left arm extended forward with sheathed sword in the hand, right raised with spear, head turned to left.

In addition, numerous other statuettes seem to represent Alexander but do not conform to any of these types. They may be eclectically derived from them or from other, still unknown statues of him.[23] Until more evidence emerges, there is no way of telling.

Though none of the statuettes has come down to us complete with spear, it seems certain that all three types originally held one. In each case we have versions in relief or fresco to document its presence, and in Greek art this is what nude warriors with an upraised arm usually hold. The only alternative would be a scepter; though this would radically change the meaning of the piece, one cannot rule out the possibility that cult statues of Alexander *basileus*, for example, could have been equipped in this way. Though the

22. Dio Cass. 51. 16. 5.
23. Miscellaneous statuettes:
    1. Bronze statuette, Baghdad, from Hatra: Hundsalz 1985. Version of Fouquet type?
    2. Bronze statuette, Baltimore, Walters 54.1051. Alexander?
    3. Bronze statuette, Naples 5373: Muscettola 1978: 87–88, pls. 34–35, figs. 1–6.
    4. Bronze statuette, Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum: N. Leipen, *Glimpses of Excellence: A Selection of Greek Vases and Bronzes from the Elie Borowski Collection* (Toronto, 1984), no. 42.
    5. Bronze statuette, Stuttgart (private): Hafner 1978–80: fig. 6; cf. the second "Alexander" on the Luni throne: Manino 1956–57: fig. 9. Adaptations: the Levy bronze: Smith 1988: pl. 33, and the Chieti imperator: Himmelmann 1989: fig. 47. The makings of another type?
    6. Statuette in gilded sycamore, Paris, Louvre MND 1396, from Egypt: Gebauer 1939: 37–38, 85 K7, pl. 5.

usual—and probably correct—inference is that Alexander held his spear with point upward, as is normal in Greek art,[24] some versions of the Stanford type show it reversed (figs. 59, 62–63; text fig. 8). Since women are present on all occasions, the meaning is perhaps that War has given way to Peace, even to Love: examples of the motif range from the fourth century B.C. to the Roman period.[25]

What distinguishes the three types is the action of the arm that is *not* holding the spear. On the Fouquet type, it hangs by the figure's side; on the Nelidow, it rests on the hip; and on the Stanford, it holds a sheathed sword, its hilt forward. The rest of the pose is more problematic, for since the makers of the bronzes had no compunction in reversing either the whole figure or its legs or arms or head independently, there is no means of telling which was the original pose in each case, or whether these whole or partial mirror reversals may not themselves reflect original variations on the type. In fact, the diverse proveniences of the replicas suggest that more than three statues are involved. For example, half the examples of the Fouquet type were found in Egypt, where the version on the painted tondo (fig. 33) was made late in the second century A.D., but two more come from Italy and France. So one statue still stood in Egypt while a second was being copied in the West.

Stylistically speaking, all three types could easily have been created within Alexander's lifetime: ample *comparanda* appear in contemporary sculpture and vase painting.[26] Several of the replicas show the slimmer canon, smaller head, and drier modeling that Pliny attributes to Lysippos.[27] While the skeptic can justifiably retort that these features are common coin in Hellenistic and Roman bronzework, there is no denying that such "adjustments," through which the apparent height of the subject appeared greater (*per quae proceritas signorum maior videretur*), would have been highly congenial to Alexander. One recalls that he was only of average height and that Lysippos was accustomed to represent him larger than life (T 2–7, 124; cf. Chapter 3.2).

According to Plutarch, Lysippos was also the only one to catch his virile and leonine demeanor (T 119). Though once again these bronzes may owe as much to their own time as to their putative fourth-century models, many of them seem tailor-made to fit the Aristotelian definition of the lion-man:

24. See, for example, Robertson 1975: pls. 73b, 87c, 108b, 181a.

25. In Greek art, Athena occasionally holds her spear in this way at the Judgment of Paris (*LIMC*, s.vv. "Athena," fig. 416; "Aphrodite," fig. 1419), and in Roman art, figures like Mars Ultor do the same to symbolize the conclusion of war (e.g., Simon 1986: 51, fig. 53, cf. 56); a thorough search would probably be rewarding.

26. See most recently Himmelmann 1989: 99, 148; for a broad conspectus of the possibilities open at the time see Stewart 1990: figs. 522, 523, 550, 552–53, 568, 573.

27. *HN* 34. 65: Overbeck (1868)1959: no. 1508.

> About the collar-bone he is loose rather than close-knit; his shoulders are strong; his chest is powerful; his frame is well-formed with large ribs and back, lean haunches and thighs, and strong, muscular legs. Indeed, his whole body is well-jointed and muscular, neither very hard nor very moist. He moves slowly with a long stride and swings his shoulders as he goes. (*Physiognomonica* 5, 809b26–33).

Typologically, the Stanford statuette with its head turned somewhat demurely towards the engaged leg seems the earliest, the more open Fouquet statuette the next, and the highly self-assertive Nelidow statuette the latest of the three. Yet once again the question of function intervenes to complicate matters. A portrait commissioned by the king himself to celebrate, say, his victory at Gaza could have been far more outgoing than an honorary or votive image set up by one of the "liberated" cities of Ionia.

The head types are the Schwarzenberg type, known in three copies, and the inscribed Azara type, known in three or perhaps four (figs. 40–49).[28] A head in Geneva seems intermediate between the Dresden and Azara types and could either be a Hellenistic synthesis of the two or a copy of yet another, independent portrait. None of these heads wears a diadem, but this omission does not necessarily date their originals before Alexander adopted it as his royal symbol in 330 (T 33, 35–36, 43, 46). They may have been designed for nominally "free" cities, or they may have omitted it for some other reason; alternatively, Alexander himself may not have worn the diadem consistently or often, or perhaps preferred to wear it around his Macedonian hat or *kausia* (T 42), here also omitted.

As to style, the Schwarzenberg head has a certain amount of Julio-Claudian contamination in the features; its original is usually dated to the late 330s.[29] The Azara herm has lost most of its surface, and its features have been recut; its stylized, fountainlike *anastolē* places it later than the Schwarzenberg, though there is no particular reason to think that it is posthumous.[30] The new copy of this type from Genzano (figs. 47–48) is more vigorously poised, and its features, though battered, are much more emphatic. Though the Azara head is often connected with the Fouquet statuette, only the Schwarzenberg type presents us with a body, in the form of a warrior on a

28. For replicas and bibliography see Appendix 4.

29. Most recently by Himmelmann 1989: 92.

30. So Ridgway 1990: 135, arguing that "the long hair suggests divinization"; *contra*, Hölscher 1971: 27: "Langes und reiches Haar war zu allen Zeiten ein Zeichen heldenhafter Schönheit." Himmelmann 1989: 94 dates it to ca. 327; as will appear, Ridgway may be right on the meaning and Himmelmann on the date.

late fourth-century rock relief at Myra in Lykia (figs. 42–43). A version of the Stanford-type Alexander, he carries a shield on his left arm instead of the sheathed sword.

Was this warrior an invention of its Lykian sculptor, or could it actually reproduce the Schwarzenberg head's long-lost body? The definitive publication of the relief remains noncommittal and overlooks the Stanford-type Alexanders entirely, but it carefully notes the great difference in competence between the warrior and the other figures on the same panel and observes that his head replicates the Schwarzenberg marble in both poise and structure as well as in coiffure.[31] The obvious inference is that the entire figure was borrowed from elsewhere as a symbol of martial *aretē*, and, thanks to a recent discovery, we now know of a dedication of Alexander in Lykia that could have served as a model. Late in 334, while he was passing through the Lykians' national sanctuary at Xanthos, a tablet that conveniently forecast the destruction of the Persian empire was discovered in a nearby spring. Alexander's response was to dedicate a statue, surely a portrait of himself (S 25; T 142), in the sanctuary; its base was rediscovered in 1979.[32] So the equation Xanthos = Myra = Schwarzenberg has something to commend it.

Though other locations for these spear-bearers are extremely hard to come by, to Xanthos and Alexandria one might tentatively add Naukratis in Egypt. In the early 320s, Naukratis put a tousle-haired male head accompanied by the legend ΑΛΕ on its bronzes (fig. 51a): who else but Alexander?[33] Possibly, too, some of the East Greek cities he "liberated" could also have set up such portraits, either in relation to his cult or simply to honor him: Ephesos is a prime candidate.[34] The same holds true for the cities of Phoenicia, which at first he ranked equal to those of East Greece (see Chapter 3.4). The official Macedonian line was that he had "liberated" Sidon, and its new king, Abdalonymos, owed his throne to Alexander's gift.[35] There is also the portrait of him that Harpalos wanted to set up next to that of his mistress, Glykera, at Rhossos in Syria in 325/324 (S 24). And finally, one must not forget his

31. Bruns-Özgan 1987: 133–36.

32. Plut. *Alex.* 17. 4; cf. Le Roy 1980.

33. For bibliography see Appendix 4.

34. Proponents of a single Alexander with the Lance have often suggested Ephesos as its location, apparently solely on the strength of Lysippos's reported criticism of Apelles' Keraunophoros in the temple of Artemis (T 120): so most recently Moreno 1974: 13, 137; Moreno 1987a: 93; Moreno 1988a: 259. Though this is pure hypothesis, the Ephesian tradition of dedicating portraits of benefactors was a long one: see Section 3, below. Alexander had removed the Ephesian oligarchs, installed the democrats in power, and restored the city's exiles, and so merited no less thanks from his protégés than they. As Arrian remarks, "seldom did [he] win better repute than on that occasion, by his treatment of Ephesos" (*Anab.* 1. 17. 12).

35. Curt. 4. 1. 15, 19–21; Just. *Epit.* 11. 10. 8–9; Diod. 17. 47 (carelessly substituting Tyre for Sidon); N.B.: no. 3 of the Nelidow-type statuettes comes from Tyre.

numerous other Alexandrias, all of which would have needed cult statues of their founder.

These spear-bearing Alexanders, then, asserted his authority over his "spear-won land" of Asia with economy and precision: they proclaimed it as his personal territory, given him by the gods.[36] On occasion, as at Xanthos, they functioned as thank-offerings for the gift. Derived from classical hero types like the Riace bronzes, the Pelops and Oinomaos from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (fig. 37), and the Doryphoros of Polykleitos (cf. T 149),[37] they simultaneously flaunted the source of his power (his physical and martial prowess) and served as icons of his personal domination over Asia. Alexander, they proclaimed, was invincible: *anikētos*. Their combination of the Polykleitan posture of "mobile repose" with the motif of the spear butt planted firmly on the ground created a seamless blend of "power to" (*dynamis*) and "power over" (*archē/hēgemonia*), while the defiant turn of the head signaled his unquenchable *pothos* for further conquest. Their nudity was not athletic (Alexander was not partial to athletes) but a symbol of triumphant virility.[38] While effacing all explicit indications of rank, it validated his personal credentials to rule, symbolizing the victory of the nude Hellene over the clothed foreigner, of Greco-Macedonian humanism over Asian barbarism.

By successfully manipulating Greek society's central symbolic form,[39] these portraits transformed the nude, youthful, heroic victor of surpassing *aretē* into the charismatic young king of Asia. Powerfully evoking Achilles and his mighty spear (fig. 34), this choice of type did not circumscribe Alexander by placing him in a particular situation or by directly assimilating him to Achilles or to anyone else. Nor did it identify him with unacceptable historical precedent in the way that other choices (fig. 2, for example) might have done. On the other hand, it anticipated and refuted charges that as a Macedonian he was less than a full-blooded Greek and that as a conquering despot his power was less than legitimate, by announcing that he indeed exemplified the group, that he charismatically embodied its "collective representations."[40]

So whereas previous Greek portraits had been cast in a preexisting role, these created a new one and made Alexander its paradigm, filtering the visible

36. Diod. 17. 17. 2 (Hellespont); Arr. *Anab.* 2. 3. 8 (Gordion); 2. 14. 7 (after the Issos); see especially Hammond 1986: 74–77; Hammond 1988: 389–91.

37. Stewart 1990: figs. 264, 292–93, 378–79.

38. Alexander and athletes: Plut. *Alex.* 4. 11. Nudity: Bonfante 1989; Stewart 1990: 75–76, 105–6; cf. Halperin 1990: 88–104 on the classical body and society.

39. Cf. Cohen 1969: 219–20.

40. Cohen 1969: 224.

(his real features) through the conventional to promote Alexander's enhanced ontological status. As exercises in rhetorical *auxēsis* or "enhancement," they were equivalent to the heroic image of his court historians and the later *epideixeis* of the orators and used similar persuasive devices: carefully chosen visual metaphor and striking realism of detail (T 115–17, 119, 121). They asserted that what the kouros and Polykleitos's Doryphoros had been to archaic and classical Greece, respectively, Alexander would be to the brave new world he was creating. And to judge by the immense impact of his image on the Hellenistic world, where gods, heroes, rulers, and even private persons all cast themselves in his mold, they were right.[41] As ever, imitation was the sincerest form of flattery. This paradigm of the all-powerful individual was socially formative in a most fundamental way, for the Hellenistic world swiftly came to accept it as a guiding ideal.

The three statuette types, together with the Schwarzenberg and Azara heads, make it clear that this paradigmatic image of the hero-king could be open to inflection in the particular case. If Lysippos did indeed turn out these images by the dozen from his Sikyonian workshop, as the sources suggest (T 118, 119, 121), it would be fascinating to have some insight into the mechanisms of commission, design, and approval.[42] How were attributes and poses determined? What accommodations were made to local circumstance or to particular function—cultic, votive, and honorary? In what media—sketches or models—were these statues designed, and how were the designs appraised? The list of such questions is endless, but until an inscription comes to light recording such a commission in the manner of the fifth-century Athenian decrees, we shall probably never know the answers.

What more can the statuettes tell us? In the Stanford type the sheathed sword may offer a topical allusion: one recalls Apelles' picture of Alexander with the trussed-up figure of War (P 5). As mentioned above, this type even appears with spear reversed in several compositions showing a meeting with a woman (figs. 59, 62–63; text fig. 8). Maybe it originally held the spear in this way, in one version at least. More tranquil and pacific than the others, this statue would have been appropriate for the "liberated" East Greek cities, at peace now that their "benefactor" had come and gone. It reappears in a quite overtly civic guise in the second century (fig. 133), as well as in the scenes with women described above.

As for the Fouquet type, if this were indeed erected in Egypt, then it aligned itself more with the realities of the power situation there than with

41. See Chapter 2.1, with comments by Schwarzenberg 1967: 74 n. 92 and passim; Hölscher 1971: 43–51; Schwarzenberg 1976: 223–26; Smith 1988: 123, 136; Pollitt 1986: 26–37; Himmelmann 1989: 100–142; Smith 1991: 21–24.

42. For what little we know about these see Stewart 1990: 59–60.

the facade of "home rule" that Alexander erected in 331. The figure on the Antinoupolis tondo (fig. 33) wears a *hem-hem* crown on the top of its head, and the Fouquet and Jerusalem statuettes have a hole at this very point, and so could have worn one too. This crown was the symbol of Horus, Harpokrates, and the divinized pharaoh, so it could in theory be original to the image, or at least to any example of it that was intended to be seen by Egyptians. Yet this portrait is nude and in pure Greek style, and so by definition was not designed for an Egyptian audience. The crown, too, simply grows out of the top of Alexander's head, so it could well be a later addition.[43]

Finally, the Nelidow type adopts the hand-on-hip posture hitherto restricted to gods or to over-assertive heroes (fig. 37), and the head that (in some examples) looks up to the sky. A date after the return from India, when his royal style changed drastically, may be in order. As many have seen, the epigram quoted by Plutarch (T 119) fits this piece perfectly. Proclaiming the king's irresistible *dynamis*, the poet asserts his claim to world domination yet attempts to defuse the overt *hybris* of the image by acknowledging Zeus's superior power. Specious though this may seem, Aristotle would have approved. The argument would have gone as follows: Alexander is leonine, therefore he is great-souled (*megalopsychos*); therefore he may appear haughty, but in fact he is merely claiming his due.[44] Plutarch's remarks in the *Life* (T 10) suggest that he was not opposed either, though his apparent acquiescence may be deceptive. In the *Essays* he had censured this epigrammatist and other poets for "catching not his moderation but his power" (*Mor.* 331A), and elsewhere he clearly regards images of this kind as portending an irreversible corruption of the genre.[45] To us, and perhaps to many of his contemporaries, they are naked domination personified, their explicit threat of violence barely sublimated by the idealizing mode in which they are cast. Predictably, Hellenistic and Roman strongmen seem to have preferred this type to any other.[46]

As for the two head types, both are built vertically and have much the same facial proportions as the youthful Dresden type (fig. 9): the high cheekbones, flat cheeks, low-set mouth, and relatively small chin are particularly distinctive. Both, too, sport the *anastolē*, but the Schwarzenberg's (figs. 40–41) is the more overtly leonine: its owner has traced its ancestry to a

43. Rolley 1988: 89–90 discusses the hole and the crown on the Antinoupolis tondo but (citing the Sarapis as a parallel) takes them as a sign that the statue was an import. Yet as Fraser 1972: 249–50 has shown, the story that the Sarapis was imported from Sinope is an ancient canard.

44. *Phgn.* 5, 809a35; *Eth. Nic.* 4. 3. 3–8, 18, 1123b2–15.

45. *Mor.* 779F–780A.

46. For a representative sample of imitations see Niemeyer 1968; Oliver-Smith 1975; and Himmelmann 1989.

portrait from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, carved around 360, and has pointed out exact parallels in contemporary sculptures of lions (fig. 44).[47] Yet its fine bone structure, delicate modeling, and somewhat soulful expression are disturbingly effeminate, as if its early imperial copyist had chosen to "rescue" this aspect of Alexander's appearance from Lysippos's idealizing touch. Like the Getty head (color pl. 2), but in a different way, this copy recalls the images that the king censured for failing to do justice to his virile and leonine character (T 119).

The Azara type (figs. 45–49) is more problematic and in some ways more interesting. The emphatic toss of the head in the new replica from Genzano is a world away from the staid deportment of the two herms in the Louvre. Since herms regularly tend to favor a stolid frontality, the new head is more likely to reproduce the poise of the original; if so, it was akin to that of the Schwarzenberg type. As to faces, the Azara herm's is weathered and reworked, the Campana herm's is completely restored, and the Genzano head's is severely battered. Enough survives, however, to show that the new replica's features were far more vigorously modeled than the Azara herm's: its contracted, bulging brow, deep-set eyes, and tight-drawn lips give it an expression bordering on the ferocious (cf. T 16, 21). This agreement with the main, unromanticized tradition about Alexander's physiognomy suggests that in this respect, too, the Genzano copy may bring us closer than any other to his image as Lysippos construed it.

The hair of all three Azara-type copies is relatively intact; not only is it longer than the Schwarzenberg's, but the *anastolē* now wells up from the forehead like a fountain. Given the importance of the motif for Alexander and his public, and the definitely leonine and heroic connotations of the Schwarzenberg head's *anastolē*, the change is unlikely to have been capricious. Its best precedents are to be found on the coins of the Arkadian League in the 360s and of Philip II in the 330s, where Zeus is given a very similar *anastolē* (fig. 50).[48] The obvious inference is that the sculptor was using it to characterize Alexander as the child of Zeus.[49] This move surely postdated the king's visit to Siwah early in 331, when the priest of Ammon publicly acknowledged him as the sky-god's son (cf. Chapter 3.5).

47. Schwarzenberg 1967: 74 nn. 91–92, 86–88; Schwarzenberg 1976: 250 n. 1. For the Mausoleum portrait see Stewart 1990: fig. 526.

48. Arkadia: Kraay and Hirmer 1966: no. 513; Kraay 1976: 101 and pl. 17. 319; Göbl 1978: no. 823. Philip: le Rider 1977: pls. 14 (D177: Pella, 342–336), 31 (D98–101: Amphipolis, 348–342), 35–37 (D141–43, 168–70, 187: Amphipolis, 342–329), etc.; le Rider's very low chronology is revised upward again by Price 1982a: 186–88, who offers strong arguments for thinking that Alexander substituted his types for Philip's as soon as he began minting his own coins.

49. So, already, Cahn, in Schwarzenberg 1976: 270.

Such images could have worked only in Greek or at least Hellenized communities; yet even there their stress on domination rather than leadership, on *archē* rather than *hēgemonia*, must have caused considerable unease.[50] The complex power relationships of the *polis* had been embodied in a variety of *stratēgos* (fig. 2), *euergetēs* (benefactor), and other portrait types, each carefully adapted to the situation at hand. By substituting a reductive hierarchy of active ruler and passive subject, these Alexanders made it clear that he came as a conqueror and overlord, not as a genial and punctilious executive.[51] Other areas of the empire would have been still less receptive to images of this kind: Macedonia, it seems, preferred its warriors resplendent in armor (fig. 36),[52] and the "barbarian" East regarded nudity as slavish and shameful. So in the final analysis, this heroic attempt to enlist the Greek spectator in Alexander's enterprise, undercutting his resistance to Macedonian domination, tacitly admitted that the empire was not homogenous, that other forms of representation were necessary for the non-Hellenized East.

3. CHAMELEON KING

At Ephesos, Apelles painted a picture of Alexander on Boukephalas (P 12), perhaps as a part of the "procession [*pompa*] of the Megabyzos, the priest of Ephesian Artemis" that Pliny sandwiches between his account of the Alexander Keraunophoros and other pictures painted for the Macedonian court (T 60). The actual subject may have been his great military parade (*pompē*) and sacrifice to Artemis, held on the last full day of his stay there in the spring of 334.[53] To contemporary Ephesians, however, it was but the latest in a series of portraits of victorious liberators of their city, all dedicated in the Artemision. Beginning with Lysandros in 405, they continued with Konon in 394,

50. Cf. Miller and Tilley 1984: 5.

51. On *polis* portraiture see Chapter 2.3, with Stewart 1990: 51–53, 57–59. On Alexander and the Asian Greeks, see Chapter 3.4.

52. Dead warriors are invariably represented in armor on Macedonian tombs (cf. also Andronikos 1984: figs. 15–16; Moreno 1987b: figs. 214–15; Calcani 1989: figs. 14, 16, 19); Alexander himself appears armored on two late Hellenistic terracotta busts from near Thessalonike (Richter, in Amandry 1963: 113–14, no. 64 *bis*, fig. 48 *bis*), on the Roman coins of the area discussed in Chapter 2.1, and on the cult relief from Skopos (Rizakes and Touratsoglou 1985: no. 148, pl. 55).

53. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 18. 2; if so, then Aelian's anecdote about Boukephalas appreciating the finished picture more than Alexander (T 85) can be true only if Apelles followed the army in a mobile studio. One's suspicions are not diminished by the realization that it belongs to a well-known genre that begins with Zeuxis and the grapes (*HN* 35. 65–66) and includes such curiosities as Lepidus's snake (*HN* 35. 121).

his son Timotheos in 365, and Philip in 336; Philip's portrait, though, was destroyed by the oligarchic countercoup that followed his murder and the withdrawal of his Macedonian troops.[54] Yet while these were all single, free-standing statues, Apelles' was an equestrian image; indeed, if it really did form part of a great triumphal procession, it inaugurated the subject of the royal triumph in Western art.

Apelles developed this theme in two pictures that showed Alexander triumphing in a chariot, one with Nike and the Dioskouroi, and the other with Triumph (Pompe?), the bound figures of War (Polemos), and Fury (Lyssa?) seated on arms (P 4 and 5). These compositions synthesized the artistic repertoire of Greece and the Near East. Nike and the Dioskouroi were familiar figures from Greek victory dedications such as Paionios's Nike at Olympia and Lysandros's monument at Delphi; personifications like these were as old as Homer; and bound captives had been a staple of Near Eastern and Egyptian art for two thousand years.[55] With their chariot-borne conqueror, attendant gods and demigods, telling personifications, and trussed-up captives, these pictures heralded the triumphal iconography of the Hellenistic world and Rome.

Since Augustus dedicated them in his Forum, it is likely that he got them from Alexandria, though we do not know whether they were painted before or after 323. Pliny's report that Apelles was on bad terms with Ptolemy even during Alexander's lifetime and openly quarreled with him after Alexander's death could suggest the former, but the story is very anecdotal and may be complete fiction.[56] Definitely exhibited in Alexandria, but equally uncertain in date, was the equestrian statue of Alexander the Founder (*ktistēs*) described by Nikolaos of Myra (T 126; S 18). As in the Alexander Mosaic, the king was shown in full armor, but bareheaded; now, however, his right arm was raised "in the air as if to grasp something." Nikolaos was clearly puzzled at this gesture, which has been variously explained as a hand outstretched to indicate his conquests or as a fist closed around a lance that had disappeared by Nikolaos's time. Yet since an open hand was a common and quite obvious motif, and one can hardly imagine Alexander in armor but weaponless, the closed but hollow fist seems the more plausible of the two. A bronze statuette found at Begram in Afghanistan among a cache of objects, many of them Alexandrian, could give some idea of the appearance of this work (fig. 52). It con-

54. Lysandros et al.: Paus. 6. 3. 15–16. Philip: Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 11.

55. Paionios and Lysandros: Paus. 5. 26. 1 and 10. 9. 7; Stewart 1990: 271–72. Personifications: see, for instance, *Il.* 18. 535; Paus. 5. 18. 1–2; etc. Captives: Pritchard 1969: figs. 305, 311, 313, 314, 323, 325–26, etc.

56. *HN* 35. 89; cf. Lucian *Cal. non tem. cred.* 2–4, where, however, a serious anachronism has intruded: Apelles' alleged coconspirator against Ptolemy actually lived half a century later.

forms to Nikolaos's description at every point, including the cloak rolled around the left arm.[57]

Two rare bronze coin types, both minted in Egypt and almost certainly datable to Alexander's lifetime, also apparently bear portraits of the conqueror (fig. 51).[58] One, mentioned in the previous section, is from Naukratis and has a young male head with tousled hair and the legend ΑΛΕ on the obverse, and a female head and the legend NAY on the reverse; the other, from Memphis, has a young male head wearing a Phrygian helmet on the obverse, and the forepart of Pegasos and the legend A on the reverse.[59] The Naukratite coin was presumably struck by the city whose emblem it bears, and the Memphite one either by the local satrap or by Alexander's comptroller, Kleomenes. If the Memphite issue followed Alexander's visit early in 331, then the satrap would have been Petisis, the Egyptian who soon resigned to protest his lack of autonomy (see Chapter 3.4). This type is more specific iconographically than the other. Alexander (if this is really he) is clearly portrayed as a soldier, and the Pegasos, a distinctively Corinthian emblem, was presumably chosen to emphasize his position as *hēgemōn* of the League of Corinth, complementing the Corinthian-helmeted Athena of his regal coinage (fig. 29).

In their various ways these portraits clearly emphasized both Alexander's personal domination of Asia and the gods' share in the event. In addition, they were all in pure Greek style and as such may serve to introduce another extremely long-lived practice in Hellenistic and Roman court art in Egypt: the patronage of Western styles for Western audiences and of Egyptian style for native ones. Alexandria and the other Western communities were regularly served by monuments in the Greek tradition, while in the rest of the country, the *chōra*, the ruler usually commissioned in the traditional style. Darius the Great offered a partial precedent, though whether Alexander knew this is an open question. His Canal *stēlai* and an inscribed statue of him in Egyptian granite later taken to Susa showed him resplendent in Persian dress, whereas on his Apis *stēlai* and the reliefs from the temple of Hibis at El-Khargeh he appears in the traditional regalia of the pharaoh.[60] If the statue of

57. Goukowsky 1978: 213–14. Moreno 1987a: 112–14, figs. 58–60 prefers the open hand but overlooks Goukowsky's note and the Begram statuette. For bibliography to the Begram statuette see Appendix 4.

58. For descriptions and bibliographies see Appendix 4.

59. The headgear was formerly identified as a Persian satrapal cap, but, as Price 1981: 34 shows, the forward-curving peak indicates that it ought rather to be a "Phrygian"-type helmet, as in figure 100. For the cap see Kraay 1976: nos. 1018 and 1027; and for the helmet (formerly called "Thracian"), Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 103; Vokotopoulou 1982; Messerschmidt 1989: 72–73.

60. Conveniently illustrated and discussed in Root 1979: 61–68 (Canal *stēlai*), 68–72 (Susa statue), 124–25 (Apis *stēlai*), 125–28 (Khargeh), pls. 9, 10–11, 35, 36.

Alexander *ktistēs* of Alexandria was made before 323, he too actively promoted a double-track approach, for he also paid for a series of Egyptian-style reliefs on and inside the great temple of Ammon at Luxor (S 1; figs. 53–54). And where he led, the Ptolemies and the Roman emperors were not slow to follow.

Alexander's restoration of Luxor was announced at the entrance of the temple by magniloquent inscriptions proclaiming him as the author of the project and by reliefs showing him entering the building. Inside, he built a new shrine for Ammon's sacred boat, the so-called Shrine of the Bark (text figs. 6–7).[61] The king was attentive to the condition of major shrines in the areas he conquered: when he took Babylon, for example, he ordered the restoration of the dilapidated temple of Bel-Marduk, the Esagila. The work, neglected during his absence, was resumed in 323 and continued fitfully after his death.[62] As for Egypt, his first act when he entered the country was to go to the ancient capital of Memphis and sacrifice to its gods.[63]

Yet it is now clear that when he returned from Ammon's shrine at Siwah he was not formally crowned pharaoh, as the *Alexander Romance* asserts (T 30–31).[64] Irregularities in his list of titles both at Luxor (cf. T 91a[i] and b[i]) and elsewhere prove that no coronation was staged, for one of the prime functions of the ceremony was to provide the new pharaoh with a standard, uniform titulature. Had one existed, it would certainly have been used. The fact that the ceremonies were long and required him to adopt full pharaonic regalia could have put him off, but, more relevantly, as king of Asia he stood above local institutions of this kind. This was why he wanted to keep Darius on his throne as a subordinate, and when that failed let the title of Great King lapse.[65]

Inscriptions dated by Alexander's regnal years show that his titulature actually took several years to stabilize, and the ones on the Shrine of the Bark (T 91) were cut before complete uniformity was achieved, probably in the

61. Abd el-Raziq 1984; on the cult see Bell 1985; and on the politics, Martinez 1989 and Burstein, 1991. Its companion shrine in Karnak bears Philip Arrhidaios's cartouches, so it must have been completed between 323 and 317. I thank Stanley Burstein, Antonio Loprieno, Christopher Hallett, and my wife, Valeria, for their kind assistance in preparing this section.
section.

62. Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 4; 7. 17. 1–3; Strabo 16. 1. 5, 738; Diod. 17. 112. 2–6; on the date of Alexander's decision and the condition of the temple see Bosworth 1980a: 314; Bosworth 1988a: 87, 167–68; Downey 1988: 7–12.

63. Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 4.

64. Ps.-Kallisthenes 1. 34. 2, but in a context whose point is precisely to legitimize him as the son of Nectanebo. Accepted by, among others, Tarn 1948: vol. 1: 41; Hamilton 1973: 74; Green (1974)1991: 269; Kraabel, in Badian 1976b: 49; and Grimm 1978: 103; rightly rejected by Bosworth 1988a: 71.

65. See Hammond 1986: 79–85, with Chapter 3.4.

early 320s.[66] Though the initiative was surely the king's, Kleomenes, his comptroller and de facto governor, must have ordered and paid for them. Yet though the Macedonians were free to propose, the priests of Ammon disposed, for they exercised total control over the temple. Their acquiescence signaled their acceptance of Alexander's rule. Significantly, they had resolutely refused this kind of legitimation to the Persians, who had spurned the Egyptian religion and thus risked cosmic chaos. Alexander, on the other hand, had sacrificed to both the Buchis and Apis bulls and undertook enough religious building to conciliate them—the Luxor shrine included.[67]

The temple (text fig. 6) had been built by Amenhopis III, and though its rituals centered on the connection between king and god, understanding their meaning is another matter. Fortunately, complete publication of the inscriptions has cleared up many problems: "We can now describe Luxor as the temple dedicated to the divine Egyptian ruler or, more precisely, to the cult of the royal *ka*."[68] The cult established the legitimacy of the king by confirming his possession by the royal *ka* and clarified the status of monarchs whose claims were problematic. Since Hatshepsut and Horemheb had been legitimized by it, and in Roman times the emperor was worshipped in the temple's first vestibule, Alexander's presence in the sanctuary should cause no surprise. The royal *ka* was the spirit of kingship itself, traceable back to Horus and Osiris and regenerated in each legitimate king by the ithyphallic Min/Ammon-Ra Khamutef.

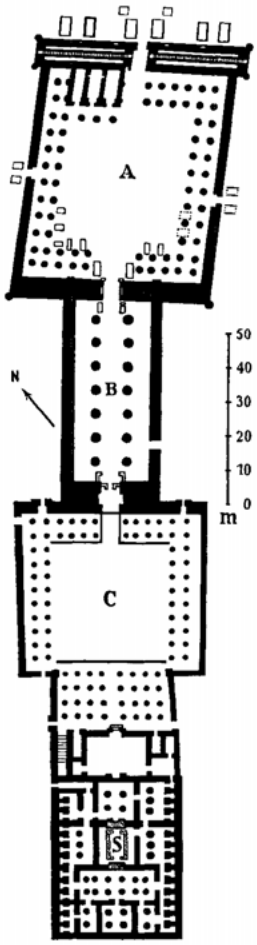
Alexander's new shrine stands in the inner sanctum of the temple. Indicated by the letter *S* in text figure 6, it is [ ]-shaped, is built of fine white sandstone (cf. T 91a[vii]), and measures 5.7 by 7.8 meters (text fig. 7). Its outer and inner walls are embellished with sunk and low reliefs respectively and are also richly inscribed (T 91). Its completely canonical form announces a similarly strict treatment of subject matter.

On the long eastern and western sides are carved eighteen panels arranged in three superimposed registers (figs. 53–54). These show Alexander meeting Ammon-Ra and the ithyphallic, *ka*-bearing Ammon-Ra Khamutef, after introductions by Monthu (east: cf. text fig. 7) and Atum (west). Four similar panels embellish the sides of the south door, featuring meetings with Ammon below and with Waset and Ipet above. The two goddesses Waset and Ipet were the guardians of the pharaohs and the Luxor temple, respectively. To

66. For the inscriptions, see Burstein, 1991; the date suggested here for the Luxor reliefs is his, by personal communication (1991).

67. Buchis: relief from the Bucheum in the British Museum, see Porter and Moss 1937: 138. Apis: Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 4. Cf. Burstein, n.d. (1), in press.

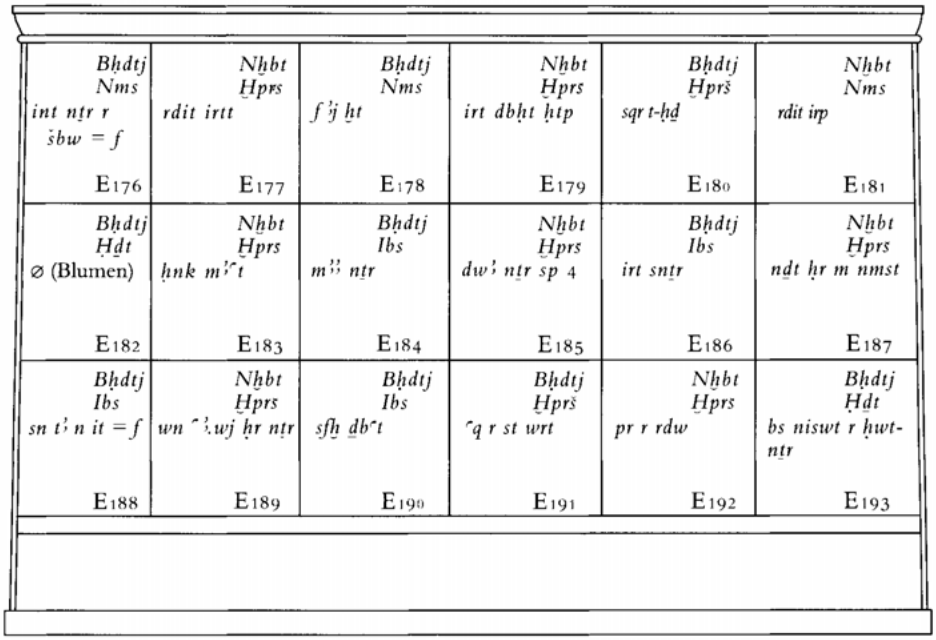
68. Bell 1985: 251–52.



6. Plan of the Luxor Temple. The Shrine of the Bark is marked "S."

either side of the north door, Alexander is represented entering the temple, surrounded by divine and pharaonic symbols. This door also has a socle frieze, a continuation of which runs around the shrine's interior, showing Alexander at the head of the nineteen nomes of Upper Egypt on the east and at the head of the sixteen nomes of Lower Egypt on the west; the three remaining panels are filled with images of the Seasons. Finally, the reliefs above these show him meeting the Theban triad: Mut, Ammon and a close associate (Ipet on the east, Amaunet on the west), and finally Khonsu.

As remarked earlier, these reliefs and the hieroglyphs that accompany them (T 91) are rigorously canonical, presenting Alexander as the rightful heir to the central, authoritative traditions of pharaonic Egypt. Their fifty-two images of Alexander are the largest corpus of his portraits in existence, yet classical archaeologists and ancient historians have overlooked them al-


Bḥdtj Nms int nṯr r šbw = f E176
Nḫbt Ḥprs rdit irtt E177
Bḥdtj Nms f ʾj ḫt E178
Nḫbt Ḥprs irt dbḥt ḥtp E179
Bḥdtj Ḥprš sqr t-ḥḏ E180
Nḫbt Nms rdit irp E181
Bḥdtj Ḥḏt ∅ (Blumen) E182
Nḫbt Ḥprs ḥnk mʾʿt E183
Bḥdtj Ibs mꜣꜣ nṯr E184
Nḫbt Ḥprs dwʾ nṯr sp 4 E185
Bḥdtj Ibs irt snṯr E186
Nḫbt Ḥprs nḏt ḥr m nmst E187
Bḥdtj Ibs sn tʾ n it = f E188
Nḫbt Ḥprs wn ʿʾ.wj ḥr nṯr E189
Bḥdtj Ibs sfḫ ḏbʿt E190
Bḥdtj Ḥprš ʿq r st wrt E191
Nḫbt Ḥprs pr r rdw E192
Bḥdtj Ḥḏt bs niswt r ḥwt-nṯr E193

7. East wall of the Shrine of the Bark in the Luxor Temple. Ca. 330–325 B.C.

most entirely.[69] Carefully and methodically, they show him being introduced to Ammon and Ammon-Ra Khamutef, praying and making offerings to them, and receiving gifts from Ammon in return. These gifts include the *sed* sign, symbol of rejuvenation. Alexander often carries the ankh, symbol of long life, and wears a variety of crowns, sometimes two or more together: white, blue, red, double, Nemes, Atef, horned, double-feather, and gold-ribbon. A host of other pharaonic and divine symbols are included, and numerous cartouches and accompanying salutations complete the ensemble (T 91; cf. text fig. 7).

Under the watchful eyes of Horus and accompanied by sphinxes, *sed* signs, and the symbols of Ammon and Osiris, the inscriptions over the doorways record "his renovation of the shrine for his father Ammon-Ra." His numerous titles (T 91) furnish impressive testimony to his legitimacy in the eyes of the priesthood, and the socle friezes confirm this by showing him leading the country's thirty-five nomes to Ammon with offerings of their produce. This is the sociologists' "synergistic charisma" in action, as each

69. Not one of the standard works on Alexander portraiture so much as mentions them (though Bieber's title perhaps exculpates her in this instance); neither do his historians and biographers, with the exception of Burstein, 1991 and (2), in press.

nome fervently addresses the god with a prayer for Alexander's health and welfare, selecting the king's titles from the list above.

To Egyptians these images and texts would have been alive, and, like others of their kind, they served the purpose of ensuring the survival of Egyptian society from pharaoh to pharaoh. At the crisis point of each succession, cosmic order or *ma'at* had to be reaffirmed, or the world would lapse into chaos. The archaism of the Shrine of the Bark is a device familiar to Egyptologists from the monuments of other, equally self-conscious periods in Egyptian culture, most recently the monuments of Dynasties XXV (730–663), XXVI (663–525), and XXX (378–341). Like them, it too reveals an almost desperate desire for continuity.

Yet its stricter adherence to the canon than even the products of the fourth-century native pharaohs betrays massive anxiety at work. Produced by the priesthood for the priesthood (who alone could visit the inner sanctum, read the inscriptions, and decode the images), it is entirely solipsistic. By using Alexander's money to create this rigidly orthodox shrine, they showed that their craving for stability had overcome whatever suspicions they may have had as to their new master's intentions. His sacrifices at Memphis and elsewhere had evidently convinced them that—his administrative arrangements to the contrary—he had restored the traditional Egyptian system, was thoroughly imbued with the royal *ka*, and so had earned their recognition as pharaoh.

No portraits of Alexander in fully Iranian guise exist, and one should not expect to find any, for he refused to style himself Great King of Persia.[70] Although he donned the Great King's purple tunic (chiton) with its central white stripe and golden belt (T 32–47; cf. color pl. 6), he shunned the full Achaemenid regalia because he wanted neither to be typecast as the archetypal oriental despot nor to be considered only as ruler of the ex–Persian empire. He was the king of Asia. Indeed, even these limited sartorial concessions to the conquered aroused considerable resentment in the army. Any portrait in this guise would have infuriated the Macedonians and earned him the contempt of the Greeks, although those Iranians who were prepared to fall in with the conquerors might have appreciated the gesture. This prickly situation lays bare the irresolvable contradiction at the heart of Alexander's entire imperial venture.

Moving farther east and saving the "Porus" coins for the next chapter, we come to the Alexander portraits allegedly seen in India by the wandering

70. Plut. *Demetr.* 25. 3; cf. Hammond 1986: 79. For examples of what such a portrait would look like, see Smith 1988: pls. 57–59; Stewart 1990: figs. 875–76. Price 1981: 34 demolishes the notion that the "Alexander" head on the Memphite coins discussed in the previous section (fig. 51b) was wearing a Persian satrapal cap.

philosopher Apollonios of Tyana around A.D. 44 and recorded by his early third-century biographer Philostratos (S 19, 29–30, V 3; T 127, 146, 157). Unfortunately, among them he dates only the inlaid bronze panels in the extramural temple at Taxila, which, he says, were dedicated by Porus after Alexander's death. Of the other portraits he mentions, the dedications on the battlefield of the Hydaspes would have been an appropriate sequel to Alexander's victory, and the images of Alexander in gold and of Porus in black bronze in the Temple of the Sun at Taxila can hardly have been placed there after Porus's death in 318.

Yet Philostratos's veracity is by no means beyond doubt. As explained in Chapter 1.2, even if Apollonios existed, the diaries of his companion, Damis, almost certainly did not. Yet Philostratos clearly had access to a fairly accurate description of Taxila, for his account of the city has been largely vindicated by archaeology. Though he says that the extramural temple was a hundred feet long, and the only candidate archaeologically, the Jandial temple, is smaller, the building is in the right place and was probably erected by the mid-first century A.D. So Apollonios could easily have seen it, as could travelers during the Antonine period, when interest in the East became intense as a result of Lucius Verus's Parthian campaigns in the 160s.

Since this sanctuary is late, the works that Apollonios saw in it must have originally been dedicated either in an undiscovered predecessor or elsewhere.[71] Another problem with them and with the statues in the Temple of the Sun is that Porus never controlled Taxila, which was the capital of his bitter enemy Taxiles; their "reconciliation" after the battle was a mere facade.[72] Furthermore, it is curious that no other source mentions the statues at the Hydaspes, though Arrian gives a full account of the victory celebrations.[73] The Porus supplicating and Alexander greeting him on the "gates" of the battlefield could describe familiar types in Greek, Achaemenid, and Indian art, but the Alexander in an eight-horse chariot "as he looked when he confronted the satraps of Darius at the Issos" is surely a fabrication.[74]

The dedications in the Temple of the Sun, however, ring true, for Alex-

71. Marshall 1951: 222–29; Tarn (1951)1985: 360; Marshall 1960: 85–89. Oikonomedes 1985 completely ignores the discrepancies. Cf. Philostr. *VA* 2. 17 and *RE*, s.v. "Philostratos," cols. 151–52 for his use of the Alexander historians, Nearchos, Megasthenes, and later Greek ethnography.

72. Arr. *Anab.* 5. 20. 4; on their careers and territorial possessions see Schober 1981: 11–26, 90–91; and Bosworth 1983. Cf. also Bosworth 1988a: 125–31, 238–40.

73. Arr. *Anab.* 5. 19. 4–20. 1; cf. Diod. 17. 89. 3–6; Curt. 9. 1. 1–8; Just. *Epit.* 12. 8. 8.

74. Supplicating and greeting: e.g., Stewart 1990: figs. 475, 489, 520, 761, 828; Huntington 1985: fig. 5.36. Chariots: Pliny *HN* 34. 19 dates the introduction of six-horse chariot dedications to the Augustan period; though this is contradicted by Livy 38. 35. 4 (189 B.C.), an eight-horse chariot in 326 is almost incredible.

ander believed that Helios had given him the East to conquer; it was explicitly for this reason that he sacrificed to him and him only after the battle.[75] (This, by the way, helps to account for the influence that Alexander's portrait soon began to exercise on the sun-god's own image.)[76] Presumably Porus wanted to make his dedications at Taxila because this was Alexander's easternmost provincial capital. Though he held his own kingdom as Alexander's vassal, it lay outside the boundaries of the empire proper, and dedications like these would have both annoyed his enemy, Taxiles, and reassured the real authority in the satrapy, Eudamos, of his own loyalty. Unfortunately for Porus, Eudamos had his own agenda. When in 318 Eudamos decided to evacuate India, he killed Porus and took his elephants, 120 in all, in order to establish himself as a power in Iran.[77]

It is amusing to speculate what these Far Eastern images of Alexander would have looked like. Not Greek, surely, for one cannot imagine Greek sculptors following the army around in 326, and the area hardly offered much to attract them in the few short years before Eudamos evacuated it.[78] Possibly Achaemenid, for some refugee craftsmen seem to have made their way from Persia into India after Alexander's conquests deprived them of their traditional patrons.[79] If Indian, then one need look no further than the Sunga (i.e., late Hellenistic) diademed warrior with a solar crown from the railing of the great stupa at Bharhut (fig. 55). Long recognized as a Greco-Baktrian, his diadem marks him out as an echo of some lost ruler portrait, and the solar imagery is suggestive: Alexander or the aptly named Heliokles or even Eukratides or Menander, both of whom used such imagery on their coins?[80]

75. Diod. 17. 89. 3; Curt. 9. 1. 1. Plut. *Mor.* 330D comments that if Alexander had not died so soon, the whole world would have looked to one common source of law as to the sun, but the lands he did not reach remained sunless. According to Philostr. *VA* 2. 12 and 24 (T 127), Porus's elephant, also dedicated to the Sun by Alexander, was still to be seen in the mid-first century A.D.! Yet though elephants usually do not live beyond one hundred, the custom of donating them to sanctuaries is authentically Indian; its appearance here could suggest that Philostratos was relying on a much earlier narrative, perhaps the memoirs of Megasthenes. This, in turn, might help to support the authenticity of the statues.

76. L'Orange (1947)1982: 34 believes that Alexander's image borrowed from Rhodian Helios imagery, not vice versa; Hölscher 1971: 37 rightly treats this thesis with skepticism.

77. Diod. 19. 14. 8; Schober 1981: 91 wonders whether Eudamos murdered Taxiles, not Porus, citing the frequent confusion of these two men and their kingdoms in the sources.

78. Schober 1981: 90–91 discusses what little we know about it, hints of unrest included, but overlooks Philostratos's account entirely.

79. See Huntington 1985: 42–46 for examples.

80. Bharhut: Huntington 1985: 67–68, fig. 5.11; B. Barua, *Barhut* (New Delhi, 1979), 3: 34, 54, 86, fig. 71, regards the figure as a manifestation of the sun-god, Mihira, but others prefer to see it simply as a guardian (*dvārāpālā*). Heliokles, Eukratides, and Menander: Tarn (1951)1985: 210, 262–63. A contemporary *dvārāpālā* at Pitalkhora (fig. 56) wears what looks like a version of a Macedonian cuirass with *pteryges*: M. N. Deshpande, "The Rock-Cut Caves

By 323, others outside the confines of the empire also seem to have acknowledged Alexander's overwhelming power. His preparations for the conquest of the West were by then already far advanced, and embassies came to him early in the year "from almost the whole world," including the Libyans, Carthaginians, Spaniards, Celts, Italians, and Etruscans, "to ask for his friendship" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 15. 4), even perhaps to "honor him as their predestined king" (Just. *Epit.* 12. 13. 2).[81] In this connection, there is the tantalizing report of Julius Caesar's biographers that he saw—and wept at—an Alexander portrait in the great temple of Melkart at Gades (Cadiz) in Spain (S 21; T 129–30). Melkart of Gades was of Tyrian origin,[82] and Alexander's sack of Tyre after he was refused permission to sacrifice to Melkart had been a terrible warning of what he would do if opposed. Could this dedication have been connected with the embassy of 323, perhaps as a preliminary acknowledgment of Alexander's unstoppable power?[83] Once again we shall probably never know, but the statue must have been in Punic style, adding yet one more metamorphosis to the achievements of this chameleon king.

4. MAKE WAR, NOT LOVE

To consolidate his power in Asia, Alexander contracted three dynastic marriages. The first, in the spring of 327, was with Roxane, daughter of the Baktrian magnate Oxyartes.[84] The sources are united in calling it a love

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of Pitalkhora in the Deccan," *Ancient India* 15 (1959): 75, pls. 50–51; Huntington 1985: 84, fig. 5.34; cf. Calcani 1989: figs. 15–38 for *comparanda*. Greeks (Yavans) were well regarded in Mauryan and Sungan India, for they made many donations (dedications) to the Buddha; so one should not be surprised to find them co-opted to guard his shrines.

81. Cf. also Diod. 17. 113. 1–4; Pliny *HN* 3. 57 (Kleitarchos, *FGH* 137 F 31); dismissed as fictitious by Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 374–78; Brunt 1983: 498–99; reinstated by Hamilton 1973: 147; Bosworth 1988a: 166–67; Bosworth 1988b: 83–93, especially 89–90; cf. 190–202 for a vigorous defense of his plans to conquer the West, also doubted by many. Alonso-Núñez 1987 is skeptical of the embassy's historicity but overlooks the portrait in Gades.

82. Strabo 3. 5. 5, 169; Arr. *Anab.* 2. 16. 4; etc. (topographically confused: see Bosworth 1980a: 236–37); *RE*, s.vv. "Gades," cols. 448–50; "Herakles," Suppl. 3, cols. 998-1000; Alonso-Núñez 1987: 596.

83. Gagé 1940: 428–32 (accepted by Green 1990: 195) argues that it was dedicated by Fabius Aemilianus in 145. Yet App. *Iberian Wars* 65, adduced in support, does not mention Alexander, and as Green himself shows, the Roman leaders of the republic had little interest in imitating him.

84. Strabo 11. 11. 4, 517; Curt. 8. 4. 21–30; Plut. *Alex.* 47. 7–8; Arr. *Anab.* 4. 19. 5–6.

match, though since Alexander had already taken one mistress, Barsine, he could easily have taken another. Passion there may have been, but politics were paramount.[85] Consummating his reconquest of the country after the disastrous revolts of the previous two years, it also welded the Baktrian nobility to him in preparation for the invasion of India, securing his rear and ensuring him a ready supply of manpower.

His second and third marriages, in the spring of 324, were with two Persian princesses, Stateira and Parysatis, daughters of Darius and his predecessor Artaxerxes III Ochus, respectively. Whereas in Baktria Alexander had persuaded a few of his Companions to marry into the local nobility, he now ordered them to do so en masse. During five days of ceremonies and festivities at Susa, he and ninety-one other Macedonians were united with Iranian brides in a sumptuous pavilion specially constructed for the purpose.[86] Yet if this symbolized a true "fusion of the races," as an earlier generation of historians thought, why were no women brought out from Macedon to wed the remaining Iranian aristocrats? More likely, Alexander's message was quite different: "Power had passed to the European conquerors and the marriages symbolized the fact."[87]

At least one of these marriages brought forth a major painting. In a famous *ekphrasis* that later inspired Botticelli and Il Sodoma, Lucian describes how the late fourth-century painter Aetion envisioned Alexander's first night with Roxane (T 69; P 6). His picture, Lucian says, was not produced on commission but was exhibited at Olympia for sale. There seems no reason to doubt this. If doctors, Sophists, and Lucian himself could peddle their wares in this way, so could painters. Zeuxis had advertised his name and fame at Olympia,[88] and Aetion simply went one better. Indeed, as will appear, the *ekphrasis* shows that his picture was definitely conceived with a Greek audience in mind. Since his anecdotal and jaunty treatment of the theme presupposes that it was still topical and the protagonists were still alive at the time, and Aetion was already quite old in 326,[89] he presumably exhibited his picture

85. Barsine: Plut. *Alex*. 21. 7–9; Just. *Epit*. 11. 10. 2–3; 12. 15. 9. Writing of the marriages at Susa, Arrian mistakenly calls Darius's daughter Barsine, helping to inspire Tarn's famous attempt to prove that his earlier mistress of that name did not exist (Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 330–37): cf. Pearson 1960: 117, 159–60; Bosworth 1980b: 10 n. 75; and Bosworth 1988a: 64. On the politics of the marriage with Roxane, see Bosworth 1980b: 10–11.

86. Chares, in Ath. 12, 538b–539a (*FGH* 125 F 4); Diod. 17. 107. 6; Just. *Epit*. 12. 10. 9–10; Curt. 10. 3. 12; Plut. *Mor*. 329E and *Alex*. 70. 3; Arr. *Anab*. 7. 4. 4–8.

87. Bosworth 1988a: 157; but see the more cautious assessment by Hamilton 1987: 484–85.

88. Pliny *HN* 35. 62 (Overbeck [1868]1959: no. 1647).

89. According to Pliny *HN* 34. 50 and 35. 78 (Overbeck [1868]1959: nos. 1937, 1941), he "flourished" in the 107th Olympiad (352–349).

during the next celebration of the Games (the 114th), in the summer of 324. Two frescoes and a scene on Augustan relief ware (figs. 57–63) may copy pictures of one or more of these marriages, though none of them coincides directly with Lucian's account.

Lucian's essay was written to be declaimed at the festival of the Macedonian *koinon*, the Olympia: hence its theme. It is a masterpiece of mimesis, a triumphant inversion of Plato's Divided Line. For Lucian folds a mimesis into a mimesis and then caps his story with the tale of how Aetion's picture got him a wife (the daughter of its eventual purchaser, Proxenides). Describing how the painter's mimesis transformed reality, he invites his audience to repeat the process by rewarding his *ekphrasis* an equivalent prize. As he explicitly states in his coda (*Herodotus sive Aetion* 7–8), he is offering his wares for sale just as Herodotos and Aetion had done, representing their representations in prose, and ironically capping them both. In the end he even offers himself for comparison with the great Olympic victors of the past, to be stripped and inspected like them. "Perhaps then you will not find me altogether deserving of the whip; but my arena being what it is, even this would satisfy me" (8).

Lucian was speaking to Macedonians, and so is suitably respectful of Alexander and his queen, but what market was Aetion trying to reach? All shades of opinion would have been represented at Olympia in 324, and a close reading of the text reveals that his painting was by no means free of irony. Its subject was not the ceremony itself, as usually stated, but its aftermath—the wedding night.[90] The shift in emphasis was surely intentional, for his picture was not like Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding,* a formal document certifying the marriage, but a purely speculative venture. The fact that its painter chose this particular moment is suggestive, for as in the Alexander Mosaic (color pl. 4) it was the *kairos*, the critical point when Alexander's passion would be tested, and its consequences revealed.[91]

The sources are adamant that Alexander was at best ambivalent about sex. He regarded both it and sleep as signs of mortality and was renowned for his

90. For the details of the ceremony, performed at a banquet, see Curt. 8. 4. 27–29; for pictorial precedents for Aetion's motifs, see Hölscher 1973: 197.

91. On *kairos* and fourth-century art (Lysippos), see Stewart 1978; Pollitt 1986: 53–54, fig. 47; Stewart 1990: 187–88, fig. 555. Unfortunately for Aetion's pocketbook, he would have had no time to take into account the very special audience at the 324 Olympics. Though Alexander chose this as the occasion to announce the restoration of all exiles throughout Greece, drawing twenty thousand hopefuls to Olympia, the policy was not formulated until spring, and could not have been known in Greece until early summer. For the chronology, see Bosworth 1988a: 220–21 on Diod. 18. 8. 3–5; Curt. 10. 2. 4–8; Just. *Epit.* 13. 5. 1. It is interesting that none of these fervent supporters of the king bought the painting.

steely indifference to the charms of both boys and women. Theophrastos, it may be recalled, believed that he was all but impotent.[92] Predictably, Aetion represented him as the classic reluctant bridegroom, hesitant to break boundaries, to cross the space separating him from Roxane. For though he held out his crown to her, one of the Erotes had to drag him forward by the cloak, "using all his might," while the others joined forces to pull his spear and armor away, and Hephaistion and another figure, not inscribed but identified by Lucian as Hymenaios, looked on. A fragmentary mural from Delos, though evidently not a copy of Aetion's picture (as some have claimed), gives some idea of the scene, and the famous *Aldobrandini Wedding* in the Vatican represents the next stage in the development of the type (figs. 57–58).[93]

Lucian reassures his Macedonian audience that all this was no mere game: Aetion was emphasizing that Alexander's love for Roxane had not driven out his other love, War. As he reportedly "only desired . . . struggles, wars, and ambitions" (Plut. *Alex.* 5. 6), this was certainly what Alexander wanted everyone to believe, and he did immediately set off for India, so Lucian may well be reporting his public position on the marriage quite correctly. Yet the thrust of his description is quite different: it is that Eros unmans the warrior. And as we know from Alexander's own mouth (T 9), any aspersions upon his virility touched a particularly raw nerve.

The Erotes, then, are the bearers of Aetion's (and Lucian's) narrative, turning what looks like a charmingly descriptive *ekphrasis* into a drama of boundaries, of a king wavering at the edge.[94] They have been aptly described as the first putti in Western art, and their role was critical. Aetion was evidently well aware that above all else Eros is the one who redefines boundaries, simultaneously provoking and foiling the reach of desire. Like the lyric poets, he saw Eros as expropriation: "He robs the body of limbs, substance, integrity, and leaves the lover, essentially, less. . . . Love does not happen without loss of vital self. The lover is the loser."[95] As Love vanquishes War, so does it

92. Plut. *Alex.* 21. 1–22. 6; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 4. 19. 6. Impotence: Ath. 10, 435a.

93. Delos fresco: Bezerra de Meneses 1984: 79, fig. 2 (mistakenly giving the subject of Aetion's picture as Ares and Aphrodite); *LIMC,* s.v. "Eros": 906, no. 641 (A. Hermary). Unfortunately, the Erotes are not carrying the shield, no one is sitting on it, and the woman is looking up, not down. *Aldobrandini Wedding*: von Blanckenhagen and Green 1975; von Blanckenhagen 1982; cf. Moreno 1987b: 162, figs. 183–84.

94. On Eros, the reach, and the edge see Carson 1986: 26–61. Anderson 1976: 118–19 produces parallels to demonstrate the formulaic nature of Lucian's description, some of which are overdrawn (the Erotes are by no means "stripping the bride"); but it is the whole that matters, not the parts.

95. Putti: *LIMC,* s.v. "Eros": 906, no. 641, 937–38 (A. Hermary). Quotation: Carson 1986: 32.

filch away Alexander's power, symbolized by his armor but above all by his spear (here called a *longchē*). This picture was the absolute antithesis of the Alexander(s) with the Lance (figs. 32–49).

Yet the conflicts do not end with the groom's ambivalence and the bride's modesty. The gendering of desire in Greco-Macedonian culture meant that women were regarded primarily as targets for the roving male. "Normal" desire was specifically *male* desire, the normal sexual drive of the phallic male. In classical Greek society this drive was regarded as a natural product of the male citizen's unfettered masculinity, to be "used" as one's personal equilibrium and common sense dictated.[96] Sexually threatening females like Kirke, Phaidra, and Medea are the exceptions that prove the rule: unsettling at best, when they finally make their moves the result is chaos. If Alexander's equilibrium was really so upset by his quite "natural" desire for the demure Roxane, then the painter understood the extremism and fragility of his subject all too well.

Plutarch expressly states that Alexander's asceticism was the outcome of his "kingly" instinct for self-mastery.[97] Not born of any moral scruple, it was a technology of power, a strategy for domination, for all Greeks knew that self-mastery translated into mastery over others. In these texts, then, Alexander's stern self-regulation makes him the forerunner of those late antique ascetics whose total abstention from pleasure was engendered by a driving will to power.[98] Two details of the *ekphrasis* support this reading: Hephaistion is described as already leaning on a figure that Lucian identifies as Hymenaios, the god of marriage, while Alexander is being dragged by his cloak. Clearly, the weaker member of the dynamic duo has already gone over to the enemy; but was it merely a coincidence that the putto chose to drag Alexander by his cloak? For to Macedonians it was his long Macedonian cloak, dyed purple, that symbolized, even above the diadem, his race and his royal power in one.[99]

The implication, then, is not only that Eros is delivering Alexander's kingly *aretē* to his love, but that Macedonian royal power itself—the monarchy and its succession—is being surrendered to the barbarian. Having vanquished the (feminized) Darius, Alexander is conquered in his turn by an Iranian woman and proffers his victor's crown to her. "In this way the king of Asia and Europe took to wife a woman brought in as banquet entertainment, intending to beget from a captive a son to rule the conquerors" (Curt. 8. 4. 29). Was Aetion playing to this resentment against Alexander's increas-

96. Cf. Halperin 1990: 33–38.
97. *Alex*. 21. 7.
98. Halperin 1990: 69, arguing from Nietzsche and Foucault.
99. Ephippos, in Ath. 12, 537e; cf. Dio Cass. 78. 3; Neuffer 1929: 26, 35.

ing orientalism in general and his Baktrian marriage in particular, resentment that exploded the moment the king was dead?[100]

Recent excavations in Pompeii have brought to light a fresco that clearly takes up some of these themes but that seems to be independent of Aetion's painting (color pls. 6–7; figs. 59–60).[101] This fresco, painted in the Neronian period in one of the rooms of a large apartment building, the so-called Insula Occidentalis, is matched by another on the opposite wall showing Dionysos and a satyr ogling an all-but-naked woman who is presumably Ariadne (color pl. 8; fig. 61). In the center of the vault, above and directly between them, flies a Nike with a trophy. To left of center of the fresco stands a Stanford-type warrior, nude but for a purple Macedonian cloak and holding his spear with point downward; behind him stands a Persian bodyguard with spear and shield. On the right, a fully draped woman wearing a crown leans on a pillar, casually grasping a scepter in her left hand. A Macedonian helmet lies at the foot of the pillar, and an Eros holds up a shield to her left, between her and the warrior. A tree behind the warrior and a doorway or window behind the woman emphasize their respective spheres of action.

The man is surely Alexander: the figure type, purple cloak (T 33, 47), Macedonian helmet, and Persian bodyguard rule out any other identification. So who is the woman, and what is the occasion? Among the obvious candidates, debate has centered on Roxane and Stateira. One scholar recognizes the scepter as a divine attribute and has titled the picture Alexander and Roxane as Ares and Aphrodite, while another considers it to be a sign of royalty, identifies the woman as Stateira, and recognizes an allusion to the union of East and West.[102] Each of these proposals is open to serious objection.

In both cases one may legitimately ask what the woman is doing with a scepter, and why she is in Greek dress. Neither Roxane nor Stateira was a queen when Alexander married her, and Roxane was not even of royal blood. The picture cannot refer to the aftermath of marriage, when both women could legitimately carry a scepter, and maybe even wear Greek clothing, for Eros is actually disarming the king in front of our eyes. This must be their first encounter. Against Roxane, there is the problem that Alexander's reconstituted Persian bodyguard, the famous "Apple-bearers," is first heard of in

100. Curt. 8. 4. 29–30; 10. 6. 13–14; cf. Bosworth 1988a: 117.

101. For bibliography see Appendix 4.

102. Roxane/Aphrodite: Lagi de Caro 1988: 80. Stateira: Moreno 1987b: 162, though his suggestion that she leans on the marriage couch is optimistic: I see only a pillar. On the scepter as the prerogative of gods, goddesses, and queens, see Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. As for other candidates, Barsine and the queen of the Amazons, the only other women who had a sexual relationship with him, are also-rans, and Olympias and Sisygambris are obvious nonstarters, for he was never in love with either of them; Candace of Meroe (ps.-Kallisthenes 3. 18–23) was a late invention and besides was black.

early 324, three years after she married him.[103] Against Stateira, why is Eros the focus of the action, when not she but Roxane went down in history as the only woman Alexander truly loved?[104] And finally, although no Roman would have objected to associating Alexander with Ares, and Roxane with Aphrodite, should one believe that its putative Hellenistic original was intended thus? For though the Romans revered Ares/Mars as a positive force, the Greeks saw him as the god of *destructive* war, and when they compare him and Alexander, the intent is invariably hostile.[105]

So is the picture a Roman pastiche? This seems unlikely, if only because its Dionysiac pendant (color pl. 8; fig. 61) seems so obviously manufactured to echo it. Its composition is unique, and its "Ariadne" is a pictorial amalgam of the Hellenistic Medici and Capitoline Aphrodite types.[106] The result is an obvious potpourri, quite different from the assured, well-integrated Alexander picture. All in all, it looks as if the latter came ready-made, and the Dionysiac scene was concocted to complete the program because he too had conquered the East, fallen victim to love, and was recognized by this time as Alexander's counterpart among the gods (see Chapter 3.3). The trophy-bearing Victory on the ceiling between them emphasizes the point.

Two possible solutions suggest themselves. Either the woman is indeed Roxane and the painter Hellenized her because he was preoccupied with making an allusion to a mythological exemplar, or she is not Roxane but a goddess. In either case Aphrodite is the obvious candidate, and it is surely no coincidence that the painter has chosen to adapt a Hellenistic Aphrodite type at home in both Greece and the East.[107] For what it is worth, Lucian's descrip-

103. Bosworth 1980b: 8–9 and Bosworth 1988a: 272, on Phylarchos *apud* Ath. 12, 539e (*FGH* 81 F 41); Ael. *VH* 9. 3; Polyainos 4. 3. 24.

104. Though Stateira and Parysatis were taught Greek after their capture at the Issos, there is no suggestion in the sources that Alexander ever fell in love with either of them, or that they ever abandoned their native costume; furthermore, Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 6–7 is adamant that the marriages of 324 were celebrated in the Persian style.

105. Alexander-Ares: Kraft 1965; cf. the inscription on Demosthenes' portrait of 280/279: ps.-Plut. *Mor.* 847A (Overbeck [1868]1959: no. 1365); Stewart 1990: 297, T 138, figs. 614–16:

Εἴπερ ἴσην ῥώμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενες, ἔσχες,
οὔποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδών.

106. *LIMC,* s.vv. "Dionysos," figs. 748–55; "Dionysos/Bacchus," figs. 180–207; "Aphrodite," figs. 409–22, 746–57. As Mario Torelli reminds me, the Romans were well aware that Ariadne was the Cretan Aphrodite: *RE,* s.v. "Ariadne," cols. 207–8.

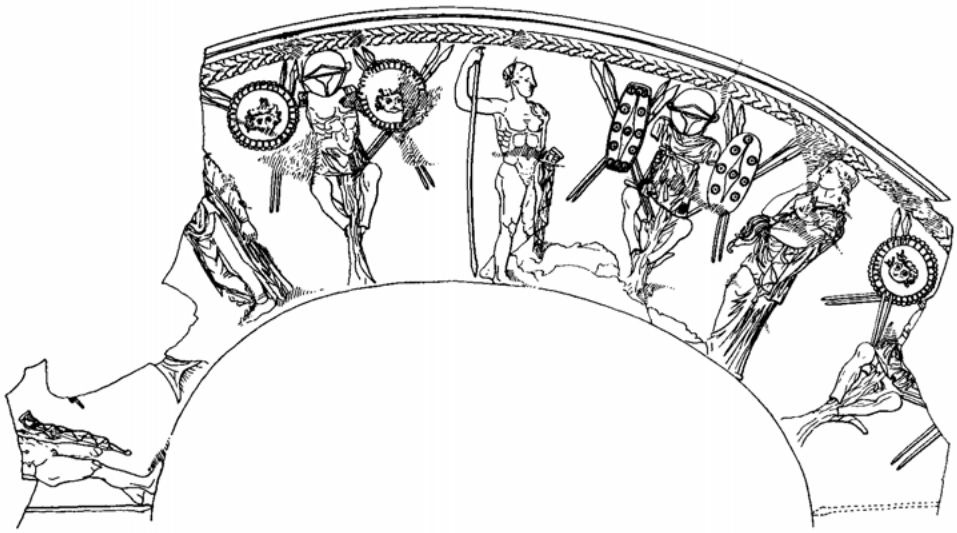
107. *LIMC,* s.v. "Aphrodite," figs. 42, 214, 804, 1097, 1275, 1357, 1367–68, 1452 (scepter and crown); nos. 338–48; cf. "Aphrodite in Peripheria Orientalis," nos. 214–17 (type). Other candidates that have been suggested to me are Paris (a.k.a. Alexandros) and Helen, or Achilles and Briseis. Yet Paris should be wearing his Phrygian cap, and once again at Troy neither Helen nor Briseis was a queen and entitled to a scepter; furthermore, surviving representations of Paris and Helen are quite different, and the only pictorial tradition about Achilles and Briseis concerns their parting. *LIMC,* s.vv. "Helene," figs. 122, 143, 152; " Briseis," figs. 3–6.

tion of Aetion's painting (T 69) gives no hint that he depicted Roxane in native dress. Indeed, his allusion to her veil—a distinctively Greek item—could suggest the opposite. The pendant picture must decide the matter: since it shows Dionysos falling in love with an Aphrodite-like Ariadne, then the other should show Alexander falling in love with an Aphrodite-like Roxane. Brides had been likened to Aphrodite ever since Homer, and in their separate ways, both these pictures pursue the simile to its logical conclusion. In both cases the goddess of love has completely possessed the mortal woman, captivating her suitor beyond hope of redemption.

What of the supposed allusion to Ares? As remarked earlier, Romans would have enjoyed this, and we may suspect that the house's owner may well have read the picture this way. In a Greek context, though, to compare a bride to Aphrodite by no means entailed that one must inevitably compare the groom to Ares. This would be absurd, and there is no warrant for it in either literature or art. Yet it must be admitted that in Alexander's case, many outside the court might well have found the comparison irresistible. Since Aetion's picture was produced for the open market, might the original of this Pompeian fresco have been an independent venture too, painted for a critical and independently minded audience?

The human relations suggested by the picture perhaps hint as much. As in Aetion's painting, Eros has filched Alexander's armor, but now (inverting the typical arming scene of archaic and classical Greek art) he presents it to Roxane. He has already brought her the king's helmet, and now he brings his shield too, while the king holds his spear with point downward as if to symbolize his conversion from War to Love. In Greek terms, then, the picture narrates the king's conversion from *pothos* for conquest to *himeros* for a woman, by the agency of Eros.[108] While his gaze relays his desire for her, not only is his pose curiously uncertain and shifting, but she looks straight past him, gazing unreceptively out to our left just like Ariadne in the picture's pendant. Nonchalantly standing with legs crossed, hand on hip, and scepter cradled along her forearm, she refuses to acknowledge her status as the object of his desire. She is the focus of the picture, not he; she is the one who disposes, not he; she will determine the outcome, not he. One recalls that Roxane was not altogether the shy, romantic princess of popular history. Immediately after Alexander's death, "being jealous of Stateira, she forged a letter

108. For *himeros* as the third member of the trio see Plato *Krat.* 420A; and cf. Skopas's contemporary statues of Eros, Himeros, and Pothos at Megara: Paus. 1. 43. 6 (Overbeck [1868]1959: no. 1165). Plato comments that whereas *pothos* is desire for the absent, *himeros* signifies desire for something that is present. The following paragraphs owe much to Mulvey 1975, and also to Whitney Davis, Rainer Mack, and the members of my seminar as acknowledged in the Preface.



8. Restoration of an Arretine bowl signed by Hilario, slave of L. Avilius Sura, from Orbetello. Warriors, trophies, and personifications. Ca. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14. Berlin.

that lured her into coming to where she was, and when she and her sister arrived, she killed them, threw their bodies down a well, and filled it in with earth, all with Perdikkas's knowledge and help" (Plut. *Alex.* 77. 6).

A further complication is that Alexander is here the object of the male gaze too—the gaze of the spectator. His nudity, formerly a relatively straightforward attribute of the all-conquering hero, now makes him seem curiously vulnerable. As a power symbol it becomes sexually problematic now that he has so obviously failed to impress this recalcitrant woman. Not only do we get the sense that he would be deeply embarrassed if she actually did turn to look at him, but the latent homoeroticism of Greek male nudity comes into full play the minute that the (male) spectator understands the sexual conflicts generated by the encounter. As Alexander becomes the bearer of the gaze, his dominance begins to slip.

The composition, then, is both unconventional and unresolved. Like Aetion's, it is not about union, but about the difficulty of union. It offers no closure and is dominated by difference and reversal of accustomed roles. Alexander's relative lack of power conflicts with Roxane's relative surfeit of it, a surfeit generated by her position as an object of desire and by her present refusal to submit to it. She, not Alexander, has the *hēgemonia* and the *dynamis*: she, not he, controls the situation and has the potential for action that results. Hers is the power of the eternally desired Aphrodite, undermining Alexander's aggressive maleness, depriving him of the armor of his invincibility. She unmans him like Kirke unmanned Odysseus, and Medea unmanned Jason. If

we are to read him as another Ares, then he is not Ares the awesome warrior but Ares the helpless slave of love.

A scene that seems, at least at first sight, to fulfill all our expectations of how an encounter between Alexander and a Persian princess should appear occurs on a series of fragmentary Arretine bowls of the Augustan period (figs. 62–63). On a rocky baseline, a warrior of the Stanford Alexander type stands on the left, spear again reversed, confronting a woman in Iranian costume against a sacral background of boukrania and swags. His body is very powerfully muscled in the late Hellenistic manner, and he has a prominent *anastolē*. She holds an object out to him in her right hand and wears slippers, trousers, a sleeved chiton girdled high above the waist with a reef- or Herakles-knot, a back mantle, and a high, three-pointed tiara.[109]

The same warrior is recycled on other bowls featuring trophies and women who this time are clearly northern in character; one is signed by a slave of the potter L. Avilius Sura (text fig. 8). The obvious inference is that all these women are conquered provinces and that the warrior is Augustus or one of his chief lieutenants. Victories in Germany and Armenia in A.D. 1 and 3 may have provided the occasion, and these women probably personify the two lands.[110] Yet even though these potters are extremely eclectic in their choice of models, and Avilius Sura was no exception, the appearance of the Stanford type in this context is suggestive. Arretine potters often looked to sculpture, painting, and fine silverware for inspiration, and if they could copy royal hunting scenes from the age of Alexander and the Successors (figs. 91–94), then they could just as easily use a composition featuring Alexander and a Persian princess if it suited them. At the very least, these bowls give some idea of what a "straight" or "court" version of Alexander's marriages would have looked like, free of the complications of the monuments discussed above.

109. Arretine fragments: Dragendorff 1935: 307–13, pl. 43. 1–2; Dragendorff and Watzinger 1948: 160–61, pl. 33. 505–6; *Archaeology* 22 (1969): 316; *LIMC*, s.v. "Armenia," no. 9 (woman only); and unpublished fragments in the Arezzo Museum.

110. Dragendorff 1935: 311, fig. 1, pls. 42–43; Dragendorff and Watzinger 1948: 161; Oxé and Comfort 1968: 97, pl. 52, no. 220; cf. the statues at Nemrud Dagh: Stewart 1990: figs. 874, 876.

7

ON LOAN FROM OLYMPOS

1. A REVOCABLE GIFT

"Those who consider the magnitude of what Alexander accomplished may well believe that the gods merely loaned so great a man to humanity, in order that, when his service was over, they might quickly recall him to their own family" (Curt. 10. 6. 6). Perdikkas expressed these sentiments to the army a day or two after Alexander's death, but no doubt many had already anticipated them during the king's lifetime as success followed success and the signs of his invincibility grew ever stronger. Alexander's claim to be son of Zeus, the responses that this claim provoked, and the question of whether or not his achievement merited godlike honors or even actual cult have all been examined in Chapter 3.5. Now it is time to turn to the images.

2. THE HERITAGE OF APELLES

One of the most renowned portraits in the history of Greek art, and certainly one of the most controversial, was Apelles' picture of Alexander carrying a thunderbolt (Alexander Keraunophoros) for the temple of Artemis at Ephesos (P1). All we know about this painting is that it was painted in four colors (like the Alexander Mosaic, color pl. 4) and was extraordinarily vivid (fingers and thunderbolt seemed to stand out from the surface), but the king's complexion was "too dark and swarthy," at least by Plutarch's day (T 62). The hand was obviously strongly foreshortened, and both it and the thunderbolt

were presumably enlivened by "luster" (*splendor*), an invention that is best explained in Gombrich's classic essay "The Heritage of Apelles."[1] One must imagine the skin shining and the attribute flashing in the half-light of the temple. As to the king's too-swarthy complexion, perhaps it had been darkened by varnish, either originally or later, or by age and dirt. Pliny tells us that Apelles also invented a secret black varnish that both protected the painting from dirt and toned down too-brilliant colors while still preserving their luster.[2] His compensation was twenty talents in gold coin, a sum that Pliny alleges was calculated "by measurement, not number" (T 60). This strange phrase may mean that the panel's weight was twenty talents or that its height, perimeter, or area could be equaled by twenty talents piled up vertically against it, placed around the frame, or distributed over its surface.

The painting must have been finished before Alexander's death, for otherwise Lysippos's sarcastic comment that Time would eventually deprive him of Apelles' thunderbolt, but never of his "true and proper attribute," the spear (T 120), would make no sense. Yet though its dedicant and exact date are not specified, a process of elimination indicates that Alexander himself commissioned and paid for it and that it may have been a particularly lavish and self-assertive thank-offering for his conquest of Asia. The major clues are its astronomical cost, its iconography, and its location.

Of the two possible dedicants, the Ephesians and Alexander himself, the size of the payment rules out the former. Twenty gold talents weighed just over 1,100 pounds (518 kg): this was almost half the amount of gold that Pheidias had used in the drapery of the Athena Parthenos, and was enough to finance a good-sized temple.[3] Neither city nor sanctuary could have afforded this outlay in the 330s or 320s, for the very good reason that the city's finances were fully extended in trying to reconstruct the sanctuary. For when Alexander entered Ephesos in mid-334, the Artemision was still in disrepair. Burnt by a lunatic in 356, it had also lost its treasures to the local oligarchs; the new temple was hardly begun, and the sanctuary needed all the money it could get. Yet the Ephesians primly refused Alexander's offer to finance the reconstruction on condition that he could inscribe his own name on it. To

1. E. H. Gombrich, *The Heritage of Apelles* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976): 3–18; Pliny *HN* 35. 29.

2. *HN* 35. 97.

3. Sources, Stewart 1990: 258. Twenty gold talents equaled two hundred silver ones at the 1:10 ratio then current. Compare the prices paid by Alexander's contemporary, Mnason, tyrant of Elateia, for his collection of paintings: 1,000 minae or 16.66 silver talents for Aristeides' picture (Alexander's?) Battle with the Persians (T 87; P 14); 3,600 minae or 60 talents for Asklepiodoros's picture of the Twelve Gods; and 20 minae or one-third of a talent for "each of the heroes in a picture" by Theomnestos (Pliny *HN* 35. 107, obviously drawing on a contemporary source).

punish them, he did not remit their tribute to the Persian king but reallocated it to Artemis. Even so, the new temple was not finished for decades.[4]

In fact, only Alexander could have afforded twenty gold talents for a single picture. Yet this sum, equal to two hundred silver talents at the 1:10 ratio then current, was three times the cost of the Granikos group and the contents of his own war chest in 334 (Chapter 5.1). So even he could not have come up with it until after the capture of the Persians' mobile treasury at the Issos in 333.[5] Though the conquest of the Aegean coast brought him a fair amount of plunder, he cannot have laid out this immense stipend at a time when he was about to dismiss his fleet for lack of money.[6]

Apelles' painting must have been very large. Twenty talents in gold staters, sixty thousand in total, would have covered nineteen or twenty square meters, allowing a picture three meters across and over six meters high. It was also revolutionary, for, as far as we know, Greek artists had never before represented a mortal with divine attributes. Though the poets had often praised men as "godlike" or "equal to the gods," and at some point in his narrative Kallisthenes invested Alexander with aegis and thunderbolt,[7] to concretize this kind of flattery pictorially was quite new. Yet if it is true that the Ephesians had greeted his offer to pay for the temple with the reply that it was inappropriate for one god to dedicate a temple to another, then they could hardly have objected to the innovation.[8]

In any case, Apelles' charge cannot have been a casual one and cannot have come before the first public pronouncement of Alexander's special status in the world: Ammon's salutation to him as "son of Zeus" at Siwah in early 331.[9] Yet Alexander himself apparently did not acknowledge his divine paternity until nine months later, and even then not unambiguously: according to

4. On Alexander and Ephesos see Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 10–18. 2, with Strabo 14. 1. 22–23, 640–41 on his offer to pay for the temple; Schwarzenberg 1976: 259–60 erroneously states as a fact that the priest of Artemis, the Megabyzos, commissioned the painting.

5. Arr. *Anab.* 2. 11. 10 values this at 3,000 talents. On weights and conversion rates see Mørkholm 1991: 8–9, and on Alexander's receipts and expenditures during these years see Price 1991b: 25–27.

6. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 20. 1; Diod. 17. 22. 5.

7. Poetic praise: exhaustive study, Roloff 1970. Kallisthenes: Polyb. 12. 12b3 (*FGH* 124 F 20, quoting Timaios). The king's shoulder guards on the Alexander Mosaic (color pl. 5) are embellished with stylized thunderbolts, but to read an allusion to his divine parentage into them is ill-advised, especially given the redating proposed in Chapter 5.2: cf. Niemeyer 1968: 48; Hölscher 1973: 128; Kienast 1987: 324 n. 48.

8. Strabo 14. 1. 22–23, 640–41; see Chapter 3.5.

9. Again, from Kallisthenes: most directly in Strabo 17. 1. 43, 813f. (*FGH* 124 F 14); cf. Diod. 17. 51; Curt. 4. 7. 25; Just. *Epit.* 11. 11. 7–13; Plut. *Alex.* 27. 3; Bosworth 1976: 52; Brunt 1976: 470–72; Bosworth 1980a: 269–74. Healy 1962 and Bodenstedt 1981: 83 and 303–5 have argued that the youthful head with Ammon's horns on the latest electron staters of Phokaia

Kallisthenes, before Gaugamela he asked Zeus to help him "if he were truly his son" (Plut. *Alex.* 33. 1–2; *FGH* 124 F 36).

What exactly did the thunderbolt signify? Not that Alexander *was* Zeus: the common belief that the painting represented "Alexander as Zeus" has no basis in Greek thought and cannot be translated into Greek.[10] Equally unacceptable is the theory that Apelles painted a Zeus Alexandreios, on the model of the earlier cult of Zeus Philippios at nearby Eresos, and that his picture was later "mistaken" for Alexander.[11] This involves the rejection of the entire ancient tradition about it, including its title and Lysippos's rejoinder, and ignores the irrefutable evidence of the "Porus" coins (figs. 68–69) that Alexander was indeed represented holding the thunderbolt before his death. Alexander Keraunophoros must be taken at face value: this was an Alexander Thunderbolt-bearer, wielding the distinctive attribute of the king of the sky, Zeus.

A further clue to the painting's significance may lie in its location. Although Athena was the patroness of the expedition, Artemis Ephesia was the great goddess of Asia. In the unlikely event that Alexander did not know this when he entered the city and sacrificed to her, the high priest would soon have enlightened him, and his encounters with the numerous cults of the many-breasted goddess in the cities of Karia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, and Kilikia would soon have provided ample confirmation of this fact. In the Persian heartland he would have found her again: there she was Anahita, whom Artaxerxes II had established as the great goddess of the Persian empire, with altars and statues in Babylon, Susa, and Ekbatana.[12]

A local Ionian tradition even establishes a direct link between Artemis Ephesia and Alexander's conquests. From an early Hellenistic historian we know that contemporaries put the burning of the old temple on the same day as Alexander's birth and interpreted it as a portent of his conquest of Asia. Since this correlation was false, it was presumably concocted after the campaign had been safely concluded. No wonder that in 323 Alexander's last plans included a temple to Artemis Tauropolos at Amphipolis, for she was generally understood as the Macedonian manifestation of the Asian goddess, whether Artemis Ephesia or Artemis Perseia.[13]

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is a cryptoportrait of Alexander, minted just after the Siwah visit. As Kienast 1987: 324–25 has pointed out, this argument is entirely circular, for the date of the coins depends on the supposed identification; the image, which bears no *anastolē* or other individualizing feature, is simply an unbearded Ammon, a popular figure on Greek coins (*LIMC*, q.v.) since the late sixth century.

10. Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς Ζεύς is an absurdity.

11. Schwarzenberg 1976: 259–62.

12. Berossos of Babylon frag. 16 (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 1. 5, 57). He identifies her with Aphrodite, but Artemis is her more usual counterpart: see Eduard Meyer, in Roscher, 1: 330–34; *RE*, s.v. "Artemis," cols. 1369–70.

13. Arson: Hegesias of Magnesia in Plut. *Alex.* 4. 5–7 (*FGH* 142 F 3). Synchronism with

So the Alexander Keraunophoros signaled, first, that the king's power on earth was like that of Zeus, universal, invincible, and omniscient; and second, that after ensuring the reconstruction of Artemis's desolated temple, he was now laying her "liberated" territory of Asia at her feet. Since Asia was their joint kingdom, he had blasted their common foe, the impious barbarian, just as their father Zeus was accustomed to do. Like Zeus, Alexander was all-knowing, and like both him and Artemis, he was invincible—*anikētos*—as Ammon was thought to have foretold.[14] And as Aristotle had theorized, he was now "so surpassing in excellence [*aretē*] and power [*dynamis*] as to be like a god among men" (*Pol.* 3. 7, 1284a10–12). For a precedent, Alexander could turn to the actions of his father, Philip, after he defeated the Athenians and Thebans in 338 and was proclaimed leader (*hēgemōn*) of the Greeks. His magnificent votive to Zeus at Olympia, the Philippeion, contained statues of himself and his family (Alexander included) in gold and ivory, a medium hitherto reserved for the gods (S 7), and a portrait of him described as "fit for a god" (*theoprepes*) was carried in procession behind those of the twelve Olympians on the day of his murder in 336.[15]

Apelles' picture surely celebrated a similar leap in Alexander's power. The king could have decided to commission it directly after the visit to Siwah or after the battle of Gaugamela seven months later or after he returned from India and the Gedrosian desert early in 324. Of these, the period after Gaugamela seems the most likely. Following his great victory he was "proclaimed king of Asia, made magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and rewarded his friends with wealth, estates, and provinces."[16] He then quickly occupied Babylon, Susa, Pasargadae, and Persepolis and expropriated their vast treasures. But his royal style changed little, if at all. He sat but once on the throne of Darius (with somewhat comical results: T 3 and 5), publicly spurned the blandishments of the East, and burned Persepolis in either a calculated act of policy or a drunken spree, according to whom one believes. It was not till almost three years later that he felt ready to introduce prostration (*proskynēsis*) at court, and even then he affected to treat it lightly, dropping the issue as

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Alexander's birth: Bosworth 1980a: 46. Artemis Tauropolos: Diod. 18. 4. 5; cf. 5. 77. 6–8 on the equation with Artemis Ephesia and Perseia (the Loeb translation gratuitously makes Aphrodite the subject here); *RE*, s.v. "Artemis," cols. 1399–1400.

14. Artemis is *anikētos* in Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 90–91; could there be some kind of a link here to Ephippos's story that he liked to dress up as Artemis (Ath. 12, 537e–538b: *FGH* 126 F 5), or is this merely a slander? Ammon's prophecy: Diod. 17. 51; Curt. 4. 7. 25–27; Just. *Epit.* 11. 11. 7–11; and Chapter 3.5.

15. Diod. 16. 92. 5, remarking here and again at 95. 1 that Philip exhibited himself "enthroned with" (*σύνθρονος*) the Olympians.

16. Plut. *Alex.* 34. 1; Plutarch then discusses his benefactions to the Greeks, but concentrates on the restoration of Plataia and his gift to Kroton. Kienast 1987: 320–21 dates the picture "around 330."

soon as it became contentious. To Greeks and Macedonians, only gods merited such deference.[17]

Yet none of this necessarily affects a dedication in far-off Ephesos, whose inhabitants had already saluted him (whether seriously or not) as a god. He had blasted the Persian army off the face of the earth; he had avenged the invasions of Darius and Xerxes; and he had regained Artemis's land for her and her people. Soon he was to torch Persepolis, just as his "father" Zeus was accustomed to torch the houses of impious kings like Oinomaos (fig. 37). Whether this act was calculated or not, his own public justification of it was that "he wished to punish the Persians for sacking Athens and burning the temples when they invaded Greece, and to exact retribution for all the other injuries they had done to the Greeks" (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 12). The "Porus" coins with their armored Alexander Keraunophoros (figs. 68–69), if struck immediately after his return from India in early 324, would support this date, for they were almost certainly minted on private initiative and were engraved by an artist who was decidedly second-rate. Surely this image was inspired by Apelles' picture, not vice versa.

All this suggests that Apelles' thunderbolt should probably be taken as a metaphor, signifying the final act in the drama that had begun with the invasion of 480, the destruction of the shrines of Greece, and the Oath of Plataia.[18] Alexander himself must have ordered the painter to include it, and he responded with characteristic flair. He took the Greek world's most heavily charged symbol of sovereignty and destructive potential and deployed it with unmatched optical verisimilitude and compositional emphasis, to the extent that Pliny's informant had eyes for nothing else. This mixture of optical brilliance and artfully thematized convention forcefully proclaimed Alexander's new ontological status, discarding the heroic mode of Lysippos for the hitherto sacrosanct trappings of divinity. Announcing that his "power over" and "power to" were now beyond compare, it created an unforgettable image of the prepotent universal king (*basileus*) calqued on that of the king of the heavens, Zeus Basileus. Suggestively, it was to Zeus Basileus that Alexander had sacrificed at Memphis in 331, and his Ephesian cult actually bore the *epiklēsis* Basileus (Appendix 3); finally, he added the title Basileus to his coins around 325.[19]

17. Occupation of Babylonia: Diod. 17. 64–72; Just. *Epit.* 11. 14. 8–12; Curt. 5. 1–7; Plut. *Alex.* 35–41; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16–18. Prostration: Curt. 8. 5. 5–24; Plut. *Alex.* 54; Arr. *Anab.* 4. 10–12. The "Vulgate"/Kleitarchos dated his capitulation to Asian luxury after he adopted the diadem in late 330, but gives the game away by associating it with the queen of the Amazons (Diod. 17. 77. 4–7; Just. *Epit.* 12. 3. 8–12; Curt. 6. 6. 1–11; Plut. *Alex.* 45 and 47); in fact, Alexander was campaigning hard in Baktria and Sogdiana at the time.

18. Lykourg. *Leokr.* 80; Diod. 11. 29. 2.

19. Memphis: Arr. *Anab.* 3. 5. 2; on this god and Ammon see Bosworth 1977: 54–55; *contra*, Kienast 1987: 313. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on his coins: see Chapter 3.4.

This approach promised great rewards and carried considerable risks. Lysippos had successfully utilized Greek culture's central symbolic form, the spear-bearing hero, but his Alexander Doryphoros was essentially a localized image, symbolizing the charismatic young king's power over the place(s) where it stood. Apelles boldly proclaimed that Alexander's power and knowledge were potentially infinite, but by representing his subject as a scion of heaven and defining his charisma as essentially a supernatural force, he thereby risked isolating him from the group that sustained him. True, the painting was aimed at Greeks, not at Macedonians, and Alexander took great care to deflate those who paraded his divinity in front of his Companions. Yet the problem could not be banished by witty asides. It was dramatized with full force at Opis in mid-324, when the mutinous Macedonians jeeringly told him to demobilize them all and continue the campaign alone with his father—meaning Zeus.[20]

Not only did Apelles' Alexander no longer stand in direct contact with the center, but his thunderbolt contained as much promise as reality. He had not yet conquered the world: there still remained continents to traverse and yearnings (*pothoi*) to be satisfied.[21] Furthermore, he was certainly not immortal: as Lysippos acidly remarked, Time would deprive him of the thunderbolt, but not the spear (T 120). This comment shows that Apelles' pictorial brilliance had the unintended effect of focusing opposition, though at this point the king's smooth chin may have proved an unexpected asset, hinting that just as the young Zeus had eventually grown into his heritage, so would he. The promise was not to be fulfilled, but the next generation staunchly maintained the fiction. When the Successors fought over his legacy, they were believed to be contending for "rule of *everything*," *hegēmonia tōn holōn*.[22]

By replacing the weapon of mortal monarchs with that of the king of the sky, then, Apelles boldly gave pictorial form to the hyperbole of Kallisthenes and the poets. This was a logical step given the king's now-stupendous power, but it would change the landscape of royal portraiture irrevocably, and provoke the same kinds of protest as the effusions of the flatterers. Once the gods had called in their loan, and Alexander's Successors competed to find adequate pictorial equivalents for the legacy they were striving to inherit, he was to be invested with the aegis, the ram's horns of Ammon, the Dionysiac panther skin and *mitra*, the lion's scalp of Herakles, and the elephant's scalp

20. One-liners: Plut. *Alex.* 28; cf. Ath. 6, 250f–251a. Curt. 10. 5. 6, 11 proves that the Macedonian army gave Alexander no divine honors during his lifetime. Opis: Diod. 17. 108. 3; Just. *Epit.* 12. 11. 6; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 8. 3.

21. For Alexander's *pothoi* after Gaugamela see Chapter 3 n. 47.

22. E.g., Diod. 18. 3. 1, 36. 6, 47. 4, 50. 2, 54. 4, etc.; Plut. *Eum.* 12. 1; cf. *Demetr.* 15. 3. Probably from the contemporary historian Hieronymos of Kardia: Errington 1976: 158–59. See Chapter 2.3.

too, sometimes singly, sometimes in combination (color pl. 8; figs. 76–79, 114–17). In their turn, the Successors adopted the eagle's head of Zeus, the bull's horns of Dionysos or Poseidon, the goat's horns of Pan, the radiate crown of Helios, the winged diadem of Hermes-Thoth, Poseidon's trident, and Herakles' club. And the Roman emperors took up where the Hellenistic monarchs left off.[23]

To some Greeks and Romans, paraphernalia of this kind was indeed a visible sign of apotheosis and signified that the ruler was literally a god on earth: *theos epiphanēs* or *deus praesens*. To others, it remained on the level of metaphor, continuing to signal that the ruler's power was *like* that of the divinity whose attribute he wore, but not that he was himself a god, and still less that he merited a formal cult. Yet when all was said and done, attributes of this kind were special: they were the specific symbols of the Olympians, who were divine. These images oscillated between two worlds, partaking fully of neither, and for the fastidious and the critical their iconic and symbolic aspects continued to contradict each other, defying reconciliation.[24]

Not surprisingly, then, the opposition voiced by Lysippos (T 120) remained alive well into the Roman period, when the ruler cult was almost universally accepted, even by the educated elite.[25] While many of Alexander's contemporaries had both balked at the "blasphemy" of worshipping a man and regarded images like Apelles' Keraunophoros as appallingly hybristic, the Roman East came to accept the worship but often continued to view the imagery with suspicion. It claimed more than the ruler could deliver, and to those susceptible to flattery it could easily be morally corrupting. Plutarch, for example, stiffly admonishes his Uneducated Ruler to take intelligence for his attribute, "not scepter, thunderbolt, or trident, as some assume in sculpture and painting, in their folly arousing hostility by claiming the unattainable; for god punishes those who imitate his thunder, lightning, and sunbeams, but rewards virtue" (*Mor.* 780F). To the Christians, never slow to jump on the bandwagon, such posturing was simple blasphemy and offered an opportunity for antipagan invective that was too good to miss (T 147).[26]

Replicas of Apelles' painting have proved predictably elusive. The favorite candidate is a picture in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, but the Neisos gem in St. Petersburg runs a close second (color pl. 8; figs. 65–67). The Pompeian picture (fig. 65) is to be found in the winter triclinium ('e') of the

23. For the Hellenistic material see Price 1984: 23–52; Smith 1988: 38–45; for the Roman, Niemeyer 1968; Price 1984; Pékary 1985; Maderna 1988.

24. Cf. Price 1984: 114–17, 183–84.

25. Price 1984: 114–17, with Bosworth 1988b: 118–19 on Arrian's acceptance of the ruler cult.

26. But on the complexities of the Christian position see Price 1984: 122–26, 200–205.

	West	*South (fig. 64)*	*East*	*North*
Upper Zone	Zeus (fig. 65)	Leda	Aphrodite?	Danae
Central Zone	(destroyed)	Eros vs. Pan, with Dionysos and Ariadne	(removed)	Kyparissos, with tripod of Apollo

house. It occupies the central aedicula of the upper portion of the room's west wall.[27] Had no information about Apelles' painting been preserved, the figure would have been identified without dispute as a young Zeus. Crowned with oak leaves and clad in a purple himation and sandals, he sits on a golden throne, resting his feet on a golden footstool, cradling a thunderbolt in his left hand, and raising high a golden scepter with his right. He is beardless, but this is easily explained by the fact that the room's theme seems to be "Loves of Youthful Gods."[28] The pictures are identified in the table above.

The loves of Zeus dominate the upper zone, and those of Apollo and Dionysos occupy the lower one, while numerous Cupids help to set the mood. Of course, diehards can still argue that the Zeus is *derived* from Apelles' painting. Unfortunately for them, the thunderbolt and left hand do not stand out boldly from the picture but are quite flat, completely unforeshortened, and not located in the front plane. Furthermore, the term Keraunophoros suggests that Alexander was actually carrying the thunderbolt, not merely cradling it. In fact, there is an excellent candidate for the source of the Pompeian painter's inspiration much nearer to home: Jupiter Capitolinus, whose temple and image overlooked Pompeii's own Forum.[29] If Zeus's face reminds one of Alexander's, this resemblance simply signals that, like Helios, Dionysos, Apollo, and others, the young Zeus also eventually succumbed to the blandishments of the great Macedonian's image.

The St. Petersburg gem, inscribed "of Neisos" (probably a sometime owner) is a better candidate, if only because the thunderbolt is the focus of the composition and the fingers holding it do project towards the viewer, as

27. Descriptions: Sogliano 1898: 254–64 (here called oecus 'f'); Archer 1981: 166–80; Clarke 1991: 227–35, pl. 17, figs. 136–37, 138–40. Mingazzini 1961: fig. 1 publishes a good color picture of the Zeus; Clarke 1991: pl. 17 another of the west wall as a whole. The Zeus was first connected with Apelles and Alexander by de Lorenzo 1900 but was rejected as a replica by Petersen 1900: 160–69; Schreiber 1903: 93–94; and Bernoulli 1905: 147; cf. also Six 1910: 155–56. In favor are Mingazzini 1961; Pollitt 1986: 22–23; Moreno 1987b: 147–49; Maderna 1988: 49–51; and apparently Clarke 1991: 230 and caption to fig. 139. *Contra* once more, Michel 1967: 28–29; and Schwarzenberg 1976: 263–64.

28. Schwarzenberg 1976: 263–64; a note of caution in Archer 1981: 613–17.

29. For the Jupiter see Stewart 1990: fig. 859. The Leda (fig. 64) is also taken from a popular sculptural type, many copies of which have been found in Italy: A. Rieche, "Die Kopien der 'Leda des Timotheos,'" *Antike Plastik* 17 (1978): 21–56, pls. 10–34; cf. Robertson 1975: pl. 129d.

in Pliny's description of the painting (color pl. 8; figs. 66–67).[30] Alexander, nude, is now readily identifiable by his *anastolē* and diadem. He stands in a contrappostic pose, contemplating the thunderbolt he holds in his right hand; his left, partially covered by an aegis, holds the hilt of a reversed sword. On his left side is a shield, and on his right an eagle that turns its head to look up at him. The gem must postdate his assumption of the diadem in 330: connoisseurs of the medium usually date it to the third century B.C.

Though the quality of the carving is high, two features are somewhat puzzling. First, the foreshortening of Alexander's left foot is quite incompetent, and second, his shield, eagle, and thunderbolt are all abruptly truncated by the edge of the stone—a distinct rarity in a medium where most images were individually composed to fit the available field. Both could suggest that the engraver got his composition elsewhere but was unable to reproduce it properly. The unsightly left foot would then be easily explicable as the only part of the model that he was unable to adapt to a frontal or profile aspect, and the truncation of the attributes as the result of his determination to make Alexander occupy the full height of the oval, regardless of how this would affect everything else.

Of course, none of this proves that the engraver copied Apelles' painting, though supporters of the notion do have the law of parsimony on their side. Furthermore, this gem, another like it, or its postulated model started a tradition, to judge from the custom of portraying the Caesars in similar guise.[31] And finally, Alexander's posthumous images in this vein are quite different: they indicate his apotheosis by endowing him either with the ram's horns of Zeus-Ammon or with an aegis draped from the shoulders like a Macedonian cloak or with both (figs. 76–79, 83, 114–19). Neisos's Alexander seems to belong to a less advanced stage, when such quasi-divine imagery was still in its infancy. Clearly derived from the Stanford Alexander type (fig. 39), his posture still retains something of the reticence (*aidōs*) of classical portraiture, when compared with contemporary images of Zeus or the highly self-assertive Ptolemaic Alexander Aigiochos (Chapter 8.3; fig. 83).[32]

30. For bibliography see Appendix 4. First connected with the painting in 1866; see Furtwängler 1900: vol. 2: 157 and Schreiber 1903: 205–7 for the nineteenth-century literature. Gebauer 1939: 27 and Kaiser 1962: 235 find Alexander's Lysippic proportions bothersome, but since the ancient critics praised both Lysippos and Apelles for the grace of their figures (e.g., Pliny *HN* 34. 65–66 and 35. 79; Quint. 12. 10. 6), their proportional systems probably had much in common.

31. E.g., Claudius, cameo formerly in the Arundel and Marlborough collections: Megow 1987: 81–82, 202, no. A 84, pl. 27. 2; Furtwängler 1900: pl. 65. 48. Nero, cornelian in St. Petersburg: Neverov 1976: no. 135. Both wear the aegis like a *paludamentum*.

32. On *aidōs* and classical portraiture see Stewart 1990: 52, 80, 133–34, 162, 187, 190, with fig. 568 for a late classical Zeus.

Since the engraver also represented Alexander as nude, his work must have been intended not for "barbarians" but for the Greco-Macedonian elite. His nudity certainly makes the thunderbolt a less intrusive feature, for both can be read as complementary metaphors: the one for prepotent virility and *aretē*, the other for universal power. A somewhat different, less critical audience is suggested by yet another image of an Alexander Keraunophoros, the so-called Porus dekadrachms (figs. 68–69). Only a handful of them are known, but they bear the only two full-length portraits of Alexander that can be irrefutably dated to his lifetime.[33] The first example to come to light was found at Bokhara in Sogdiana (northern Afghanistan), but all subsequent ones have come from Babylonia.

After a long period of relative quiescence, controversy over these coins has recently heated up with the discovery of several more in an Iraqi hoard in 1973, and the recognition that they are not an isolated phenomenon but were accompanied by a series of tetradrachms bearing an archer and an elephant (fig. 68). The hoard also yielded three examples of a second tetradrachm series with an elephant carrying a standard-bearer and a warrior on the obverse and a quadriga bearing an archer and a charioteer on the reverse. Though these coins are clearly related to the "Porus" and elephant/archer types, they bear no monograms (see below), clearly belong to yet another series, and do not include Alexander.[34]

The place of origin, date, iconography, and purpose of these three coin types are all disputed, and even their denominations are problematic. Since they were evidently minted in and for the East, numismatists now tend to reclassify them as five-shekel and two-shekel pieces. Though only about a dozen examples of the two monogrammed series (figs. 68–69) are extant, this too may be misleading: for the five-shekel, two obverse (anvil) and five reverse (hammer) dies have been distinguished, and for the two-shekel, three obverse and nine reverse. Since ancient obverse dies could take between ten and thirty thousand strikings without wearing out, these meager remains could theoretically stand for well over fifty talents' worth of coin.[35]

33. For descriptions and bibliography see Appendix 4. First recognized by Gardner 1887, but—amazingly—overlooked by Ujfalvÿ, Schreiber, and Bernoulli, and included by Bieber only as an afterthought. I thank Martin Price for his kind assistance with these coins and their problems, though he should not be held responsible for any of what follows, some or all of which he will probably disagree with.

34. Inventory in M. J. Price, *Coin Hoards* 1 (London, 1975): 14, no. 38; Price 1982b; additions, Price 1991a. For illustrations of the elephant/quadriga issue see Mørkholm 1991: 53 and pl. 3. 45–46; Price 1991a: 66 and pl. 15. 26–27.

35. Dies: Price 1982b: 75–76, 78; Price 1991a: 70; their life span: Kraay 1976: 16; and Mørkholm 1991: 16. Price 1991b: 66 n. 6 believes that this figure is too low, and suggests that low-relief dies could have taken up to thirty thousand strikings before wearing out. For the five-

Most numismatists, however, regard them as commemorative medallions rather than ordinary money. Their worn condition would then result from repeated scrutiny over a short time, rather than from more normal handling over a period of years. Yet this thesis too has its difficulties, chief among which is the coins' rather poor quality. The modeling is flat and somewhat coarse, and they are sometimes struck off-center, amputating either Alexander's feet or the elephant's trunk. Alexander's own superb imperial dekadrachms, bearing his familiar Zeus/Herakles imagery, are a world away.[36] Nor is the absence of a proper legend encouraging; these coins carry only the monograms AB and Ξ, which are presumably the initials of the minting officials.

This is therefore a quasi-autonomous coinage, struck not by Alexander himself but by his subordinates. Some have suggested a campaign issue, minted in Baktria or even Taxila either before or during the invasion of India, but if so, one would have expected Alexander's name to be on the coins. A recent theory connects it with the eighty talents of stamped or coined silver (*signatum argentum:* Curt. 8. 12. 15) that Taxiles gave Alexander four days after he crossed the Indus in the early spring of 326, but the overwhelmingly Mesopotamian provenience of the issues and their Greek monograms argue against this. Furthermore, the means of exchange then in favor at Taxila was the small, stamped ingot, which fits Curtius's description of the gift exactly. The same objections apply to Abisares, king of the hill Indians and a contributor to Alexander's coffers both before and after the Hydaspes. He would, however, fit the AB monogram.[37]

Manufacture in what is now Iraq or Iran is most favored, given the coins' distribution and their similarity in weight and fabric to the so-called lion staters (another quasi-autonomous shekel coinage), which were certainly made there.[38] Babylon used to be the prime candidate, but the coins' straight-cut edges, flat flans, shallow relief, and indifferent quality bear no resemblance to known issues from the Babylonian mint. Their date is equally problematic. They clearly cannot predate Alexander's decision in 327 to conquer India, and the hoard found in 1973 was almost certainly buried in 323/322. It contained numerous "lion" staters and Alexander tetradrachms signed M and ΛΥ, the latter representing the last issue of Alexander's lifetime and the first of his

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shekel, the figures are 2 dies × 10 drs. × 10,000 strikings = 200,000 drs. or 33.3 talents, and for the two-shekel, 3 dies × 4 drs. × 10,000 strikings = 120,000 drs. or 20 talents.

36. Best illustration in von Bothmer et al. 1983: 207–8, no. 100; cf. Mørkholm 1991: pl. 2. 30; Price 1991a: pl. 15. 7; Price 1991b: pl. 59.

37. Taxiles: Hollstein 1989; *contra*, Price 1991a: 66. Abisares: Arr. *Anab.* 5. 8. 3, 20. 5.

38. Price 1982b: 84, pl. 11. 7; Price 1991a: 66–67, pl. 16; Mørkholm 1991: 48, pl. 2. 28.

successor, Philip III Arrhidaios. Since the "Porus" coins in the hoard were worn, they must have been struck before these staters and tetradrachms, probably closer to 327 than 323.[39]

The traditional view, of course, is that they commemorate Alexander's defeat of Porus on the river Hydaspes in the spring of 326, but objections have been raised even to this. The most serious of them are that Alexander never confronted Porus in the manner they depict and that the image of Porus fleeing before the king denigrates a man who not only was conspicuous for his personal bravery but who subsequently became Alexander's most valued ally in India and the guardian of his eastern frontier.[40]

These problems take us into the realms of iconography and purpose. The Alexander Keraunophoros of the obverse stands in a very similar pose to the Alexander of the Neisos gem, but he now wears his armor and distinctive Phrygian helmet with gorget, flowing crest, and two side plumes (T 28),[41] and he holds a spear erect in his left hand. He belongs to a Macedonian tradition of triumphant warrors that is chiefly documented on tomb frescoes (fig. 36), so that were it not for the thunderbolt this could be an Alexander with the Lance for a Macedonian audience.[42] With the thunderbolt, though, the stakes rise dramatically: this is no mere *doryphoros*, but a military version of Apelles' Keraunophoros, tailor-made for the East. To drive the point home, a Nike sent by Alexander's father, Zeus, flies in from the spectator's left to hail the invincible king of Asia's victory with a crown.

To us, and perhaps also to Alexander's contemporaries, this combination of thunderbolt and military garb is somewhat unsettling. On the Neisos gem (color pl. 8; figs. 66–67), the king's nudity encourages the spectator to place him in a kind of limbo between heaven and earth, preempting speculation about the king's exact ontological status. On the coin, however, the blunt factuality of the armored figure signals unmistakably that the thunderbolt is indeed a metaphor and so creates a distinct instability within the image. Alexander's feet are firmly on the ground, but warrior-kings do not normally walk around toting thunderbolts. Striving to do justice to the fact of Alex-

39. These facts, clearly set out by Price 1982b: 79 and Price 1991a: 65–66, disprove the bold suggestion of Bernard 1985b that the issuing agent was Eudamos, the ex-satrap of Taxila and murderer of Porus turned condottiere (see Chapter 10.1), who was captured and executed by Antigonos in 316.

40. On these problems see Price 1982b: 80–81; Vidal-Naquet 1984: 390–91; Bernard 1985b: 66–67. On Porus and Alexander see most recently Bosworth 1988a: 127–29, 130–31, 239–40.

41. Formerly misidentified as a Greco-Persian hybrid, prompting a number of fanciful theories about its significance (e.g., Neuffer 1929: 29 and 37); correctly described by Price 1982b: 76 and Bernard 1985b: 67–68 (citing preserved examples like fig. 100).

42. See, for example, Andronikos 1984: figs. 15–16; Moreno 1987b: figs. 214–15; Calcani 1989: figs. 14, 16, 19; and cf. the comments on nudity and armor in Chapter 6.2, above.

ander's prepotent military power, the engraver succeeds only in bringing symbol and reality into head-on collision.

On the reverse, we see the king in the same uniform but now represented in the actual process of conquest. On horseback, he tilts at an elephant and its two riders, who are in full retreat. The one behind is unarmed, but the one in front both twists round in order to try to stab the king with his spear and carries a second spear and a goad in his other hand. It has recently been shown that this spearman is not the mahout, as is usually assumed; in India, the servant always rode precariously on the elephant's rump, while his master took the place of honor on its neck.[43]

But is the spearman Porus? This question is less hypercritical than it sounds, for though Porus was of gigantic size and wore highly elaborate armor, the spearman's stature, dress, and headgear seem little different from his mahout's. Also, as already mentioned, Porus and Alexander never met directly in the battle.[44] Yet both Indians are much bigger than Alexander, and "Porus" sits astride the elephant's neck, which would be decidedly uncomfortable for anyone but a giant. Two solutions to the dilemma have been suggested: either that the coins actually preceded the Hydaspes campaign, and so present a generic picture of hoped-for victories, or that they were struck after it on the basis of reports like that supposedly penned by Aristoboulos soon after the campaign was over. Lucian vividly describes the historian, on the voyage down the Indus, presenting Alexander with a fawning account of just such a single combat with Porus, and the king promptly throwing it overboard.[45]

Yet it is probably wrong to look for historical accuracy on a late fourth-century coin flan. Not only did the restricted format leave the engraver no room to create a detailed panorama, but from the Geometric period to the four Apulian vases illustrated in figures 25–28 duels had always been the staple diet of Greek battle scenes. Near Eastern artists, too, had traditionally portrayed battles as personal triumphs for the king. Lysippos had placed Alexander among the vanguard at the Granikos (T 104), and this anonymous

43. First suggested by Hölscher 1973: 173; fully argued and documented by Bernard 1985b: 76–78, figs. 8–9; cf. Huntington 1985: figs. 5. 27–29, 6. 6; *contra*, Price 1991b: 452 n. 9.

44. Porus: Curt. 8. 13. 7, 14. 13 (size and armor); Plut. *Alex.* 60. 12 (height six feet three inches); Diod. 17. 88. 4 and Arr. *Anab.* 5. 18. 5, 19. 1 (corselet; height seven feet six inches). Battle: Diod. 17. 88. 4–7; Just. *Epit.* 12. 8. 5; Curt. 8. 14. 31–40; Plut. *Alex.* 60. 11–13; Arr. *Anab.* 5. 18. 6–8.

45. *Hist. conscr.* 12 (*FGH* 139 T 4); Pearson 1960: 150–51. Arrian's account of the battle is derived from Ptolemy: see Pearson 1960: 198–200; Pédech 1984: 289–91. Mitchiner 1975: 8–9 proposed the aftermath of Gaugamela, but this idea is succinctly demolished by Bernard 1985b: 67; Price 1982b; Price 1985: 244–45; and Hollstein 1989 argue for the prelude to the Hydaspes. Kaiser 1962: 235–36 first located the "Porus" coin in the historical tradition of royal single combat, and Bernard 1985b: 70–72 first adduced the Aristoboulos fragment.

engraver, laboring away in some remote Eastern mint, deserves as much license as he.

Just as Achilles and Hektor had represented the Achaians and Trojans in the *Iliad*, here Alexander and Porus stand for their respective armies, kingdoms, races, and cultures, justifying the dramatic fiction of a single combat. As on the obverse, symbol and fact are conjoined, though now both the authority of a long-established genre and the inherent plausibility of a royal duel help to allay one's suspicions. Alexander and Porus *could* have met like this, and only eyewitnesses would know otherwise. Since the engraver's theme was victory, then the Indian had to be shown losing, but, unlike Darius on the vases and in the Alexander Mosaic (color pl. 4; figs. 25–27; text figs. 4–5), he fights all the way. This is no ignominious rout but a fighting retreat, and to that extent the image is historical. This disqualifies Taxiles as the issuing agent, for he hated Porus and did all he could to get rid of him.[46]

So where and why were these coins minted? One critical detail that has not been sufficiently stressed in the ongoing argument about their origin and purpose is their ethnographic accuracy. In recent years, numismatists have recognized how faithfully they depict Indian dress, weapons, and military practice.[47] They could not have been designed on the basis of hearsay. Details like the shape of an Indian bow, or the mahout's proper position on an elephant, would simply not have been available to engravers in Babylon, Susa, or Ekbatana before Alexander's return and Krateros's appearance with the elephant corps at the same time.[48] So we are left with India during the campaign of 326 or Iran and Mesopotamia in 325/324.

As remarked earlier, the proveniences of these coins, their Greek monograms, and their technical similarity to the "lion" staters weight the scales in favor of the latter. Perhaps not entirely by coincidence, the monograms fit Aboulites and Xenophilos, satrap and garrison commander at Susa, respectively.[49] The two controlled the Susan mint and like their colleagues elsewhere must certainly have been frightened for their own skins as Alexander drew near—with reason, for Aboulites soon fell victim to his wrath. Plutarch fills in the details: Alexander deposed him for bringing three thousand talents in

46. Diod. 17. 89. 5–6; Just. *Epit.* 12. 8. 3–5; Curt. 8. 14. 31–38; Plut. *Alex.* 60. 12–13. Arr. *Anab.* 5. 19. 4–7 stresses the contrast between Porus's conduct and that of Darius.

47. See Price 1982b; Bernard 1985b; Hollstein 1989; Mørkholm 1991: 53 (but ascribing them to Alexander himself).

48. The corps numbered over two hundred at the beginning of the voyage down the Indus; placed under Krateros's command and detached from the main army, it escaped the horrors of the Gedrosian desert and was present at Kalanos's self-immolation at Persepolis in early 324: Arr. *Anab.* 6. 2. 2, 17. 3, 27. 3, and 7. 3. 6.

49. Tentative suggestion by Price 1982b: 83–84, after Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 9 and Curt. 5. 2. 16–17.

coin instead of provisions for the army as it left Karmania for Persis. The king, enraged, threw the money to the horses, and when they would not eat it, jailed him. Shortly thereafter, Aboulites was put to death.[50] Could his three thousand talents have included the "Porus" coins?

Alexander had resumed communications with the outside world on reaching the Gedrosian capital, Pura, in early December of 325. Though he now ruled most of the East, the glory of the campaign had been tarnished by his failure to advance beyond the Hyphasis and by the disaster in the Gedrosian desert. Some of his satraps and generals, convinced that he would never return, had taken to acting independently, and a pretender had even appeared in Iran. His supremacy needed underlining. A brutal purge of malcontents and incompetents followed, but Alexander did not reach Susa and arrest Aboulites before April of 324.[51] This would have given the two men—or rather, their engravers—ample time to acquaint themselves with the facts of the Indian campaign and to produce the "Porus" coinage as a conciliatory gesture.

Since by then the king's arrangement with Porus must have been common knowledge, and the captured elephants must have caused a tremendous stir, the coins' heavy emphasis on these Indian themes is easily explicable. Adroitly proclaiming Alexander's universal hegemony and invincibility in battle, they also praise his success in co-opting the resources of India to the Macedonian cause:

> The Indian is not merged with the Greek, but is pointedly reserved for a separate, smaller denomination—not, as the traditional view of the policy of "fusion" would have seen it, Greek integrated with Indian, but Indian recognized as a separate powerful element under the overall jurisdiction of Macedonian rule.[52]

The implication would have been clear: Alexander's role as Zeus on earth could still leave room for lesser men, in Persia as in India. But if these coins indeed represented a desperate plea for survival, it failed.

After his return, Alexander's royal style changed drastically. His court, hitherto the quasi-baronial affair that he had inherited from his father, was transformed out of all recognition. The historian Phylarchos describes its unprecedented pomp and circumstance:

> His tent contained a hundred couches and was supported by fifty golden tent poles. The canopies that covered it were all of cloth of gold, elaborately

50. Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 1–3; Plut. *Alex.* 68. 7.

51. Pura: Curt. 9. 10. 18–23; Plut. *Alex.* 66. 4; Arr. *Anab.* 6. 27. 1–2. Susa: Plut. *Alex.* 68. 7; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 1. Chronology: Brunt 1983: 211 n. 1 and 500 (appendix 23. 1).

52. Price 1982b: 83.

> worked throughout with sumptuous embroideries. Inside, all around it, stood first of all five hundred Persian guards, the Apple-bearers, in gay uniforms of purple and quince-yellow; next came bowmen to the number of a thousand, some dressed in flame-color, others in crimson, and many with sky-blue cloaks as well. At the head of these stood five hundred Macedonian guards, the Silver Shields. And in the center of the tent was placed a golden chair, upon which Alexander sat to hold court, with his bodyguard standing nearby on all sides. Outside the tent was posted the elephant corps, fully equipped, in a circle, plus a thousand Macedonians in Macedonian uniform, then ten thousand Persians, and finally the large group, five hundred in all, who wore the purple; for Alexander had granted them the privilege of wearing this clothing. And the number of his friends and courtiers was so great that no one dared approach him, such was the majesty associated with his person. (Athenaios 12, 537f [*FGH* 81 F 41])

Meanwhile, he added the title "king" to his coinage and began feverish preparations for further conquest: first of Arabia, then of the West. Embassies, too, appeared "from all over the world"—proof positive, if any more were needed, that he indeed dominated the earth like Zeus dominated the heavens (T 116).[53] As suggested in the previous chapter, Lysippic portraits like that described by Plutarch (T 119) may date from this period—looking imperiously up to the sky (cf. fig. 35) and inscribed as follows:

> This statue seems to look at Zeus and say:
> "Keep thou Olympos; me let earth obey!"

This was about as far as a heroic-style statue could go: for their next move, the sculptors would have to look to Apelles. Not surprisingly, we now hear of a proposed statue of Alexander in Athens as the "invincible god" (S 2; T 92), apparently mooted in the context of his extraordinary "request" to the Greeks to grant him divine honors in late 324. Reports that he dressed up as Ammon, Hermes, Herakles, and even Artemis may have been scurrilous gossip, but the fact that such megalomaniac antics could be recounted is suggestive.[54] Finally, there is Arrian's notorious remark that the Greek ambassadors came to him adorned with crowns "as if for all the world like sacred envoys to honor a god; yet he was not far from his end" (*Anab.* 7. 23. 2).[55]

We owe our knowledge of Alexander's statue as "invincible god" to a

53. For these developments see Bosworth 1988a: 146–59, 165–71, 240–41; Price 1991b: 32–33 (coinage).

54. Ath. 12, 537e–538b (*FGH* 126 F 5); rejected by Pearson 1960: 63–65 but accepted by, among others, Neuffer 1929: 11–17, 39–56, and, more surprisingly, Bosworth 1988a: 287; yet why does Curtius, ever alert for evidence of Alexander's moral corruption, never mention these antics?

55. Embassies: Diod. 17. 113. 1–2; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 15. 4–6 and 19. 1–2; cf. Bosworth 1988a:

now-fragmentary speech against Demosthenes, delivered by Hypereides at the trials of Harpalos's confederates in the spring of 323. In it, he attacks someone—Demosthenes himself, another politician, or perhaps even Alexander's mother, Olympias (who is mentioned three lines later)—for wanting "to erect a stat[ue of Alexan]der the kin[g and inv]incible go[d" (T 92). This comment and its context have already been discussed in Chapter 3.5. Suffice it to say here that there is no evidence that the statue itself was ever completed or even authorized. Though it is possible, even likely, that similar statues were voted to Alexander both on the mainland and in East Greece at this time, we are even more in the dark about these. The Getty group, which we will revisit in the next section, is equivocal at best, and the East Greek cults hail him only as "king" and "founder" (Appendix 3).

Since the Athenian statue is so nebulous, it may seem presumptuous to speculate further about it. Yet Hypereides does offer two tantalizing clues: he calls it an *eikōn* and tells us that it was to show Alexander as both king and invincible god. Now, when the Athenians honored a man with a portrait in the Agora during the late fourth century and the Hellenistic period, the inscription set up to record the grant always calls it an *eikōn*, while the usual word for a temple statue is *agalma*. Though there is some evidence that Hellenistic *eikones* could receive cult, this practice is not attested before the second century B.C. and only (so far as I am aware) in Asia Minor.[56] This proposed Alexander portrait was thus almost certainly honorary, and so not the focus of a cult. Another speech by Hypereides, delivered a year later, clinches the matter. With Alexander dead and the Athenian revolt crushed, he laments that Athenians are now forced to "witness" sacrifices made to men, and cult images (*agalmata*), altars, and temples perfected for them, and themselves to honor their servants as heroes (T 93). If Alexander and Hephaistion are the unnamed targets of this diatribe, as seems almost certain, then the Athenians apparently avoided paying them cult to the end.[57]

As for the statue, since it was to show him as king, he would presumably have worn the diadem, while the most appropriate attribute for an Invincible God would have been an irresistible weapon, the thunderbolt. A bronze statuette once on the Los Angeles market (fig. 70) and two gems published by Gebauer but now lost might help us to visualize the proposed statue;[58] their

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165–66; on the the critical δῆθεν see Walbank and Astin 1984: 91 n. 98 for alternatives and bibliography.

56. See Stewart 1979: 115–16, with references; Price 1984: 178; Stewart 1990: 44–45.

57. On these two passages see especially Balsdon 1950; Bickerman 1963; Habicht 1970: 28–36, 246–55; Brunt 1983: 496; Bosworth 1988a: 288–89. Hypereides pointedly speaks of heroic honors (τιμαί), not worship (λατρεία), for the "servant."

58. For bibliographies see Appendix 4.

very existence could even suggest that other cities may not have been so sparing with honors of this kind. Alternative headgear could have included the lion-skin cap or helmet of Herakles, as on the Alexander Sarcophagus and the later coins of Apollonia Mordiaion (figs. 103, 110). Some of the numerous supposed "Alexander-Herakles" heads could belong here (e.g., fig. 71), though as explained in Chapter 2.1, no criteria exist at present to decide which. Even the Romans may have taken notice, if Coarelli is right that their cult of Hercules Invictus was founded in this period and with direct reference to Alexander.[59]

3. ENIGMA IN MALIBU

The Alexander in Malibu and its accompanying collection of fragments, reportedly from Megara, have already been introduced in Chapter 4.3. A full catalogue of them is offered in Appendix 5 (to which the numbers below refer), and complete illustrations in figures 146–211. The collection includes five heads (1–4, 32: Alexander, "Hephaistion," a woman, a flute player, and a girl, which is certainly later), seventeen fragments of limbs and drapery (5–21), a lion's head (22), the leg of a caprine (23), three doves (24–26), four pieces of fruit (27–30), and the corner of a base (31). Since these sculptures seem to date to around the time of Alexander's death, and (if they belong together) they could show him among the recipients of a sacrifice, it seems appropriate to include them at this point. After the minimalist interpretation advanced in Chapter 4.3, the next task is to explore what consequences follow if all, or most, of them do indeed come from the same monument.

As always, the question must be judged on the evidence: materials, technique, *realia*, and style. Isotopic tests indicate that the marble comes from at least three different locales: some from Paros or (possibly) Ephesos, others from Aphrodisias or (possibly) Usak, and one piece from Pendeli or (possibly) Naxos. Yet this by no means proves that the ensemble mixes three (or more) different monuments or that one of them is Roman, even though on present evidence the Aphrodisias and Usak quarries were not exploited until imperial times. Marble provenancing is only in its infancy, and quarry "signatures" overlap greatly. Because the method is statistical, Ephesos, Usak,

59. Statuette: J. M. Eisenberg, *Art of the Ancient World* (New York and Beverly Hills, 1985), 4: 96, no. 275. Gems: Gebauer 1939: 27, 83 (G32, 33), pl. 4. 12–13; cf. Chapter 2.1. Michel 1967: 84–85 argues that by Caesar's time invincibility was expressed by the radiate crown of the *kosmokratōr*, but rightly points out that there is no evidence for this equation in the fourth century. Hercules Invictus: Coarelli 1988: 81–82, a reference I owe to Paolo Moreno.

and Naxos cannot be excluded, and because not all quarries have been located and surveyed, all three groups could theoretically come from somewhere else entirely.

The tests do seem to prove, however, that only one of the pieces, a pomegranate (27), could be Pentelic. This is a remarkable result considering that the style of the heads, drapery, and body parts is universally agreed to be Attic. Of course, an Attic workshop operating away from home on a limited budget might well use whatever was to hand, but it is also possible that the carvers were Parians, Ephesians, or others trained in the Attic style. Finally, the obvious signs of recutting on many of the pieces take us into the murky world of the Hellenistic and Roman restorer, who might have added or substituted elements of his own, and who would hardly be fastidious about materials. These tests, then, tell us little about whether the pieces cohere as a group: there are too many unknowns.

Leaving out the girl's head (32), which is probably Roman, the two sets of Parian/Ephesian and Aphrodisias/Usak fragments are technically comparable. The four heads (1–4) are recut in a similar way. The bracelets on two of the hands (7, 9) are crosscut in an identical manner, and the tooling of the palm of one hand (9) clearly betrays the same carver as another (10); in turn, this other hand (10) is modeled and patinated like the hand drilled for a phiale (11). The leg fragments (14, 15, 16) are similarly rasped and patinated, as are the fruit and doves (24–30). The chiseling of the lion's mane (22) and the caprine's hair (23) is very close. The lion's head (22) has a jointing technique similar to that of several of the limb fragments (5, 6, 9, 18, 19): the joining surfaces were picked with the point, and rectangular dowel holes of uniform size (around 6 cm deep) were then cut into them. With the aid of a styrofoam dowel, two foot fragments (18 and 19) can be made to fit snugly together.

This practice links the pieces with such late classical monuments as the Mausoleum sculptures (ca. 360) and the pediments of the temples of Alea Athena at Tegea (ca. 340) and of Apollo at Delphi (ca. 330). They were evidently freestanding, for though the modeling is often somewhat schematic on surfaces that were turned away from the spectator, they lack the drastically truncated backs of the pedimental pieces. The ankle support behind one of the feet (20) finds its best parallel among the statues of the Daochos group of 337–332 and the still-unpublished Kallithea monument in the Piraeus Museum, as does the finish of both visible and invisible surfaces. The pattern of tool use is relatively uniform and generally consistent with a date in the late fourth century.[60]

60. See Adam 1966, q.v.; for further comments and references see Stewart 1990: 60, 180–83, 187, 196, 338, 345–46, with figs. 525–28, 542–45, 551–53, 599. The Kallithea monument is usually put just before the ban on funerary sculpture in 317.

Attributes and coiffures, too, are comfortably at home in this period. The bracelets on the two hands (7, 9) are "Macedonian," and another hand (12) carries a jug of a distinctive late fourth-century type, with a small head masking the join between handle and neck. Finally, the woman (3) is coiffured in a fashionable late fourth-century style: the locks are plaited and drawn upward to form a striated cylinder on top of the head, then disappear into a double braid that encircles it like a tiara.[61] This "tiara coiffure" develops so steadily from the mid-century onwards that one can date the Getty head (3) with some confidence to its final, most extreme stage, around or shortly after 320 (fig. 73).[62]

Stylistically the fragments are remarkably uniform and invite comparison with the Mausoleum and its successors through the Alexander Sarcophagus (figs. 101–6).[63] The big bones, powerful muscles, rounded surfaces, and com-

61. Bracelets: cf., for example, Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 57. Jug: cf. Trendall 1989: figs. 244–45. Hair: the fashion was first discussed by Leipen 1974 and Kyrieleis 1975: 89–90; cf. Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 442 n. 8.

62. Luckily, feminine fashion in this period also dictated a higher and higher girdle, which enables one to cross-check with women on the dated document reliefs (Stewart 1990: 321–22). The evidence suggests the following chronology:

Stage I (ca. 350–340). The "tiara" lies low on the head. Example: Kallistomache's gravestone (Conze 1890: no. 1666a, pl. 35); possible ancestor (Conze 1890: no. 293, pl. 69; see also Diepolder 1931: 20–21, pl. 14), carved ca. 410.

Stage II (ca. 338 and after). The plaits increase in length, so that the "tiara" lies just above the top of the ear. Examples: gravestones of Archestrate and Eukoline (Conze 1890: nos. 297, 1131, pls. 71, 238; *AM* 81 [1966]: 83 no. 141, Beilage 63, and pp. 75–79 for Eukoline's date, shortly after 338); head in Bucharest (G. Bordenache, *Sculture Greche e Romane* [Bucharest, 1969], 21, no. 17, pl. 10).

Stage III (ca. 330–325). The front plaits lengthen still further, lifting the circular "tiara" well above the ear, until it all but conceals the crown of the head. Examples: gravestone of Timagora (Conze 1890: no. 297, pl. 81); votive relief in Eleusis (Brunn-Bruckmann no. 548b; *AM* 20 [1895]: pl. 6); funerary statue in Boston (Comstock and Vermeule 1976: no. 70); head from Patras in Copenhagen (*EA* 4413–15; *Antike Plastik* 10 [1970]: 34, figs. 6–11). A terracotta head in the Agora (*Hesperia* 21 [1952]: 138, pl. 36) would help to date this stage if its context is truly Lykourgan.

Stage IV (ca. 325–320). The plaits at the back now equal those at the front in length, so that the "tiara" perches on a cylinder of hair high above the top of the skull. Examples: gravestone in Boston (Vermeule 1981: no. 87; here fig. 73); head in Toronto (Leipen 1974: pl. 22; Vermeule 1981: no. 93); the bronze Artemis from the Piraeus, now back in the Piraeus Museum (G. Dontas, *Antike Kunst* 25 [1982]: 15–34, pl. 5—though with aberrant dating to ca. 360–350; *contra*, Kyrieleis 1975: 90; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 419 n. 7; Stewart 1990: 191, figs. 569–70); and the Getty head, figs. 155–59.

The "melon coiffure" may develop from our Stage III and was certainly invented by 317, for it appears on a few very late gravestones: Malthake's in Piraeus (Conze 1890: no. 155, pl. 46); another in London (*JHS* 36 [1916]: 74, no. 5, fig. 6); also perhaps Sostrate's from Piraeus (Conze 1890: no. 449, pl. 105), where the head is frontal and its crown cut by the epistyle. In freestanding sculpture, the *loci classici* are the "Herculaneum Women," the Corinna of Silanion (fl. Olympiad 113 = 328–325), and Arsinoe II of Egypt: Richter 1965: figs. 780–81; Robertson 1975: pl. 150f; Kyrieleis 1975: pls. 70, 72, etc.

63. Stewart 1990: figs. 525–28, 542–45, 551–53, 581–99.

paratively large heads with their distinctive faces and coiffures manifestly proclaim the workshop as Attic or thoroughly Athenian-trained.[64] A consistent impression of youthful vigor is conveyed through dynamic yet controlled movement and by a marked reduction of the flesh surfaces that emphasizes the bone, muscle, and sinew below. The Alexander's debt to an Attic ephebe type has already been noted in Chapter 4.3, and the "Hephaistion" (2) belongs to another, less self-assertive one that begins with the Kritian Boy, is ubiquitous on the Parthenon frieze, and continues in tomb sculpture right down to the end of the fourth century (cf. fig. 7).[65]

Female anatomy is soft and rounded, with clear yet fluid movements and the subtlest surface transitions, whose appeal is much enhanced by the warm, silky polish. Poised on her long, graceful neck, the one surviving female head (3), though sadly battered, shows the same attention to surface anatomy as the Alexander (1) but is of course far more delicately modeled. Surprisingly, her eyelids and eyebrows are more sharply demarcated than those of any of the male heads, as if the sculptor were afraid that in this context Praxitelean *sfumato* would simply cloy. The drapery, as normal in late fourth-century sculpture, runs the gamut from thin, tight-stretched fabric to thick, voluminous, and swirling cloth.

Of course, all this indicates only that an Attic or Atticizing workshop was operating in Megara (or wherever) during Alexander's lifetime or just after, that the sculpture it made was refurbished at some later time, and that this material was eventually broken up and presumably mostly rendered down for lime. Yet the cumulative case for only one monument, involving Alexander, does seem quite strong. What would such a group have looked like?

Since the sculptures show little sign of weathering, they cannot have stood outside on a freestanding base or on a stepped building like the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos. They were evidently fairly well protected, probably either by a stoa or by their own architectural framework. Some have suggested that the lion's head (22) and the doves (24–26) could have embellished this building, but the lion is no gargoyle and the doves are not heraldically composed like those on the Attic gravestones. Several of the fragments, including Alexander, "Hephaistion," one female hand, one male hand holding two attributes, two leg fragments, and one foot (1, 2, 8, 9, 14–17), are slightly bigger in scale than the rest. The figures they belonged to would have stood around

64. Contrast the Lysippic Agias from the Daochos group: Stewart 1990: figs. 552–53.

65. *Comparanda*: Stewart 1990: figs. 220 (Kritian Boy), 231 (Harmodios), 303 (Sounion *stelē*), 334–35 (Parthenon frieze), 428 (Albani *stelē*), 520 (Loukou relief); with Diepolder 1931: pls. 16, 24, 25, 28. 2, 31, 33. 2, 35. 2, 36. 2. Also the tomb statues in Chicago (Vermeule 1981: no. 73), and especially that in Boston (Comstock and Vermeule 1976: no. 59; cf. Frel 1969: 46 for a date ca. 325), which is the closest stylistically to the Getty "Hephaistion."

2 meters high, and the rest around 1.7 meters high—the average height for a man in the late fourth century.[66]

Among this second group of life-size pieces, the flute player (4), the women making libations (11, 12), and the goat or ram (23) suggest that a sacrifice was taking place; if so, the composition could have resembled an Attic votive relief (fig. 74). On the left, the group of life-size worshippers would be moving from left to right. If all the fragments belong, at least two men, two women, a youth, and a girl were involved. Next, in the center of the composition or a little to the right, would have come an altar: the fruit (27–30) was probably piled on one, since it is free of dowel holes or attached hand fragments; and maybe the doves (24–26) were pecking around it. Finally, on the spectator's right, would have come the over-life-size group, including at least four figures: Alexander (1), a more static companion, possibly Hephaistion (2), another man (8), and a woman (9).

The identities of the last two figures are uncertain, though the enigmatic attributes in the man's hand could perhaps be the end of a club and an animal's leg or tail. This, in turn, leads one immediately to the lion's head (22) and suggests Herakles dragging the Nemean Lion in the Lysippic composition resurrected from oblivion by Paolo Moreno.[67] As Alexander's progenitor and favorite symbol (figs. 30–31), Herakles would certainly have been appropriate; he was also a Megarian citizen, and the next man that the city honored in this way was Alexander himself.[68] As for the woman, a glance through Appendix 2 will demonstrate that the only two goddesses ever represented with Alexander were Athena and Nike.

Clearly, this would have been a large, complex, and expensive commission. Yet until some further information comes to light, not only its date and purpose but even its very existence as a single monument must remain in doubt. If it were indeed a sacrificial group, was it erected in early to mid-323, in response either to Alexander's decree of heroic honors for Hephaistion or to his "request" for divine honors for himself? Or after the king's death, to conciliate the Macedonians during or after the Lamian War of late 323–322 (in which Megara was neutral)?[69] Alexander's extreme youth certainly sug-

66. According to burial statistics kindly furnished by Sarah Bisel.

67. Moreno 1987a: 203–10, figs. 124–30—though here he holds the club in the other hand.

68. Plut. *Mor.* 826C. Herakles' mother Alkmene and son Hyllos were also buried in the city: Paus. 1. 41. 1–2.

69. On the so-called deification debate, see Chapter 3.5; the "Hero Hephaistion" relief in Thessalonike (Appendix 6, no. 3; here fig. 72) proves that his cult is historical, at least in Northern Greece. As for the Lamian War, the Megarians are omitted from the ranks of the pro-Macedonian coalition by Diod. 18. 11 and Paus. 1. 25. 3–6; Kassandros—who after 324 could not stand the sight of Alexander's image (T 111)—used the town as a base from 315 to 308/307 (cf. *RE*, s.v. "Megara," cols. 194–95).

gests more than mortal status, but was the sacrifice being offered to him, on his behalf, or for some other reason? Unfortunately, since the fragments were not found in a controlled excavation, and their context is solely a matter of hearsay, we shall probably never know.

4. DEATH AND TRANSFIGURATION

Alexander died in Babylon on June 10, 323.[70] Yet when the gods finally called him home, he left behind him no legitimate heir. Roxane's baby was not due for several weeks, and Herakles, the son of his mistress, Barsine, was a mere infant. His half brother Arrhidaios was in his thirties, but mentally defective. Though according to one tradition the king was unable to speak for several days before he died, another presents him as positively loquacious. According to it, he handed his ring to Perdikkas, ordered that his body be taken to Ammon, left his empire "to the strongest" or "to the best," prophesied that there would be a great funeral contest when he died, and refused divine honors until the Macedonians themselves were happy.[71] This, as it turned out, would not be for a long time. With the entire leadership in a state of shock, and no one commanding enough support to step easily into Alexander's shoes, the empire was in for almost two generations of turmoil.

Within a week or so, however, the succession had been settled—at least for the present. Perdikkas got most of what he wanted, but not without compromise and some bloodshed. Seleukos, Eumenes, and others supported him, but a second faction led by Ptolemy saw no reason to grant him absolute supremacy, the *hēgemonia tōn holōn* formerly wielded by Alexander. They pressed for a more collegial system that protected both their rights and those of absent leaders like Krateros and Antipatros. Finally, there were the outsiders, led by Meleagros, who objected to the cavalry officers dominating the proceedings, chose Arrhidaios as their mascot (giving him the name Philip to boost their cause), and succeeded in convincing the infantry to support them. Alexander's body became the focus of the conflict. Meleagros and the infantry won the first skirmish but failed to exploit their success, and stalemate ensued. In the end it was Philip Arrhidaios who brought the factions together,

70. This section is dedicated to the memory of Leopold Ettlinger.

71. Diod. 17. 117. 3–5; Curt. 10. 5. 1–6; Just. *Epit.* 12. 15. 6–13; Plut. *Alex.* 76. 6–9; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 25. 6–26. 3. For this and what follows see Errington 1970; Errington 1976: 138–45; Schober 1981: 3–26; Walbank and Astin 1984: 23–28; Billows 1990: 49–57; Green 1990: 3–9; these accounts are based on the first chapters of Diod. 18, the final chapters of Curtius, Just. *Epit.* 13, Plut. *Eum.*, and the fragments of Arr. *Events after Alexander* (*FGH* 156 F 1–11).

and a bargain was struck: he and Roxane's child, if a boy, would be co-kings, while Perdikkas would run the empire as vizier (*chiliarchos*) with Meleagros as his deputy.[72] Yet Perdikkas lost no time in engineering a purge of the infantry, and Meleagros, seeing the writing on the wall, fled to a local temple and was promptly murdered.

Perdikkas then set about reorganizing his prize. He redistributed the satrapies and other offices, taking care to conciliate the faction leaders but making sure that each appointment served his own interests. Of the marshals that concern us, Seleukos succeeded him at the head of the Companion cavalry; Ptolemy was given Egypt, but with Kleomenes as his deputy and watchdog; Antigonos One-Eye got central Asia Minor (Lykia, Pamphylia, and Phrygia) but was told to conquer eastern Asia Minor (Paphlagonia and Kappadokia) for Eumenes; Lysimachos was sent to Thrace but would have to subdue it before taking office; Antipatros retained Macedon, but the popular Krateros (whom Alexander had sent off with ten thousand troops to relieve him) was given the vague title of *prostatēs* (proxy or champion) of the kings in Europe and left to make of it what he could; and the eastern satrapies remained undisturbed, including those held by Persians and other native vassals, so that Taxiles and Eudamos still held the upper Indus, and Porus the Hydaspes and lower Indus.

In the meanwhile, Roxane had given birth to a son, who now became Alexander IV; they and Philip III Arrhidaios were kept in Babylon where Perdikkas could control them. Finally, another Arrhidaios "was given the task of transporting the dead king's body and preparing the vehicle that would carry it to Ammon" (T 73). Perdikkas then read out Alexander's last plans: to conquer the West; to build six great temples at key sites in Greece, Macedon, and Asia; to build new cities and to exchange populations between Europe and Asia; to complete Hephaistion's memorial; and to build Philip II a pyramid to match those of Egypt. The historians do not mention his supposed order to erect at Olympia, Delphi, Athens, and Alexandria four gilded bronze groups of himself with Ammon, Athena, Herakles, Olympias, and Philip (S 34). This order, embedded in the sensational account of his death and testament that ends the narrative of the *Alexander Romance*, is certainly fictitious. Yet it seems to have been fabricated soon after the event, for internal evidence in the text makes it clear that this entire section of the *Romance* was concocted as a political pamphlet, apparently between 321 and 315.[73] In any case, all the plans were swiftly voted down by the army as too expensive and too ambi-

72. Χιλίαρχος, first attested in Aisch. *Pers.* 304, perhaps translates the Persian *hazarapatish*: cf. Walbank and Astin 1984: 25; Hall 1989: 94.

73. See most recently Heckel 1988, and on the authenticity of the plans, Bosworth 1988b: 185–211.

tious. Everyone could think of better uses for the money, and the troops had no stomach for further adventures.

Building the hearse took two years, which seems excessive for a vehicle only twelve feet wide by by eighteen feet long. Fortunately, its cost and elaboration caught the imagination of the great historian of the Successors, Hieronymos of Kardia, who left a written description of it that Diodoros later excerpted (T 71 and 74). This description has inspired many reconstructions, initiated by the Comte de Caylus in the eighteenth century; a few points of dispute remain, but the hearse's overall design is clear (text fig. 9; fig. 75). It also sparked a long tradition of emulation that only ended with the funeral car of the Duke of Wellington in 1851.[74]

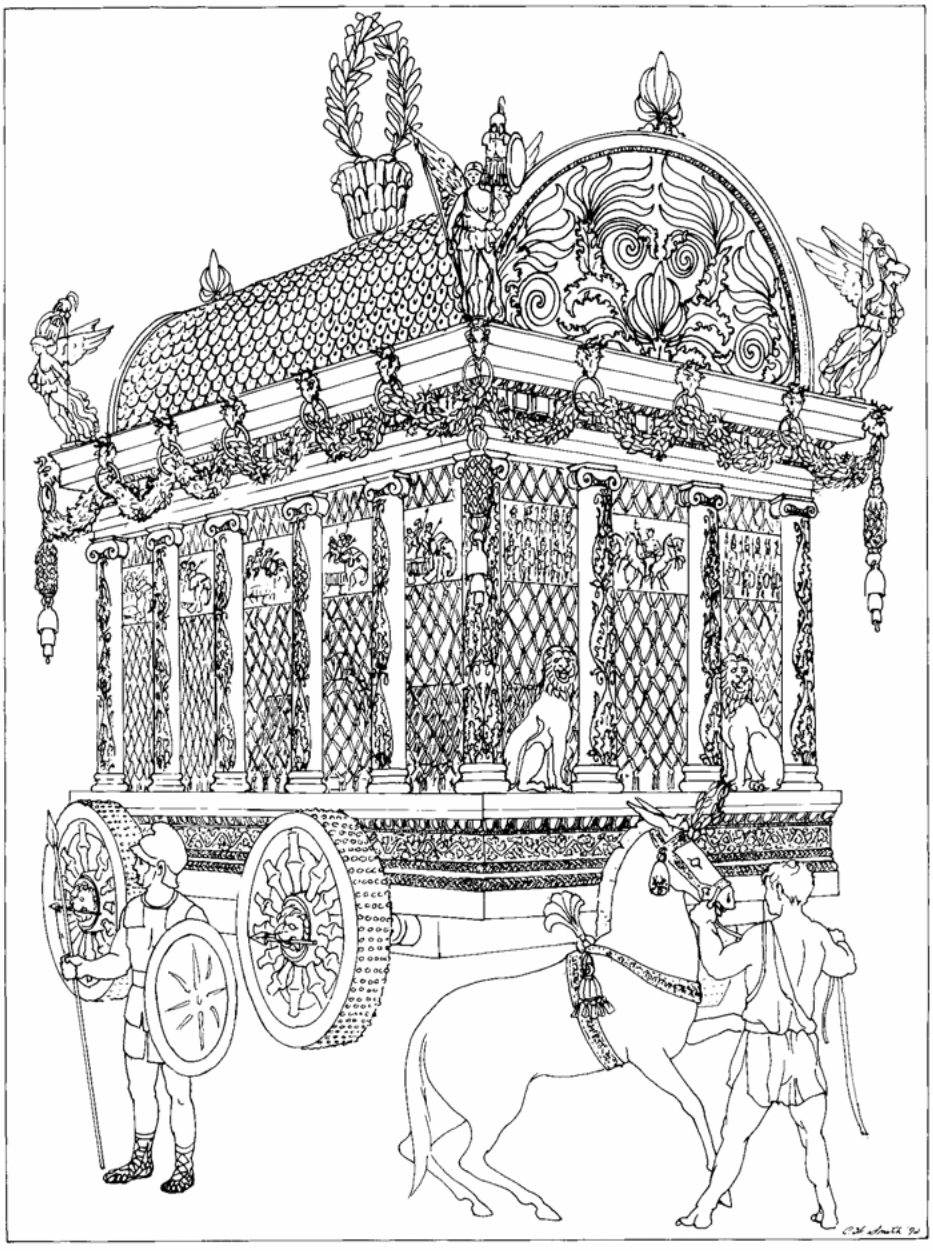
Essentially, the hearse was a small Ionic temple on wheels, but the colonnade supported a barrel vault made of golden scales instead of a pitched roof. Alexander's mummified body, encased in a golden anthropoid sarcophagus, was further concealed from profane eyes by a golden net hung from the interior of this vault. His gold-embroidered purple cloak, which we have already encountered on the new Pompeian painting (color pls. 6–7), was draped over the sarcophagus, and his weapons were placed around it.[75] The entrance to the chamber was guarded by two golden lions (cf. fig. 101); golden acanthus tendrils snaked up the columns; festive garlands and bells were hung from the cornice; four winged Nikai with trophies served as akroteria; and a golden olive wreath set on a stylized palm tree crowned the apex of the vault. Within the colonnade and against the net were hung four large paintings extending across its full width and down its length, so that they touched at the corners.[76] Finally, the wheels and harness system were of Persian design, and no fewer than sixty-four mules were needed for traction; the wheel bosses, though, were embellished with a Macedonian royal device, the heads of lions crunching spears in their teeth.

The hearse thus included Asian, Greek, and Macedonian elements in artful and varied combination. As befitted the ruler of a universal empire, it was

74. Important reconstructions: Müller 1905; Bulle 1906; and Miller 1986; on the Duke of Wellington's hearse see Ettlinger 1939–40.

75. Perdikkas had already displayed his royal insignia to the army immediately after he died (Curt. 10. 6. 4). His diadem, scepter, and armor were evidently retained in Babylon (for the kings?), because in 318 Eumenes was able to use them as the central relics in his famous cult of Alexander: Diod. 18. 60. 4–61. 3 and 19. 15. 3–4; Plut. *Eum.* 13. 3–4; Nep. *Eum.* 7. 2–3; Polyainos 4. 8. 2.

76. *Pace* Miller 1986: 409 (here, fig. 75), Diodoros explicitly says that the net and paintings hung *within* the colonnade (presumably from the rear face of the architrave), and so far from indicating that the pictures were broken up into panels, he speaks of them as "equal [in length] to the walls." These "walls" must be the net itself, which did duty for the normal cella walls of a temple.



9. Alexander's hearse, reconstruction drawing by Candace Smith. 323–321 B.C.

ecumenical in design. The concept of a wheeled funerary vehicle bearing a vaulted coffin was Asian, as were some of the details like the eight-spoked wheels; the colonnade and trophy-carrying Nikai were Greek;[77] and painted friezes were a standard feature of Macedonian funerary architecture. On the other hand, the placement of these pictures recalled the Parthenon frieze, all three cultures had used guardian lions for centuries, and the Macedonians had borrowed the vaulted tomb from the East shortly before Alexander's reign.[78] The wheel bosses show the care Arrhidaios put into this hybrid design. Already pictured on the coins of the Macedonian kings, their spear-crunching lions not only recalled Herakles, the progenitor of the royal line, but could literally be read as canting devices for Alexander himself. In Greek, a lion who defeats a man is *leōn alexandros*: so in this image, Arrhidaios evoked Alexander's name, leonine character, and heroic ancestry all in one.[79]

What of the pictures? Diodoros describes the four of them as follows:

1. Alexander seated in a chariot, holding a scepter, flanked by his Macedonian Companions on one side and the Persian Royal Guard of "Apple-bearers" on the other, with armed soldiers in front of them (P7)
2. Elephants arrayed for war, carrying Indian soldiers in front and Macedonian soldiers behind
3. Cavalry squadrons in battle formation
4. Ships ready for battle

The consensus is that Alexander's picture hung at the front of the vehicle, the elephant and cavalry panoramas on the sides, and the naval scene at the rear. How should they be read? Here, one is drawn to the observation that royal funerals look both backward and forward. They tell us much, not only about how the old reign was viewed, but also about plans for the new, as well as disclosing anxieties awakened by the transition.[80] In the present case, Arrhidaios cannot have acted alone. Since he was appointed by Perdikkas and worked at Babylon under his supervision, the imagery must have been selected in conference with his master the chiliarch.

To begin with Alexander: Diodoros says that he was represented sitting

77. The Macedonians never erected trophies after a battle: Paus. 9. 40. 7.

78. Again, an endlessly disputed question that may now be settled by a tomb recently found near Vergina: *BCH* 112 (1988): 651, fig. 81.

79. First noticed by Hafner 1977, though his suggestion that these lions reproduced Alexander's personal seal, while attractive, is unfortunately pure hypothesis.

80. Giesey 1960: 188–89.

in his chariot, scepter in hand, and furthermore describes the scepter as "splendid." Since Greeks, Macedonians, and Persians never customarily sat in chariots, this was clearly an attention-getting device, as was the scepter. Together, they symbolized Alexander's "power over" (*archē, basileia*), completely eclipsing his "power to," his irresistible *dynamis*. Majestically enthroned and solemnly invested with the insignia of royalty, this was an icon of imperial sovereignty rather than a portrait of once-living flesh and blood. Both king and chariot must have been shown in front view, for a frontal image, as on the new painted throne from Vergina, would have markedly enhanced the effect, while a profile or three-quarter one would have completely ruined it.[81]

Alexander's cavalry escort was the reorganized version of 324, when he had drafted some handpicked Persian nobles to join the hitherto purely Macedonian Royal Guard (*agēma*); this picture proves that they formed a separate squadron within the guard.[82] The draft was one of the causes of the mutiny at Opis and can hardly have been much more popular thereafter. Yet Perdikkas had left the remaining Persian satraps in their positions during the reorganization of 323,[83] and the picture on the hearse reaffirmed that Alexander's policy of treating Persians and Macedonians on equal terms was to stand, at least for the present. Finally, "armed soldiers" stood in front of the *agēma*. These were presumably Alexander's elite foot guards, the "Silver Shields"; we have met them in Section 1 standing inside his audience tent at Babylon. They maintained their identity after his death and were still three thousand strong in 317, all battle-hardened veterans and many, if not all, in their sixties.[84] Their inclusion here signaled not only that their behavior immediately following Alexander's death had been forgiven, but that they held an honored place in Perdikkas's plans.

If this picture celebrated Alexander's universal *archē*, then the other three proclaimed his *dynamis*—a *dynamis* now exercised entirely through others. The cavalry had remained the primary strike force of the Macedonian army, and its deployment along one of the long friezes balanced the place of honor

81. Bulle 1906: 63 first made this point, but Miller 1986: 406, pl. 2b overlooks it; for the painted throne see *BCH* 112 (1988): 652, fig. 82; in color, *Arch. Eph.* 126 (1987): 377, fig. 4. The chariot's occupants, Hades and Persephone, are standing.

82. Arr. *Anab.* 7. 6. 4, 11. 3, and 29. 4; cf. Bosworth 1980b: 15–17, 20–21 and Bosworth 1988a: 272, though without reference to this painting; also Brunt's notes ad loc. (1983: 220–21, 237). Diodoros describes them as "Apple-bearers," even though Arrian tells us that their distinctive javelins embellished with apples above their butt spikes were exchanged for Macedonian spears (*dorata*): is this a slip, or were the apples transferred to the spears?

83. Diod. 18. 3. 2–3.

84. On the formation of this unit see Just. *Epit.* 12. 7. 5; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 7. 11. 3; for its later history see Diod. 18. 58. 1, 19. 41. 2, etc.; cf. Bosworth 1988a: 259, 270.

given to the elite infantry in the Alexander picture. The elephants with their mixed crews bore further witness not only to the awesome strength of the Macedonian military, but also to the importance of the Indian contingent in the imperial army (fig. 68; see Section 1, above).[85] And finally the ships (built for the invasion of Arabia and Carthage) had sent the Athenian fleet to the bottom off Amorgos even as these pictures were being painted.

Taken as a whole, then, the hearse and its contents honored the achievements of the greatest king ever seen on earth. "This hearse was to be no symbol of mourning, but the glamorous carriage of a triumphant hero."[86] If the armor on the coffin and the ubiquitous martial images stood for the unique accomplishments of Alexander the mortal general, the picture of him enthroned in state symbolized his undying, never-ending suzerainty. Since the hearse had a long way to travel before it completed its journey, the cumulative effect of all this would be appropriately extensive. It would proclaim to all who saw it that although Alexander now reigned only in effigy from his chariot, and his Successors were nonentities by comparison, his gigantic war machine still ground on and would crush all who stood in its path. For Perdikkas was now the instrument of Alexander's will, the power behind the throne, the unseen hand that directed the infantry, the cavalry, the elephants, and the ships.

Significantly, not a single image of peace was included among these awesome tableaux of Macedonian military might: the contrast with Apelles' two triumphal paintings (P 4–5) is revealing. Of course, none of the marshals could quarrel with the selection, and Perdikkas had both authorized Lysimachos to subdue Thrace and was even then leading the royal army in person to conquer Kappadokia. Typically, though, the paintings' chilling message was dissembled behind a facade of gaiety: the bells joyfully announced the hearse's passage, the garlands and other paraphernalia created an air of festivity, and the pictures themselves hung reticently behind the screening colonnade. Yet the very stridency of their call for an ironclad central government betrays Perdikkas's insecurity. The hearse's message was evidently directed as much at potential Greek or Macedonian rebels (the other marshals included) as at the local populace along its route. Given the prevailing atmosphere of mutual suspicion and intrigue, this is hardly surprising. By the end of 322 the empire

85. The Indians cannot have been simply mahouts, as, for example, Scullard 1974: 76 and the Loeb edition have it, for they were armed and sat in front (cf. figs. 68–69 and Section 2, above); *καθωπλισμένους τῇ συνήθει σκευῇ* must refer to both riders, and indeed is redundant if it qualifies only the Macedonians: they would of course be armed Macedonian-style. The point is that both races were equipped in their accustomed fashion, vastly increasing the offensive power of the unit.

86. Ettlinger 1939–40: 255.

had already weathered two major revolts—the Lamian War in Greece and the settlers' rebellion in Baktria—and Perdikkas can hardly have deluded himself that these would be the last.[87]

Looking for signs of this insecurity, a skeptical viewer might have detected them in all four of these pictures. The infantry and cavalry were represented but were kept apart, and the regular phalanx was omitted, recalling the traumatic events at Babylon directly after Alexander's death. The Persian Apple-bearers would raise the ever-present specter of native unrest. The Indians might bring to mind the fact that India was ruled not by Macedonians but by Taxiles and Porus acting as uneasy agents of the empire, and that the Greek and Macedonian colonists in the East had been slaughtered trying to get home. Finally, the fleet might conjure up the now-abandoned Arabian and Carthaginian expeditions and the implacable hostility of the Greeks against whom it had recently been used with such devastating effect.

Once the hearse was completed, it too became a pawn in the struggle for empire. If its stridently authoritarian imagery trumpeted Perdikkas's strength, then its vicissitudes after completion dramatically revealed his weakness. The ancient sources are notoriously conflicted, though not one rivals the fantastic tale of intrigue and deception told by Aelian (T 153). Yet though they can be reconciled (and an attempt to do this will be made in a moment), it is as well to remember that the only certain fact is that Ptolemy met the cortège in Syria and took the king's body to Egypt (T 74–78, 80). This probably happened in the fall of 321.

The "Vulgate" authors Curtius and Justin state that on his deathbed Alexander had handed Perdikkas his ring and asked that his body be taken to Ammon,[88] and Diodoros and Justin note that when Perdikkas and the marshals gave Arrhidaios his commission in 323, they intended to respect this wish (T 73, 79). Pausanias, on the other hand, reports that when Ptolemy intervened, the hearse was on its way to the Macedonian royal cemetery at Aigai (Vergina) in Macedonia (T 80). Though the "Vulgate" account of Alexander's last wishes has sometimes been doubted, the very fact that the hearse was built at all proves that he wanted to lie elsewhere than in Babylon, but it is anyone's guess as to when and to whom he actually said so. As the hearse's original destination, Siwah is the *lectio difficilior*, but pro-Ptolemaic bias on the part of the "Vulgate" cannot be ruled out, especially if its author

87. Mutual suspicion: Arr. *Events after Alexander* frag. 1, 5 (*FGH* 156 F 1, 5). Intrigue: Diod. 18. 14. 2 (Ptolemy and Antipatros, in 323); and 18. 25. 4 (Ptolemy known to be estranged from Perdikkas by 322).

88. Curt. 10. 5. 4; Just. *Epit.* 12. 15. 7; Diodoros, who usually paraphrases his sources more concisely, includes the ring but omits the wish (17. 117. 3). For this and the subsequent history of Alexander's body the basic study is Badian 1967: 185–89.

were indeed Kleitarchos, who lived and wrote in Alexandria. Yet Alexander was especially devoted to Ammon, who in 331 had saluted him as son of Zeus, and whom he had only recently consulted about appropriate honors for the dead Hephaistion.[89] Furthermore, Pausanias wrote his historical digressions from memory and makes several egregious errors in this very paragraph; so his statement about Aigai may be pure guesswork.[90]

But whether true or false, these conflicting statements reveal Perdikkas's dilemma: the body could not stay permanently in Babylon, but once it left, it would no longer be under his control. This symbol par excellence of a unified, centralized empire would no longer be his but would be in the hands of men who sought at best to limit his power, at worst to overthrow him. To let it go to Siwah meant handing Ptolemy a triumph on a plate. Perdikkas cannot have been happy about doing this; yet whether he intended to subvert the plan from the start can no longer be determined. Possibly the hearse's extreme elaboration was simply a device to gain time: much could happen in two years. As it turned out, by 321 Ptolemy was becoming dangerous. He had succeeded in murdering his chaperone, Kleomenes, confiscating his treasury, and amassing a considerable force of mercenaries, which he promptly used to install a vassal in Kyrene. His growing aversion to Perdikkas and his authoritarian ways was soon common knowledge.[91]

So what was Perdikkas to do? At this point there arrived a timely proposal from Antipatros in Macedon, offering the chiliarch his daughter Nikaia in marriage. Here at last was a way out, for with Antipatros his brother-in-law and ally, to bury the body at Aigai would certainly be the lesser of the two evils. But Antipatros had reckoned without his bitter enemy, Alexander's mother, Olympias. Determined not to be outdone, she offered Perdikkas her own daughter Kleopatra, dangling before him the glittering prize of a direct alliance with the monarchy. This alliance would position him nicely for a bid for the throne but would be a mortal insult to Antipatros; and of all the bad luck, Antipatros promptly heard of it from Antigonos One-Eye, who had fallen out with Perdikkas and in late 321 fled from Anatolia to Macedon to escape arrest.

At about this time, with Perdikkas busy in Anatolia, the hearse left Baby-

89. Plut. *Alex.* 72; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 14. 7, 23. 6. Discussions: Jacoby 1930: 562; Badian 1967: 185–89; Seibert 1969: 110–13; Errington 1976: 141–43; Billows 1990: 60–61; Green 1990: 13. The chronology is complicated and not altogether certain: along with Billows 1990: 60–61 and Heckel 1988: 77, for example, I follow Errington 1970: 75–77. Green 1990: 684 has Arrhidaios complete the hearse in under one year, though in T 74 Diodoros states explicitly that it took just under two. Alexander and Ammon: Bosworth 1977; Kienast 1987.

90. Habicht 1985: 98.

91. An inference from Diod. 18. 25. 4.

lon. What remains of Arrian's *Events after Alexander* (T 77) suggests that Perdikkas, aware that Antigonos's flight had put all his plans in jeopardy, had now finally decided to keep the body in the city, at least for the present. After all this time, expense, and trouble, the hearse would now remain unused! Arrhidaios, however, took advantage of the chiliarch's absence to carry out his original instructions, and set out for Egypt with a heavy escort. No source actually states that Ptolemy had a hand in this decision, but the fact that he had sufficient time to mobilize an army and then march halfway to meet him (T 74–75, 77, 80) speaks volumes.

Apprised that the hearse was now on its way and proving hugely popular, and perhaps even warned of Ptolemy's preparations, Perdikkas promptly sent a force under his brothers-in-law Attalos and Polemon to compel Arrhidaios to return to Babylon (T 78–79). Maybe he intended to meet the convoy later with the royal army and escort the body to Macedon in state, which would certainly have embarrassed Antipatros and Krateros and might have brought them tamely to heel.[92]

None of this was to be, however, for Arrhidaios refused to be intimidated and turned off towards Damascus, where, with exquisite timing, Ptolemy appeared with his army (T 74–75, 77, 80). Attalos and Polemon, outnumbered and outmaneuvered, could do nothing. Ptolemy escorted the body to Egypt, installed it at Memphis (T 72, 76, 80), and braced himself for Perdikkas's reaction.[93] This was not long in coming, for considering what Perdikkas had invested in the hearse, and the message of invincibility it had carried, the hijack must have been a stunning blow to his prestige. Staking all on one throw, he decided to marry Kleopatra anyway, to have Eumenes hold the Hellespont against Antipatros's inevitable wrath, and to move against Ptolemy, intending "to deprive him of his office, to install a lieutenant of his own in Egypt, and to get back the body" (T 78).

Taking Roxane and the kings with him, Perdikkas invaded Egypt in the spring of 320 but found himself unable to breach Ptolemy's defenses on the Nile. Disgruntled, his army mutinied, and his staff, led by Seleukos, murdered him in his tent (cf. T 75)—an event that may be reproduced on one of the pediments of the Alexander Sarcophagus (fig. 101). The mutineers then promptly offered Ptolemy the regency, but he refused it, delegating it instead to Arrhidaios and Peithon. Two days later, the news arrived that Eumenes had beaten and killed Krateros in eastern Anatolia, but the fact that he was still at large now hastened, rather than inhibited, a settlement. At a late sum-

92. Cf. Diod. 18. 25. 3 and 26. 6.

93. The *Marmor Parium* (T 72) dates the burial at Memphis to 321/320; on the double burial see especially Fraser 1972: vol. 2: 31 n. 79.

mer meeting at Triparadeisos in Syria, Ptolemy was confirmed in Egypt and Lysimachos in Thrace; Antigonos took charge of Asia; Seleukos was given Babylonia; and the aged Antipatros was voted the regency, with full custody of the kings and Roxane in Macedonia.[94]

Alexander's body was a bone of contention no longer. "Only in the hands of the 'central government' (or of those who aimed to set up or control a 'central government') of the empire was the body a political weapon. Once the decentralists Antipater and Ptolemy had defeated Perdikkas, Alexander's body was, doubtless to the satisfaction of both, at last buried."[95] The hearse is not heard of again.[96] Its association with the failed policies of Perdikkas and its message of unrelenting conflict may have been distasteful to Ptolemy, especially if he was behind Apelles' picture of Alexander with the bound figures of War and Fury (P 5). The body, however, had one more journey to make: not to Siwah, as Alexander had wished, but to his own city of Alexandria. According to Curtius (T 76), this took place "after a few years"; it was then encased in a gold and crystal sarcophagus and laid in a specially constructed mausoleum, the Sema.

No longer relevant on an imperial level, then, the body was still useful on a provincial one; and since no one outside Egypt now cared one way or the other, Alexander's wishes could be safely set aside for more immediate political advantage. "Entombing him and honoring him with heroic sacrifices and magnificent games, he [Ptolemy] won fair recompense, not only from men but also from the gods. For because of his graciousness and nobility men eagerly came from all sides to Alexandria, and gladly enrolled in his army" (T 74). The pro-Ptolemaic bias of this passage is obvious, and the Sema cannot have been constructed before the campaign of 320, to which its last sentence refers.[97] Yet Diodoros's account still contains more than a kernel of truth. First, he specifically calls the rites "heroic," and Pausanias agrees, terming them "Macedonian" (T 80). These ceremonies, then, were simply the

94. Narrative of events: Errington 1970: 65–75; Walbank and Astin 1984: 34–39; Billows 1990: 64–71; Green 1990: 12–17.

95. Errington 1976: 143.

96. Unless Rehak 1990 is right in conjecturing that the golden Nikai that Pliny saw in the Forum Augustum and the Regia but attributed to Alexander's tent (*HN* 34. 48) in fact came from the hearse and were taken by Augustus when he captured Alexandria in 30.

97. Strabo 17. 1. 8, 794 agrees with Diodoros, but Paus. 1. 7. 1 claims that it was Ptolemy II Philadelphos, not his father, who transferred the body; Zenob. *Prov.* 3. 94 states that Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–204) constructed the Sema, installing his mother and three predecessors alongside Alexander. Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 15–16 offers strong arguments for preferring Diodoros's and Strabo's accounts of the transfer and Zenobios's of the Sema. Ptolemy I must have built some kind of a tomb for Alexander, but this was either abandoned or demolished when Philopator built the dynastic mausoleum.

traditional chthonic rituals appropriate to a dead hero. Yet though there is no trace here of divine cult, heroizing Alexander in this way did not preclude Ptolemy from deifying him in the future—for Herakles, too, had received both kinds of honors. And second, as we shall see, Ptolemy did indeed make much of Alexander and profited handsomely by it. Soon his new capital, Alexandria, could indeed claim to be the Queen of the Mediterranean, as immigrants flocked from all sides to profit from her good fortune.

An effective central government for the empire may have died with Perdikkas, but Alexander's name and fame were still forces to be reckoned with on the local level. Service with Alexander conferred immense prestige, and men who had served with him were eagerly sought after by the Companions who now contended for his legacy.[98] In the years of chaos that followed, his image functioned as both a magnet and a badge of honor. Whether emblazoned on coins, carried in procession, or worshipped in cult, it offered the glittering possibility of both limitless achievement and equally limitless rewards.

98. Cf., for instance, Diod. 18. 48. 4; 19. 15. 1–4, 16. 1, and 46. 2, with Errington 1976: 159–62.

8

IMPERIAL EGYPT

1. A REGIONAL HEGEMONY?

When Alexander's hearse (text fig. 9; fig. 75) trundled into Memphis late in 321, Ptolemy, son of Lagos, was already a quasi-independent ruler. He had murdered Kleomenes and appropriated his treasure, amassed a sizable army of mercenaries (including many of Alexander's veterans), and installed his vassal Ophellas in Kyrene. Now he was ready to challenge Perdikkas and the central government. A year later, Perdikkas too was dead and the remaining marshals, while continuing to pledge loyalty to the kings and to style themselves satraps, had all but recognized each other's de facto independence. Alexander's empire had always been an artificial aggregate of at least four quite separate regions—Macedon, Egypt, "Asia," and India—and it now started inexorably to split into its component parts. Ptolemy's share was nothing less than the whole of Africa: the settlement at Triparadeisos gave him Egypt, Libya, their marches, and "whatever in addition his spear could win, as far as the setting sun" (Arr., *Events after Alexander* frag. 9, line 34 Jacoby).

Stories were soon circulated about Ptolemy's blood relationship with the Argead monarchy, boosting his credentials and prestige.[1] Ptolemy's own history of Alexander's campaigns, perhaps begun by 320 and published quite early in his reign, also emphasized his closeness to the king. For not only did Alexander's conquest of Egypt ultimately legitimize Ptolemy's own gover-

1. Satyros, *FGH* 631 F 1; *POxy.* 2465; Curt. 9. 8. 22; Paus. 1. 6. 2; discussions: Bosworth 1976: 28; Errington 1976: 154–56.

norship of the country, but the king's veterans actually sustained him in power.[2]

Ptolemy also paid great attention to Alexander's cult. The king was already revered in Alexandria as founder (*ktistēs*), and the bronze equestrian statue that represented him as such (T 126; S 18; cf. fig. 52) would remain a landmark of the city for a thousand years. In this capacity he was a hero, not a god, and it is significant that the funeral games Ptolemy proceeded to give Alexander at Memphis were also "heroic" and celebrated "in the Macedonian style" (T 74 and 80). The finds at Vergina give some idea of what these rites involved.[3] After Ptolemy transferred the king's body to Alexandria, however, he inaugurated a second cult. Now deified, Alexander was given his own eponymous priesthood and his own cult image (fig. 83); this singular foundation was soon to become the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies.[4]

All this suggests, first, that Ptolemy arrived at a strong conception of what he wanted from his satrapy soon after his appointment to it in 323; second, that he was particularly concerned to establish his own legitimacy as a ruler; and, third, that Alexander and his veterans figured prominently in these plans. His actions in the next few years indicate that he may have been the first of the Successors to grasp the situation that Alexander's death had created. He certainly seems to have understood that legitimacy is the central issue in any power struggle, and acted accordingly.[5]

Yet though Ptolemy seems to have been eager to portray himself as Alexander's true heir, to do so certainly did not entail that he coveted the grand prize: the whole empire. He was by no means averse to acquiring territory when the time seemed right, and by 300 he controlled Palestine, Phoenicia, southern Syria, and Cyprus in addition to Cyrenaica. Yet he was always careful never to bite off more than he could chew: he never attempted to attack Carthage, even when conditions were favorable, and never moved into Ethiopia. Refusing to be seduced by the mirage of universal power (*hē tōn holōn hēgemonia*) that led several of his rivals to destruction, he aimed at establishing a more limited empire that could maximize his own power and wealth, enable him to tap the human and material resources of metropolitan Greece, and keep his rivals off balance. He was certainly the first of the Successors to reap substantial profit from these endeavors, a profit that is nowhere more evident than in his coinage.

2. Discussion: Chapter 1. 1.

3. See notes to Chapter 7.4 for the Greek. On the cult of Alexander *ktistēs*, see Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 212, and Section 2, below; on the Vergina rituals, see Andronikos 1984: 232–33; cf. Ameling 1988: 660.

4. Cult: Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 215–16. Ptolemy and Alexander: Goukowsky 1978: 131–47.

5. Cf. Burling 1974; Barnes 1988: 108–10.

2. ALEXANDREION PTOLEMAIOU

Ptolemy's coins are famous among connoisseurs for their impressive image of Alexander wearing an elephant scalp, Ammon's horn, and other attributes (color pl. 8; figs. 76–79).[6] They were minted in large quantities until almost the end of the century, when Ptolemy replaced Alexander's head with his own. Yet precisely when these innovations occurred is still not clear. The sequence of types (fig. 76) is as follows:[7]

Ca. 326/325: Mint opened in Egypt (at Alexandria or, more probably, Memphis). Strikes (i): standard Alexander-type gold staters with (obv.) helmeted Athena; (rev.) Nike with *stylis*, legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (as in fig. 29). This series continues for around fifteen years, to ca. 310. Also strikes (ii) A: silver tetradrachms with (obv.) Herakles with lion scalp; (rev.) seated Zeus, legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (as in fig. 30).

Ca. 322–318: Series (ii) B begins. (Obv.) Alexander with elephant scalp and Ammon's horn; (rev.) seated Zeus, legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (figs. 76–77). Five issues of this series share monograms with series (ii) A.

Ca. 314–313: Series (ii) C. (Obv.) Alexander with elephant scalp and Ammon's horn, but the scalp is redesigned and pushed back to reveal the *anastolē*; Alexander also wears a chlamys-like scaly aegis and forehead band or *mitra*; (rev.) as series (ii) B.

312 or shortly before: Series (ii) D. (Obv.) Alexander with redesigned elephant scalp, Ammon's horn, *mitra*, and scaly aegis; (rev.) fighting Athena shielding a Ptolemaic eagle perched on a thunderbolt, legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (color pl. 8; fig. 78), ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ (fig. 79), or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ.

Ca. 310/309: Gold staters (i) discontinued; weight of silver tetradrachms (ii) D reduced from ca. 17.4 grams (the Attic standard) to ca. 15.7 grams.

304 or shortly after: Minting of gold staters resumed, but weight reduced from ca. 8.6 grams to 7.12 grams. (Obv.) head of Ptolemy, diademed; (rev.) Alexander with aegis and thunderbolt, in elephant quadriga, legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (fig. 76).

6. For descriptions and bibliography see Appendix 4.

7. Zervos 1967; le Rider 1986: 40–41 (with further bibliography); Mørkholm 1991: 52, 63–67, pls. 3. 42 and 4. 90–101.

Ca. 300: New silver tetradrachm series (iii) inaugurated. (Obv.) head of Ptolemy, diademed; (rev.) eagle on thunderbolt, legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Weight further reduced to ca. 14.9 grams and then to 14.25 grams to align it with the gold stater series inaugurated ca. 304. Henceforth, this is the dynasty's standard silver coinage, and it is soon supplemented by gold pentadrachms and hemidrachms, and (rarely) by silver octodrachms.

So despite his ostentatious parade of respect for Alexander's memory, Ptolemy became the first of the Successors to abandon his master's imperial currency, and for a long time he remained the only one. Several questions immediately arise. Exactly when did these changes occur? Why did Ptolemy make them? What were the new types intended to signify? What audiences did they reach? What do the legends "Alexandreion" and "Alexandreion Ptolemaiou" mean? And why were the weights of the coins progressively reduced?

First, chronology. Ptolemy's early coinage is pegged at three important points. In 318/317, many coins of series (i) and (ii) A, and some of series (ii) B, were buried in the enormous Demanhur hoard; in the first few months of 311, he briefly occupied Sidon and struck a single issue of series (ii) D tetradrachms (monogrammed ΣΙ and dated to year 22 of the Sidonian era); and in January–July 304, he proclaimed himself king and assumed the diadem.[8] Unfortunately, it is not clear if the monograms on his coins refer to annually appointed magistrates. If they do, series (ii) A and B overlapped for no fewer than seven years, between ca. 322/321 and ca. 316/315. Against this hypothesis, however, two years' issues would then be absent in series (ii) A during this period, and at least one die link has been noticed between coins of series (ii) B that should be four years apart.[9] Probably, then, Ptolemy did not coin money on a regular, continuing basis but only when he needed it, and the overlap is the result of a sudden switch in design at a time of greatly increased production, so that extra moneyers had to be hired in order to meet the demand.

The fiscal crisis that prompted this massive outlay was surely occasioned by the tumultuous events of 321–320. If so, Ptolemy probably produced his large, final issue of Alexander's old currency (series [ii] A) in order to pay the

8. Demanhur: Newell 1923; cf. Mørkholm 1991: 44–45. Sidon: Zervos 1967: 7, 8, pl. 4. 22; Mørkholm 1991: 65 and pl. 6. 94; cf. Diod. 19. 93; the Athena on this coin wears a bracelet, as she does on all but the first issue of (ii) D (Zervos no. D-XIII). Diadem: Gruen 1985: 258 lists the Ptolemaic documents that establish these dates.

9. Annual magistrates: Zervos 1967; *contra*, Mørkholm 1991: 64; for the gaps and the die-linked coins (B-V and B-VIII) see Zervos 1967: 4, 5–6, and his charts I and II.

army with which he had invaded Kyrene in the winter of 322/321.[10] For this he no doubt used the eight thousand talents that he had found in the treasury, a sum that Kleomenes had amassed through extortion and other unsavory means.[11] The new coinage (series [ii] B: fig. 77) must have followed very quickly, since the same moneyers were still on the payroll. It was definitely in circulation by 318, when coins of this type were buried in the Demanhur hoard. The arrival of the king's body in Memphis late in 321 provides the obvious motive. If the new coinage were minted to celebrate the event, it was surely used to pay the troops that went on to defeat Perdikkas in 320.

Not only did the redesigned coinage feature the first official portrait of Alexander minted by any of the Successors, but it was radically different from any Greek portrait produced to date. The practice of combining royal insignia to create a complex symbolic code had been in use in Egypt from time immemorial, and in one of the reliefs of the Shrine of the Bark at Luxor, Alexander himself wears the feathers of Ma'at, the sun disk, the horn of Ammon, and a gold ribbon (fig. 53). Yet though the moneyers were probably imitating this practice, the insignia they chose were wholly Greek. The ram's horn and aegis are clearly symbols of Zeus-Ammon and Zeus, respectively, and the forehead band is surely the *mitra* of Dionysos, not the royal diadem, for diadems are worn above the hairline, *mitrai* below it.[12] The most prominent member of the ensemble, the elephant scalp, is also the most controversial: is it another Dionysiac attribute, or does it stand for India, Africa, or, more generally, for "power far extended?"[13]

At least two of these need not be mutually exclusive: Dionysos' Indian campaign was hardly known in Greek tradition before Alexander's conquests but was intensively exploited as a precedent for them in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Yet with this partial exception, whatever choice one makes radically shifts the frame of reference of the image, and with it one's conception of how Ptolemy visualized both his relationship to Alexander and his own place in the ongoing power struggle among the Successors.[14] Ptolemy II

10. *Marmor Parium* (*FGH* 239 B 10); Diod. 18. 21. 7–9.

11. Diod. 18. 14. 1, omitting the murder: from the same pro-Ptolemaic source as in T 74?

12. See Grimm 1978: 103, 105; Smith 1988: 56–57.

13. Dionysos: first suggested by Neuffer 1929: 46; endorsed by, among others, L'Orange (1947)1982: 28; Gebauer 1939: 20; Bieber 1949: 389; Bieber 1964: 53; Guépin 1964: 131. India: Schreiber 1903: 168; Hadley 1964: 8; Michel 1967: 33; cf. Goukowsky 1978: 206–7. Africa: first suggested by K. Regling, *Die Antiken Münzen* (Leipzig, 1930), 59; A. Herrmann, in Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 46. "Power far extended": Tarn (1951)1985: 131; cf. also Hadley 1964: 16; Scullard 1974: 80–81.

14. Surely not a reference to Ammon (Matz 1952: 745 n. 3) or to Herakles (von Roques de Maumont 1958: 32; Kyrieleis, in Grimm 1978: 111). Kuschel 1961: 15–17, Hadley 1964: 6–29, and Michel 1967: 31–34 present the most solid discussions. Kuschel rejects Dionysos, India,

Philadelphos took a hand in designing his wife Arsinoe's iconography, and there is no reason to think that his father was any less involved than he.[15]

Like other works of art, coins are usually interpreted using the comparative method. One must look at the whole context: at earlier and later issues from the same mint and at contemporary issues from other mints that carry the same or related symbols.[16] In our case the vertical, diachronic axis is occupied by the standard Alexander tetradrachms that preceded this coinage, and the Alexanders with aegis, thunderbolt, and elephant quadriga that came afterward, around 305/304 (figs. 30, 76). On the horizontal, synchronic axis may be placed the coins of Kyrene and other Greek states with the horned Zeus-Ammon; the Alexander/Herakles tetradrachms of Antigonos One-Eye and Kassandros; Agathokles' and Seleukos's coins showing Alexander with the elephant scalp (figs. 87, 115); and Seleukos's Alexander issue where he wears a horned helmet covered with a panther skin and has a panther skin knotted around his neck (figs. 114, 116).

The panther skin is a traditional attribute of Dionysos, and a number of commentators would like to add the elephant scalp to it. They see it as a specific reference to Alexander's Indian conquests and thence to his supposed status as a New Dionysos. Neither of these two contentions can be sustained. Ptolemy would hardly have chosen it simply or even primarily to highlight Alexander's Indian achievements, for he never showed the slightest interest in the Far East: this was Seleukos's problem. (On the other hand, Seleukos himself later issued imitations of these Ptolemaic coins from his eastern mints

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and Africa for a reference to Ptolemy's defeat of Perdikkas and his elephants on the Nile; unfortunately, her dates of 322/321 for this battle and of 321/320 for the introduction of the coin series should be exchanged. Hadley prefers India and recognizes the parallel to Herakles' lion skin: representing "Alexander's superhuman deeds," the scalp symbolizes his role as "patron and protecting deity" of Egypt (1964: 15–18). Finally, Michel, overlooking both Kuschel and Hadley, also rejects Dionysos and Africa and returns to Schreiber's view (1903: 168) that the coin shows King Alexander (diadem) as conqueror of India (elephant scalp) likened to Zeus-Ammon (horns and aegis). Recent opinion, ignoring all three, inclines to the syncretistic. Pollitt 1986: 28 sees the elephant scalp as "evoking" Alexander's Indian campaign, "alluding in some way" to the oriental triumph of Dionysos, and having "associations" with Africa, African ivory, and the Ptolemies' attempts to exploit African elephants for warfare; Smith 1988: 41 regards it as "having several usefully ambiguous or overlapping evocations," though limits these in the first place to Alexander and Dionysos in India, and then to "eastern conquests in general"; and Price 1991b: 34 argues that it refers primarily to the conquest of India and secondarily to "eternity and deification [as in] the *consecratio* coinage of the Roman Empire." As will appear, my opinion is closest to Hadley's.

15. Ath. 11, 497b–c, a reference I owe to Stanley Burstein.

16. N.B.: Eco 1990: 21: "Many modern theories are unable to recognize that symbols are paradigmatically open to indefinite meanings but syntagmatically, that is, textually, open only to the indefinite, but by no means infinite, interpretations allowed by the context."

[fig. 114], so by the same token the scalp did not necessarily announce imperial designs in Africa either.)[17]

As for Dionysos, Ephippos omits him from the list of gods whom Alexander supposedly impersonated (T 48), and though the Seleukid coins of figures 115–16 do link the two, on these and elsewhere the god's distinguishing attribute remains the traditional panther skin. Dionysos is not directly associated with elephants for another generation, in Ptolemy II's Great Procession of 275/274. Yet the Dionysiac affiliations of the Ptolemy and Alexander displayed behind him were indicated not by an elephant scalp, but by an ivy crown. From the reverse of the vase illustrated in figure 27 to Macedonian and Delian mosaics, numerous other monuments show that the god's favorite beast continued to be the panther throughout the Hellenistic period; he is never shown wearing the elephant scalp. Furthermore, two later kings who did style themselves Neoi Dionysoi, Mithradates VI of Pontos (fig. 139) and Ptolemy XIII of Egypt, do not wear it either.[18]

So what did the elephant scalp signify? Here, the crucial point is that Ptolemy's new coinage was introduced to supplant Alexander's own Herakles/Zeus tetradrachms (fig. 30) and thereafter circulated alongside them. As already noted in Chapter 3.4, Alexander's silver swiftly became a lexical standard for all subsequent essays in the genre. Not only did most of his marshals continue to produce imitations of this type for decades, often substituting the new kings' names or (later) their own for Alexander's, but such coins represent around 90 percent of all hoarded money during the century after Alexander's death.[19] Ptolemy's new tetradrachms directly acknowledge the exemplary status of this type by retaining the same reverse, the seated Zeus and legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. By analogy, then, one would naturally read their obverses thus: as the lion scalp is to Herakles, so is the elephant scalp to Alexander.

Herakles' victory over the invulnerable Nemean Lion signaled his unique

17. The personified Africa wearing the elephant scalp is a Roman invention: *LIMC,* q.v.; further examples in J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1973): 50–54. Against Pollitt 1986: 28, for example, the Ptolemies did not obtain African elephants until the early to mid-third century, even on the most optimistic estimate: Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 178–79; Scullard 1974: 126–33; and Rice 1983: 90–92.

18. Vase: see Appendix 4. Mosaics: Pollitt 1986: figs. 225, 230. Others: *LIMC,* s.v. "Dionysos," nos. 430–34, 457–58, 521; wearing the panther skin (*pardalis*), nos. 615, 621, 628, etc. Diod. 4. 4. 4, attributing the story of the god's return from India on an elephant to "Antimachos and others" (Antimachos wrote in the late fifth century) is too ambiguous to weigh against this. Procession: Kallixeinos *apud* Ath. 5, 200d; cf. the Roman sarcophagi, *LIMC,* s.v. "Dionysos/Bacchos," figs. 243–44; my fig. 86. Alexander's Dionysiac associations have generated endless controversy: see Nock 1928; Edmunds 1971; Goukowsky 1981; cf. Chapter 3.3.

19. Le Rider 1986: 6–9, 14–26.

martial prowess or *aretē*, and by the late fourth century it was generally accepted that he had indeed conquered the known world from the Pillars of Herakles (Gades) in the West to India in the East—though he had failed to take the Rock of Aornos, which Alexander scaled in 327.[20] The elephant scalp asks to be interpreted in approximately the same way, as a symbol of unassailable universal hegemony. For even though the king used to say that his deeds were worthless against those of Herakles,[21] his flatterers lost no time in making the comparison, "boasting that Hercules, Bacchus, Castor, and Pollux would give place to the new deity" (Curt. 8. 5. 8).

Appearing here for the first time, then, the scalp of the all-but-invulnerable pachyderm was evidently Ptolemy's special choice to characterize Alexander as Herakles' descendant and true successor. We have already met Alexander's elephants in Chapter 7, depicted on the "Porus" coinage, incorporated in the hundreds into Alexander's army, standing in battle formation outside his audience tent at Babylon, and occupying one entire side panel of his hearse (T 74; text fig. 9). In 305/304, Ptolemy employed them again, on his gold staters, this time to pull a chariot bearing Alexander, who wears the aegis and brandishes the thunderbolt (fig. 76). Finally, exactly a generation later, they reappeared in precisely the same role in Ptolemy II's Great Procession of 275/274 (T 96b).

These images of universal power on the march confirm that to Ptolemy the elephant was the invulnerable instrument and symbol par excellence of the invincible world conqueror, whose mortal remains now rested within his own territory. As an attribute, its scalp was, of course, wholly fanciful, for while a lion's scalp can fit on a man's head, an elephant's is far too big to do so. Only a being of superhuman size—a god—could wear it, and only a god could stand in an elephant-drawn chariot without being dwarfed. These coins proclaim that the divine Alexander, now enthroned on Olympos, had supplanted Herakles as protecting deity for Ptolemy and his subjects, that he was their *alexikakos*, their Averter of Evil. As Alexander of Telmessos had prophesied to the assembled marshals at Babylon, "the land that would receive the body . . . would remain forever blessed and unravaged for all time" (Ael. *VH* 12. 64). Yet one must remember that in 321 Ptolemy had no elephants at all: even though he was soon to acquire some from his enemies, to give them such prominence on his coins from the start was sheer bravado.

What of the *mitra*, ram's horn, and aegis? The *mitra* is a secondary symbol;

20. Aornos: Arr. *Anab.* 4. 28–30, cf. 5. 26. 5; Diod. 17. 85. 2; Curt. 8. 11. 2; Just. *Epit.* 12. 7. 12–13. On Alexander and Herakles see Chapter 3.3, with Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 55–62; Hadley 1964: 10–15; Brunt 1976: 464–66; Brunt 1983: 435–42.

21. Plut. *Mor.* 180D.

it does not appear on the earliest issues and becomes standard only around 314 (color pl. 8; figs. 78–79). Unlike the elephant scalp, this was a bona fide attribute of Dionysos, with a 150-year pedigree behind it.[22] One Hellenistic tradition even alleged that Dionysos wore it to symbolize his conquests in the East and that the kings then borrowed it from him, turning it into the diadem.[23] Yet this must be rationalization after the fact, since all the evidence suggests that the conquering Dionysos did not become an accepted paradigm of power-hungry monarchs until after Alexander's death. The question is when.

As mentioned earlier, Ephippos omitted Dionysos from his list of gods whom Alexander supposedly impersonated (T 48). In fact, the earliest concrete testimony to the association is the Seleukid tetradrachm of figures 114 and 116, minted between 305 and 301, whose obverse carries a head wearing a horned helmet wrapped in a panther skin, with another panther skin draped around his neck: this is surely Alexander got up as the conquering Dionysos Tauros. The earliest text is thirty years later: in *Idyll* 17. 18–19, Theokritos specifically calls Alexander "that god, baneful to the Persians in his glancing *mitra*."[24] Though this phrase by no means redefines the *mitra* as an exclusively military symbol, the poet's glib way of inserting it into this warlike context confirms what the Seleukid coins and the "Vulgate" account of Alexander's Bacchic revel in Karmania indicate, that the association between conqueror and god was not new.[25] Yet Ptolemy I had omitted the revel from his Alexander history, which suggests either that he did not feel that it reflected well upon Alexander or that it was irrelevant to his main purpose, or both.

In the Egypt of the 270s, though, Dionysos' gift of prosperity and fecundity was inextricably linked with his conquest of the East, which Alexander was by then thought to have repeated. This much is clear from the tableau representing the god's Indian triumph in Ptolemy II's Great Procession of 275/274.[26] Wearing felt slippers, a purple cloak, and crowns of ivy and vine, he reclined on his elephant and was followed by an array of chariots drawn by elephants, hartebeest, ostriches, and other curiosities and attended by a motley escort of satyrs, boys, and little girls dressed in play armor and carrying

22. Soph. *OT* 209; *LIMC*, s.v. "Dionysos," figs. 80, 178, 338, 350–51, 399, 741, 801.

23. Diod. 4. 4. 4; Pliny *HN* 7. 191; accepted by Smith 1988: 37–38.

24. *παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν* [sc. Ptolemy I] *'Αλέξανδρος φίλα εἰδὼς / ἑδριάει, Πέρσαισι βαρὺς θεὸς αἰολομίτρας.*

25. Karmania: Diod. 17. 106. 1; Curt. 9. 10. 22–28; Plut. *Alex.* 67; rejected by Arr. *Anab.* 6. 28. 1–2 because both Ptolemy and Aristoboulos omitted it. Cf. Chapters 1.1 and 3.3 with Nock 1928; Edmunds 1971; Goukowsky 1981: 48–64; and especially Bosworth 1988b: 67–72.

26. Kallixeinos *apud* Ath. 5, 200c–201d. Dionysos and the early Ptolemies: Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 201–3; for this section of the procession see Rice 1983: 82–99, who takes it too seriously.

thyrsos-lances. Roman sarcophagi give some idea of the scene (fig. 86). This festive throng escorted mule carts bearing Indian women (but no men) dressed as prisoners, and a host of exotic beasts and birds brought up the rear.

A parody of Alexander's expedition rather than a model for it, this scene was the stuff of true carnival. Yet by the same token it presupposed the audience's familiarity with the god's Indian campaign as a model for Alexander's. For the king's effigy came soon after, wearing a Dionysiac crown of ivy (though the *mitra* is not mentioned) and accompanied by a similarly crowned Ptolemy I, by symbols of prosperity, and by the rejoicing cities of Greece and now-"liberated" Ionia (T 96a). Putting these tableaux, the Seleukid stater (figs. 115–16), and the remark of Theokritos together, there seems no barrier to hazarding that on Ptolemy's coins the *mitra* was introduced to evoke both Dionysos' conquests and the benefits Alexander's had brought to the satrapy.

Dionysos and Alexander were half brothers, children of Zeus by mortal women; and it is the king's divine parentage that is emphasized by his remaining two attributes, the ram's horn and the aegis. Introduced at the very start of the series, the horn symbolized not only Zeus Ammon's public declaration of paternity at Siwah in 331, but also those predictions that he was soon popularly credited with making to Alexander alone: that he would rule the world and be invincible until he rejoined the gods.[27] Occasionally found on pharaonic royal portraiture, the curling ram's horn had become a staple of Ammon's iconography in the Greek world in the fifth century, when Kyrene, anxious to advertise itself as the main port of access to Siwah, adopted the god as its numismatic symbol par excellence.[28]

The aegis worn like a chlamys was introduced around 314 (fig. 78). Though this too was Zeus's attribute, the redundancy has yet to be satisfactorily explained. It is possible that Ptolemy felt that the ram's horn was too localized and insufficiently evocative of Zeus the *kosmokratōr*, but another explanation also comes to mind, one that finds some support from literature, freestanding sculpture, and the legend that begins to appear intermittently on the coins from this time onward. Hellenistic and Roman writers preserve a strong tradition that the city of Alexandria was chlamys-shaped; the Alexandrian cult statue of Alexander discussed in the next section (fig. 83) wears a chlamys-shaped aegis; and the coins sometimes carry the legend "Alexandreion" (fig. 79) or "Alexandreion Ptolemaiou."[29] Though "Alexandrine" is

27. Diod. 17. 51. 1–3; Curt. 4. 7. 25–27; Just. *Epit.* 11. 11. 7–11; cf. Plut. *Alex.* 27. 5–7.

28. Egyptian precedents: Wildung 1977: 2–11, with numerous additions by Bell 1985: 269 n. 84. Ammon in Greek art, coinage included: *LIMC*, q.v.

29. On the shape of the city see Diod. 17. 52; Strabo 17, 792; Pliny *HN* 5. 62; Plut. *Alex.* 26. 8. Tarbell 1906: 285–87 first explained the simile; Préaux 1968 reaches roughly the same

as ambiguous in Greek as it is in English, on coins an adjectival noun of this kind normally refers to a city rather than to a person.[30] It also presumes a neuter noun, probably *nomisma* (coin), *argyrion* (silver), or *argyrokopeion* (mint):[31] read in this way, it announced that these particular issues had been struck in Alexandria.

As it happens, Ptolemy transferred the seat of government to Alexandria at exactly this time and either then or very shortly afterward took Alexander's body there (T 76).[32] His first capital was actually at Memphis, and the mint was surely located there too; it was at Memphis that he celebrated Alexander's funeral (T 80), and it was from there that he directed the war against Perdikkas. Hieroglyphic documents show that the transfer of power could have taken place as late as 313.[33] Perhaps, then, the legend and chlamys-shaped aegis were added to celebrate this event. Since the aegis was the symbol of protection par excellence, any Greek would have realized that both legend and image fulfilled the promise of Alexander's own name: *alex-andros* means "repeller of men."

At the same time as the "Alexandreion Ptolemaiou" legend was introduced, Ptolemy severed the last link with Alexander's own tetradrachms by substituting a fighting Athena Promachos for the seated Zeus on the reverse (fig. 78).[34] By holding her shield over a Ptolemaic eagle perched on a thunderbolt, she demonstrated her active role in shielding him and his "spear-won land" from harm. The mighty patroness of Alexander's expedition had now joined the god-king and his lieutenant in Alexandria. This event, in turn, enables us to appreciate the full significance of the legend "Alexandrine of Ptolemy": referring to the coin and its imagery as a whole, it put "his" Alexandria at the center not only of his domains, but of "everything" (*ta hola*). It signified, first, that Alexander's city was now the focus of the world that he had created and, second, that the gods, the founder, the ruler, his capital, and

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conclusion independently, while Fraser 1972: vol. 2: 26 n. 64 accepts Tarbell but overlooks Préaux. Perdrizet 1913: 67 first connected chlamys and statue—but overlooked Tarbell!

30. Cf. Fraser 1972: vol. 2: 10 n. 26 and Mørkholm 1991: 64, citing ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩ or ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ, ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ ΔΑΜΩ, and ΠΑΦΙΟΝ ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

31. Cf. Kraay 1976: 6.

32. Alexander's priesthood was established at the Sema between 311 and 285/284: see Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 212, 213–226.

33. Following Walbank and Astin 1984: 127 rather than Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 7 and vol. 2: 11 n. 28, who uses Newell's date of 318 for the introduction of the new coinage to date the transfer to 320/319. Price 1991b: 496 argues for the reattribution to Memphis and independently reaches the same conclusion as I about the meaning of ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ.

34. Often called Athena Alkidemos after Livy 42. 51 (at Pella); Kuschel 1961: 11–12 exposes this as unconvincing speculation; on Athena in Alexandria, see Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 195.

his people were linked by an indissoluble bond, and any who tried to break it would do so at their peril.

As the attributes multiply, Alexander's physiognomy develops too, broadly supporting this scenario of a growing removal from reality.[35] The earliest portraits begin where Alexander's own coinage left off, adopting Herakles' emphatic modeling, powerful features, and concentrated gaze. Soon, however, the face often takes on a life of its own (fig. 77). The lips open, the nostrils flare slightly, and the eye increases in size and acquires a distinctly "Skopaic" bulge over its outer corner;[36] the chin, nose, and forehead jut, as if to complement the forward thrust of the elephant tusks above. Some aspects of this physiognomy, like the "clouded" brow, are explicitly leonine (cf. Chapter 3.2). Yet this image of the indomitable conqueror, replete with metaphors of force, had a relatively short life. After the addition of the aegis and Athena Promachos (color pl. 8; figs. 78–79), the face becomes rounder and fuller, the modeling smoother and blander, the features more stylized, the expression more composed; a halo of hair now frames the face, easing the transition to the semidivine and divine attributes that encase it. As Alexander's driving energy and irresistible charisma give way to the stately repose of the universal monarch, his "power to" (*dynamis*) gives way to "power over" (*archē, hēgemonia*). This is an image of a god on earth.

The significance of the coins was certainly enhanced by events, and each time they changed hands, their meaning became modified in the light of the recipient's experience. Open-ended and thought-provoking, their imagery encouraged creative interpretation. As the rhetoric of power and achievement intensified, the army, containing substantial numbers of Alexander's veterans, was surely willing to pay attention.[37] The first of these confirmatory successes, Ptolemy's defeat of Perdikkas in 320, was achieved after Ptolemy himself put out the leading elephant's eye with his spear. The victory not only augmented his already substantial contingent of Macedonian veterans but also allowed him to claim that Egypt was now his by "spear-won" right.[38] He probably incorporated Perdikkas's surviving elephants into his army, and nine years later he was able to augment their number by more than forty when he defeated Demetrios Poliorketes at Gaza. Finally, in 306, he repulsed an invasion by Demetrios's father, Antigonos One-Eye, leading a large army that

35. Extrapolated from Zervos 1967: pls. 1–4, correcting Svoronos 1904: pls. 1–6.

36. Cf. Stewart 1990: 183, figs. 542–44.

37. Alexander's garrison in Egypt was augmented under Ptolemy by deserters from Perdikkas's army: Diod. 18. 33. 2 and 36. 1–6. By the battle of Gaza in 312 most of his eight thousand Hellenic infantry were Macedonians (Diod. 19. 80. 4).

38. Blinds elephant: Diod. 18. 34. 2; cf. Scullard 1974: 79–81. Claims Egypt as "spear-won": Diod. 18. 39. 5 and 43. 1; 20. 76. 7; cf. Walbank and Astin 1984: 122.

included no fewer than eighty-three elephants, largely by the expedient of offering Antigonos's men large cash bribes if they would desert. Safely across the Nile, they would have received these very coins as their reward.[39]

Yet by this time, the new silver had surely found its way into the pockets of civilians as well. Civilian contractors had no doubt been paid in coin for the raw materials and labor that they provided for the construction of Alexandria, and Ptolemy's devaluation of the tetradrachm from the Attic standard of 17.2 grams to 15.7 grams in 310 was definitely motivated by commercial concerns. It shows that trade was already a significant factor in the Egyptian economy. The almost complete lack of foreign money in even the earliest Ptolemaic coin hoards reveals that Ptolemy soon forbade its circulation within his domains: it had to be exchanged drachma for drachma into his own currency. Devaluation not only made his silver go farther in a land with no indigenous source of supply, reducing the cost of imported marble, timber, bronze, and other goods, but imposed a foreign-exchange tax on all payments Egypt received for her voluminous exports. The de facto tax imposed by this regulation reached 17 percent after he devalued a second time, ten years later. His successors, eager to maximize their personal gain regardless of long-term effects, adopted other measures that would soon turn their dominions into a tightly controlled economic zone.[40] So while the Dionysiac *mitra* must have been introduced to signal the country's growing prosperity and to promise that the expansion would continue, this imagery soon turned out to be two-faced, promising as much to Ptolemy as to those whose hard-earned cash it embellished.

So just as these coins assured the army of continued victory and loot, they also signaled to civilians that Egypt was the land of prosperity and profits, all under Alexander's aegis. They paraded him as the invincible protector of Ptolemy's domains, a Hellenistic successor to Herakles and the other protecting deities on Greek civic coinages, the Argead dynasty's included.[41] And despite their increasingly local flavor, they also left room for the fiction of the empire's continued unity. Demotic papyri dated to January/February 304 by the regnal years of Alexander IV—whom Kassandros had murdered six years earlier—show that Ptolemy resolutely maintained this fiction up to the moment that he assumed the diadem.[42] Traditionalists could reassure themselves that although he had turned down the regency and was achieving success after

39. Gaza: Diod. 19. 80–84, esp. 84. 4. The Nile: 20. 73. 2–76. 7, with 75. 1–3 and 76. 7 for the deserters; cf. Scullard 1974: 96–97.

40. Discussions, Walbank and Astin 1984: 278–79; Martin 1985: 225–26; le Rider 1986: 39–49; Green 1990: 373–74; Mørkholm 1991: 64–67.

41. So, rightly, Hadley 1964: 16–18.

42. Errington 1976: 149 n. 3; Gruen 1985: 258.

success on his own account, Ptolemy still remained committed to Alexander's dream.

Rightly called a "canny survivor,"[43] Ptolemy seems to reveal much about himself in these coins. Their multiplying signs of invulnerability perhaps betray his anxieties about his position, which was by no means secure even as late as 306, when Antigonos One-Eye could still threaten his very existence as an independent ruler. Fortunately for him, Alexander's benevolence was repeatedly confirmed by events, ensuring his survival, legitimizing his claims, and enabling him at will to add yet more symbols and slogans to his coins. The ensemble swiftly began to read like an ever-lengthening and somewhat unwieldy titulature: "King Alexander, son of Ammon, avatar of Dionysos, invincible world conqueror, bringer of prosperity, champion of Ptolemaic Alexandria."

This revelatory imagery reassured the average user of Alexander's continuing potency in an age of chaos and afforded the critical spectator whatever satisfaction was to be gained from decoding its complexities. But it also heralded a new distribution of knowledge in which Alexander had played no part, and to some extent prefigured its consequences: his impending disintegration into multiple personalities, and the dissection and routinization of his charisma in an increasingly bureaucratic society. It shows, first, that Ptolemy came to understand "the essential polysemy of the idea and image called 'Alexander'" very soon after his death; and, second, that he cultivated and institutionalized only those aspects of it that were useful for his survival.[44] These coins ask to be read as one side of a twenty-year discourse between Ptolemy and his subjects, a discourse about desire and its fulfillment in the form of wealth, security, and power. All were heirs to the legacy of Siwah, and all could read the new imagery as especially addressed to them.

The subtlety and multivalence of this imagery contrast markedly with the apparent simplicity of Ptolemy's own history of Alexander—at least as twentieth-century scholars reconstruct it.[45] Either it contained more than they suspect or its author preferred to insinuate his more radical ideas in a more indirect and cunning manner. Of course, text and images addressed different situations and were aimed at somewhat different audiences, which may help to account for the disparity. The history dealt with Alexander's life, while the coins represented him back in heaven; yet both were distinctly user-ori-

43. Green 1990: 14.

44. I owe the remark on Alexander's "polysemy" to Rainer Mack; on the routinization of charisma during the quest for legitimacy see especially Weber (1968)1978: 1146–47; Barnes 1988: 121–23.

45. Cf. Chapter 1.1, with, among others, Roisman 1984 and Bosworth 1988a: 297: "a narrative which was predominantly military."

ented—technologies of power rather than exercises in self-indulgence. Their rhetoric took their respective audiences, critical and otherwise, into account, anticipating answers, provoking replies, and eluding awkward questions in more or less devious ways. Their function was to inform, to reassure, and to legitimize by rhetorically promoting the ever-increasing benefits of the Ptolemaic system.

Finally, in the fading years of the century, the living guarantor of the realm's well-being stepped forward, as Ptolemy, following his enemy Antigonos One-Eye in assuming the diadem and title of king, became the first Successor to put his portrait on his coins—on the gold in 304 (fig. 76), and then on the silver around 300. The massively overdetermined Alexander portrait now belonged to the past, rendered obsolete by the emphatic simplicity and outspoken candor of Ptolemy's own image, and perhaps too by the final demise of the fiction of the unified empire. Yet the invincible world conqueror did not altogether disappear from circulation. On the reverse of the gold, he stood in his chariot drawn by four elephants, armed with aegis and thunderbolt, and his head, complete with Ammon's horn and *mitra*, still embellished the obverse of the bronze (fig. 76).

Was Alexander pushed into the background because he was increasingly less relevant to the transformed situation after 306–304 or because this new situation required that Ptolemy himself take center stage or both? The god-king's departure seems to need as much explanation as his arrival. Yet at the very least these coins reveal Ptolemy's extraordinary political acumen. Alexander was an appropriate and powerful symbol in an age of chaos, but when the Successors took the diadem, he could be safely relegated to the wings. At each stage, Ptolemy was the first to sum up the situation, and the first to act upon his intuition.

3. BLESSED PATRON, BLESSED CITY

To judge from the literary and archaeological evidence, it seems that at least four quite different freestanding portraits of Alexander stood in Alexandria. We have encountered two of them already: the equestrian statue of Alexander *ktistēs* (founder of the city: S 18; T 126), and the nude, standing Fouquet type (figs. 32–33, 52). A description of a third Alexander, exhibited in the Alexandrian Tychaion (S 4), is preserved in the same corpus of late antique *ekphraseis* that gave us the *ktistēs*; and a fourth, the so-called Aigiochos, was

identified at the beginning of this century and is now preserved in seventeen replicas, all (where provenanced) from Egypt (figs. 82–83).

The Tychaion adjoined the Mouseion. The picture that Nikolaos draws of it (T 95) is not entirely clear, but it was apparently highly ornate and square in plan. On one side were the doors to the Mouseion, either flanked by or embellished with statues of some of the Ptolemies, and against the opposite wall was a huge laurel crown held aloft by another statue and flanked by two "philosophers." One was seated and speaking, while the other, naked, stood with a globe in his left hand and gestured with his right. The two adjoining sides each contained seven niches embellished with engaged columns. In the center of one set stood Ptolemy Soter holding a cornucopia, flanked by six of the Olympians, and opposite him stood Charis (Grace) flanked by the other six Olympians. Finally, in the center of the room stood Alexander, being crowned by the personification of the Earth, Ge; she, in turn, was being crowned by Tyche. Statues of Nike stood on either side of Tyche, making the composition roughly T-shaped in plan.

Though the complex described by Nikolaos recalls the Roman imperial architecture of Asia Minor, the Alexander group may well have been much earlier.[46] Pausanias describes two strikingly similar ensembles at Olympia that, from the personalities involved, must date to ca. 290 and 221. The principals were Elis and Hellas, who each crowned two figures standing in front of them. Elis honored Demetrios Poliorketes and Ptolemy I Soter, while Hellas honored Antigonos Doson and Philip (V).[47] A precedent for the crowning of a personified country may be found on the Darius Painter's krater in Naples (text fig. 4; fig. 25a), where Hellas is crowned by Nike, and a vogue for complex allegorical compositions at the Ptolemaic court is attested by several monuments, both lost and extant. Examples include Apelles' famous picture of Calumny, described in vivid detail by Lucian and recreated eighteen hundred years later by Botticelli; the group of Homer and the Cities of Greece dedicated by Ptolemy IV Philopator in the Homereion at Alexandria; and the circle of rulers and intellectuals (some long dead) in the Sarapeion at Memphis.[48]

46. Hebert 1983: 24–25 lists the architectural parallels.

47. Paus. 6. 16. 3; see further below, Chapter 9.4.

48. Calumny: Lucian *Cal. non tem. cred.* 4; cf. Robertson 1975: 492, 494, 496. Homereion: Ael. *VH* 13. 21. Memphis: see Lauer and Picard 1955; Ridgway 1990: 131–34; Stewart 1990: 203, figs. 635–38. Pietrzykowski 1976 has recently recognized Alexander in figure 2, a himation-clad, diademed man (if the head belongs) leaning on a terminal head (Lauer and Picard 1955: 69–89 ["Demetrios of Phaleron"—despite the diadem!], figs. 33–34, 40–42, pls. 8–9), and Ptolemy in figure 3 (with the second diademed head, Lauer and Picard 1955: 259–60, fig. 142); endorsed by Ridgway 1990: 133–34. The entire ensemble would thus date to the early third century. Yet the "Alexander" has short hair, his first secure appearance with the himation

As to Tyche, Seleukos commissioned a statue of her for his new capital of Antioch in exactly this period, between 296 and 293. Seated casually on a rock representing Mount Silpius, above a personification of the river Orontes, the goddess wore the mural crown of the city and held a sheaf of wheat to symbolize the principal source of its prosperity (fig. 80).[49] Against this compact and evocative ensemble, the quintet in the Tychaion seems stilted and contrived, although its decidedly pedantic character looks well suited to the scholarly environment that gave birth to Alexandrian literature.

The group's intellectual roots go back to the mid-320s. As explained in Chapter 1.1, Alexander's fortune became a subject of discussion shortly after 327, when Aristotle's pupil Theophrastos wrote his essay *Kallisthenes, or On Grief*.[50] Another Peripatetic, Demetrios of Phaleron, went farther. After fleeing from Athens to the Ptolemaic court in 307, he wrote a whole book entitled *On Fortune*, announcing that though Fortune had endowed the Macedonians with all the wealth of Persia, she could withdraw the gift at any time, for "she has but lent them these blessings until she decides to deal differently with them" (Polyb. 29. 21. 3–6). Demetrios soon became Ptolemy's close confidant and almost certainly helped to lay the groundwork for both the Library and the Mouseion at Alexandria. He then proceeded to meddle in dynastic politics, advising Soter not to make his son Philadelphos his heir. When Soter declined his advice and in 285 abdicated in Philadelphos's favor, Demetrios soon found himself on the road again.[51] The temptation to see him as the instigator of the group in the Tychaion is hard to resist.

The allegory itself is reasonably transparent. As Nikolaos remarks, the two Nikai beside Tyche show that she can conquer everything; yet Tyche's own action places her in a somewhat different light, for it clearly signifies that not just fortune, but good fortune now attends the affairs of the Earth (Ge). This looks like an early example of that ambivalence about Alexander's fortune that is so obvious in Plutarch's *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*, where Tyche is sometimes blind fate, sometimes a force that deliberately exalts the low and then destroys them, sometimes a personal *daimōn*, and sometimes even the presiding spirit of an age or period.[52] As for Ge, she surely personifies the "spear-won land" (*doriktētos gē* or *chōra*), the hegemony of all

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(which he apparently never wore: T 28–48) is mid-second century (fig. 133), and the diadem (Lauer and Picard 1955: pl. 9) is the later Hellenistic broad type, so these men are probably later Ptolemies. Matz, reviewing Lauer and Picard in *Gnomon* 29 (1957): 91 suggested Philometor and his younger brother Physkon, and a date ca. 176.

49. Stewart 1990: 201–2, figs. 626–28.

50. *Tusc.* 3. 21; 5. 25; cf. Diog. Laert. 5. 44 for the book's full title.

51. Sources: Fraser 1972: vol. 2: 314–15, 321.

52. Wardman 1955: 98.

(*hēgemonia tōn holōn*) achieved by Alexander and so eagerly sought by some of his Successors.[53] Yet here she was no conquered vassal, but a willing accomplice. Her action signified her recognition of Alexander's power and position as the ruler of her domain, but it also subordinated him to her will, just as she was ultimately subordinate to Tyche's. In this context, then, he was presented as the man uniquely favored by Heaven and Earth, and was institutionalized as the Mouseion's presiding genius. After all, it was his doing that the whole world now lay at the feet of its scholars, of Alexandria, and of Ptolemy himself.

While this group survives only in Nikolaos's text, the fourth of these Alexandrian sculptural types is known from copies (figs. 82–83).[54] It is usually called the Alexander Aigiochos after the cloaklike aegis draped from the king's shoulders. He stands on his right leg with the left flexed and withdrawn, his right hand raised high to grasp a spear or scepter, and his left extended forward at the elbow; he held an object with a square base in the palm of his left hand. His feet are bare, but his torso and thighs are covered by a large, snake-fringed aegis that hangs to his knees like a Macedonian military chlamys: folded on his left side, it envelops most of his left arm but leaves his right side free, revealing its muscular architecture. This aegis is often embellished with a Gorgoneion by the left breast. One each of the marble and limestone statuettes and the three small bronzes preserve the head, which is raised and turned to his left and crowned with a prominent wreath of hair parted at the center in an *anastolē*. None of the freestanding replicas wears the diadem, but on three of them the skull is bare above the encircling corona of hair, as if in preparation to receive one.

A Roman cameo formerly in the cathedral treasury at Cammin (fig. 82) at first sight clarifies Alexander's missing attributes but also raises almost more problems than it resolves. The subject is probably not Alexander but a youthful Roman emperor or prince imitating him: the most likely candidate is the young Caracalla, whose obsession with Alexander is well attested (T 21; fig. 3).[55] He holds the shaft of what is probably a spear in his right hand and an archaistic statue of a fighting Athena or Palladion in his left and wears a solar crown and diadem with trailing ends on his head, and Macedonian high-laced sandals or *krēpides* on his feet. The spear and Palladion are probably authentic, but the solar crown is not attested for Alexander before the mid-second century B.C. (figs. 131–32, 137–38). The first Ptolemy to wear it was Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–222).[56] Of the many small "Alexander" heads

53. See Chapters 2.3, 3.4, 6.1 and 2.
54. For replicas and bibliography see Appendix 4.
55. So Megow 1987: 245, dating the cameo to A.D. 198–204.
56. Smith 1988: pl. 75. 9.

from Egypt occasionally connected with this type, a few are pierced for metal rays, but none seems particularly early in date, and in any case a certain inflation in such matters is to be expected.[57] The *krēpides* must have been added by the Roman engraver, since they are completely absent on the freestanding replicas.

This statue is often connected with the cult of Alexander Founder (*ktistēs*) of Alexandria, and the snake that winds around the tree trunk against the right leg of the marble replica in the Louvre is regularly cited in support of the connection. This snake, it is argued, is the symbol of the chthonic, heroized Alexander, and its avatars were the snakes fed daily at the city's household altars. According to this argument, the large number of replicas of the type "implies that every self-respecting Alexandrian household had a shrine dedicated both to the founder of the city and to its good genius."[58]

Though elegant and plausible, this thesis is not altogether secure. First, several of the replicas were found in cities other than Alexandria, where this cult would have been irrelevant; second, Nikolaos of Myra explicitly says that the bronze equestrian statue that he describes was Alexander the Founder (T 126; cf. fig. 52); and, third, in the historical record the cult of the Founder is completely overshadowed by Alexander's dynastic cult, established by Ptolemy I at some point between 311 and 285/284. This dynastic cult is known from numerous documents, whereas the other is attested only by a single Hadrianic papyrus. The confusion may have arisen because the chthonic cult of Alexander the Founder was not centered on his tomb, the Sema, but on an altar elsewhere in the city, perhaps in the Agora. The Sema was the focus of the dynastic cult, and these considerations strongly suggest that the Aigiochos was its cult statue.[59]

As P. M. Fraser has remarked, this new dynastic cult

> was the natural consequence both of the creation of [Ptolemy's] fictitious relationship with Alexander, and of the fact that his capital was Alexander's own foundation. . . . Ptolemy may not have envisaged a true dynastic cult, in

57. For these Egyptian "Alexanders" see Gebauer 1939: passim; those with rays: Schwarzenberg 1976: 235 n. 5; cf. Michel 1967: 30–31; Grimm 1978: 104. Alexander-Helios: L'Orange (1947)1982: 34–37 and passim; Comstock and Vermeule 1976: no. 127; cf. Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 8.

58. Schwarzenberg 1976: 235.

59. Cf. Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 212, 213–26, with Errington 1976: 170–72; ps.-Kallisthenes 1. 33. 2 puts the "Altar of Alexander" the Founder "in front of the Heroon." Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 215 alleges a *temple* of Alexander the Founder on the basis of Athenaios's mention of a work by one Jason entitled *On the Shrines of Alexander* (Περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱερῶν: Ath. 14, 620d = *FGH* 632, the only fragment); this would, of course, require a cult statue, but an altar could easily qualify as a "shrine."

> which he and other members of the family would be deified; . . . he was, perhaps, rather emphasizing the relationship between the founder of the capital and himself.[60]

With its spear, aegis in the shape of the city, and Palladion, the Aigiochos shows us how these observations work out in practice.

The statue is virtually a mirror image of the Fouquet type (figs. 32–33), a version of which stood in Egypt, probably in Alexandria itself. Yet since Alexander had now passed into the heavens, to the new cult's devotees his spear would recall not only his acquisition of Egypt as "spear-won land," but also Ptolemy's own, similar claim, asserted after the defeat of Perdikkas in 320 and recognized by Antipatros and the other Successors at Triparadeisos the same year.[61] The share-out at Babylon in 323 had assigned him this part of Alexander's legacy, and the gods had then proceeded to certify his right to it by tipping the scales against Perdikkas. Alexander, now firmly ensconced in heaven, was clearly on Ptolemy's side.

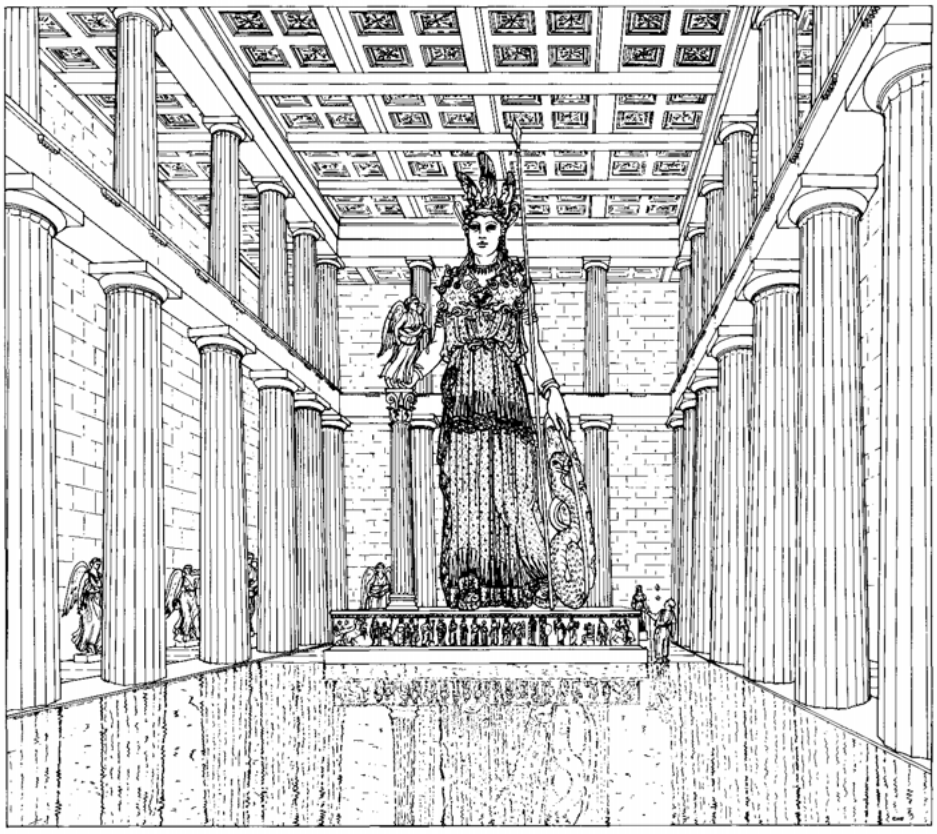
In a further gesture of support, Alexander extends his hand with the Palladion. A century and a half earlier, Pheidias's Athena Parthenos had proffered victory to her Athenian devotees in exactly the same way (text fig. 10); since she also carried aegis and spear and stood in the same relation to Athens as Alexander did to Alexandria, the spectator was presumably intended to catch the allusion. The patroness of Alexander's expedition, Athena was certainly an appropriate choice as guardian of his greatest foundation. Many immigrants to the city would have seen the Parthenos, and the educated among them would also have recalled Solon's ringing lines about the goddess and her city:

> Our city, by the immortal gods' intent
> and Zeus' decree, shall never come to harm:
> for our bold champion, of proud descent,
> Pallas of Athens shields us with her arm.
> (Frag. 4 Edmonds, trans. Gilbert Highet)

The "original" Palladion had been seized by Diomedes and Odysseus from Troy, and Alexander's carefully staged visit to the site in 334 had established him as the heir to both the Achaian victors and the vanquished Trojans. In this context, the formal resemblances between the Aigiochos and an impressive, late fifth-century Diomedes type with Palladion in hand have often been

60. Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 215.

61. Diod. 18. 39. 5 and 43. 1; 20. 76. 7; Arr. *Events after Alexander* frag. 9, 34 (*FGH* 156); cf. Walbank and Astin 1984: 122.



10. The Athena Parthenos by Pheidias, reconstruction drawing by Candace Smith. 447–438 B.C.

noted, and they probably did not escape alert contemporaries either.[62] Though the Palladion on the Cammin cameo is static and columnar, the striding Athena Promachos introduced on the tetradrachms of ca. 314/313 shows that the figure of the protective Athena was familiar to Alexandrians even before Ptolemy founded the dynastic cult and commissioned this statue.

On the coins (color pl. 8; figs. 78–79), Athena shields the Ptolemaic eagle; on the Aigiochos, she extends this protection to all before her, a protection that by implication will be enforced through the invincible figure of the spear-bearing Alexander. He, in turn, wears the aegis, which (like so much in this

62. Palladion: cf. *LIMC,* s.v. "Athena," nos. 67–117. Alexander's visit to Troy: Diod. 17. 17. 3; Just. *Epit.* 11. 5. 12; Plut. *Mor.* 59B, 331D; *Alex.* 15. 8–9; Arr. *Anab.* 1. 12. 1 (though Plutarch's report of Alexander's wistful remark that Achilles had *both* Homer and a friend disproves Hephaistion's parallel sacrifice at Patroklos's tomb); Ael. *VH* 7. 8, 12. 7; cf. Chapter 3.3. Diomedes: Stewart 1990: 168, figs. 439–40; cf. *LIMC,* q.v.

statue) has two meanings. It indicates that he is the son of Homer's "aegis-bearing Zeus" (Zeus Aigiochos), and it acts as an icon for the city of Alexandria itself, whose shape it echoes.[63] Carrying the city's emblem like a personal badge, Alexander strides energetically forward under its invulnerable aegis, extending the services of the war goddess both to Ptolemy and to his subjects. Like the body it guarded in the Sema, and like the coins of the realm, this statue of the mighty *alex-andros*, "repeller of men," also promised that Ptolemaic Egypt "would remain forever blessed, and unravaged for all time" (Ael. *VH* 12. 64).

The Aigiochos addressed the Greek and Macedonian settlers of Alexandria, not the native Egyptians, who took almost no part in the dynastic cult. For them, Ptolemy used the native style, following in Alexander's footsteps by presenting himself as pharaoh, but also dispensing with a formal coronation.[64] Seen in this context, the Aigiochos's subtle transformation of "power over" into "power to," of *archē* into *dynamis*, helps not only to flesh out the dynastic cult, but also to explain why it became far more popular than the more narrowly focused cult of the Founder, and thus why the Aigiochos was so often reproduced and the Founder hardly ever. No fewer than four Aigiochoi, almost a quarter of the total, have been found in Ptolemais Hermiou, which became a major garrison town in the late Hellenistic period. As some researchers have seen, the obvious inference is that they were kept and perhaps dedicated as talismans by soldiers in the Ptolemaic army.[65] The fact that another was found outside the Luxor temple (text fig. 6) should also cause no surprise: the reliefs of the Shrine of the Bark (figs. 53–54) had carried much the same message, but in the native idiom. For the Aigiochos merely translated into Greek the pharaoh's functions from time immemorial. Made by the conquerors for the conquerors, it stands at the crossing of two quite distinct paths: one led from the indigenous Egyptian culture to that of the newcomers, and the other from the age when the Olympians protected cities and peoples to that when the Greeks and Macedonians came to deify mortals (including Ptolemy) as saviors:

63. See Section 2, above.

64. Ptolemy and the Egyptians: Walbank and Astin 1984: 123–28. Cf. the temple relief in Boston from Tarraneh, showing him burning incense before Hathor (Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 15); and Sigmund Freud's *stēlē*, showing him granting land in July 301 to Amenhotep son of Kahor, facing Amun, Mut, Khonsu, and Horus (L. Gamwell and R. Wells, eds., *Freud and Art* [Binghamton, 1989]: 54–55). Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 218 concludes that "the dynastic cult, and all the subordinate private and public cults involving members of the royal family, were and remained essentially Greek . . . in their votaries, in language, in ritual, and in 'appeal.'"

65. E.g., Perdrizet 1913: 70; Grimm 1978: 103, nn. 9, 10, and 13 (listing all four examples, but incorrectly placing the Fitzwilliam replica in Oxford); and R. V. Nicholls, publishing the Fitzwilliam replica in *Archaeological Reports* 1970–71: 71.

for other gods are far away,
or have no ears,
or don't exist, or heed us not at all,
but you we see before us,
not made of wood or stone, but real.
And so we pray to you.
(Hermokles *Hymn to Demetrios Poliorketes*)[66]

Among the disembodied heads from this period, three fine examples deserve comment. Two of them continue the Lysippic tradition: a miniature ivory portrait from Alexandria in Baltimore and a life-size marble head also reportedly found in Egypt and now in Copenhagen. A third marble head, formerly in the Musée Guimet and now in the Louvre, is more eclectic.[67]

The Baltimore ivory (fig. 49) is a version of the Azara type; a mortise at the back shows that it once embellished a piece of furniture, like the miniature heads from the so-called Tomb of Philip at Vergina.[68] Unlike them, though, its hair was carved in one piece with the head, and the *anastolē* certifies the identification. Its features are angular, its expression fierce, and its pose (which can be reconstructed from the direction of the mortise) quite brusque and violent—royal *deinotēs* personified.

The Copenhagen head (fig. 84) is smoother and more romanticized, though equally dynamic: unfinished at the top and back, it was apparently completed in stucco but does preserve a cutting for a diadem. Though obviously descended from the Schwarzenberg and Azara heads (figs. 40, 45), its tousled hair, somewhat rounded features, sweeping brows, large eyes, and full lips also reveal a certain debt to Attic Alexanders like the Rondanini statue (fig. 12), suggesting a date around or not long after 300.

Finally, the smaller Guimet head (fig. 85) reworks the juvenile Akropolis and Dresden types (figs. 5 and 9). Despite attempts to date it to the second century or to declare it a Roman copy, there is nothing in it that compels a date after the early third century.[69] The separation of surface from structure so characteristic of high and late Hellenistic sculpture is entirely absent, and

66. *Apud* Ath. 6, 253e (*FGH* 78 F 13); apparently composed to welcome Demetrios to Athens in 290: cf. Walbank and Astin 1984: 91–92.

67. For bibliographies see Appendix 4.

68. Cf. Andronikos et al. 1980: color pl. 34, nos. 170–71; Andronikos 1984: figs. 75–86; Smith 1991: fig. 292.

69. Second century: Gebauer 1939: 44. Copy: Robertson 1975: 514. Perhaps contemporary with the original of the Papyri Demetrios Poliorketes: Smith 1988: pls. 4–5; Himmelmann 1989: fig. 44; Stewart 1990: figs. 621–22. The tousled but still compact coiffure predates the Berlin Attalos, the late third- and early second-century Ptolemies (Smith 1988: pls. 22–23, 36–39), and, I would argue, the British Museum Alexander (fig. 124).

the "hardness" that is so often remarked in its modeling is paralleled, for instance, in the Yannitsa Alexander (fig. 97). The Guimet head represents a similar stage in the king's rejuvenation: this is Alexander the youthful visionary, untainted by tragic pathos.

By the time Ptolemy retired in 285 and died in 283, Alexander must have been a familiar sight in Alexandria. His body was on public display in the Sema, perhaps complemented by the Aigiochos, and elsewhere in the city stood the equestrian statue of him as Founder (S 18; fig. 52), the Fouquet type (fig. 32), and probably the group in the Tychaion as well (S 4). Then there were the paintings: those on the hearse (P 7; text fig. 9; fig. 75), where Alexander appeared enthroned in his chariot, the universal monarch par excellence—and probably too the pictures by Antiphilos showing him as a youth, and with Philip and Athena (P 2, 11); by Helene showing him fighting at the Issos (P 10); and by Apelles showing him with Nike and the Dioskouroi, and in a chariot with Triumph and the bound figures of War and Fury (P 4, 5). Most of these pictures, which could have been painted either under Kleomenes or under Ptolemy, eventually found their way to Rome. And finally, Alexander's image still circulated on the coins (color pl. 8; figs. 76–79): the gold still showed him as a thunderbolt-bearing Aigiochos in an elephant quadriga, the bronze carried his elephant-crowned head, and much of the earlier silver must still have been in circulation as well.

This panorama of unparalleled achievement was directed primarily at the Greek and Macedonian community, for the Egyptians must soon have realized that Alexander's "liberation" had been a sham and that the conquerors were in Egypt to stay. Alexander, one may imagine, was far less popular among them than was Ptolemy, who had "behaved generously towards the natives" (Diod. 18. 14. 1) from the beginning and who had taken good care to conciliate the local priesthood.[70] Icons of conquest, power, and relentless exploitation, these images prepare us for the most sumptuous and complex of all Alexander's postmortem epiphanies—in Ptolemy II Philadelphos's Great Procession of 275/274.

4. ALEXANDRIAN CARNIVAL

This extraordinary event is described in a long fragment of the Hellenistic writer Kallixeinos, as excerpted by Athenaios in the early third century A.D.

70. Commentary: Walbank and Astin 1984: 123, and cf. the land-grant *stēlē* (one of several) mentioned above.

(T 96). Careful scrutiny of the astral symbols that opened and closed the procession has recently established that it was held between December 275 and February 274. The occasion was therefore the second celebration of the Ptolemaieia, the sumptuous festival inaugurated by Ptolemy II Philadelphos in 279/278 in order to honor his father, whom he had proclaimed a "savior god" soon after his death in 283.[71] The festival, which also included a huge sacrifice, an equally gigantic feast, and an array of athletic, equestrian, musical, and dramatic competitions, was "isolympic" in status: the prizes were equal to those given at the Olympics, and it was held in Olympic years. Representatives from the major Greek political and religious organizations were invited as witnesses and came bearing golden crowns as gifts; as we shall see, they were paid special attention in the procession.[72]

Dionysos and his retinue dominate Kallixeinos's description of the Great Procession, and he says that it was "led through" the city's stadium (197c). Yet it actually honored many other gods as well, and there are hints that it must also have passed through the city's streets in the traditional manner, like the Panathenaia at Athens. Though the text contains some lacunae, the order of events, which has considerable bearing on how one interprets Alexander's place in the whole, was as follows:

I. The procession of the Morning Star (197d)

II. The procession "named after the parents of the kings" (197d)

III. The procession of Dionysos (197e–202a)
   A. Prelude of Silenoi acting as marshals, Nikai, altars, preliminary offerings, heralds, personifications of the Seasons, Eniautos (Twelvemonth), and Penteteris (Quinquennium),[73] and satyrs carrying golden offerings
   B. The poet Philikos and the Guild of Dionysiac Artists
   C. A float with a colossal, sumptuously attired statue of Dionysos, attended by priests and acolytes, followed by another bearing his nurse, Nysa

71. Full commentary: Rice 1983, with Foertenmeyer 1988 on the date. Festival: Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 218, 224, 228, and 230–32.

72. Replies to the invitation for the first Ptolemaieia are extant from the Island League (*SIG*³: no. 390) and the Delphic Amphiktyony (*SEG* 13: no. 351); the Athenians also sent a delegation, whose doings are recorded in an honorary decree for its leader, Kallias of Sphettos (Shear 1978: 33–35); summary: Rice 1983: 182–83. These states would not have been omitted from invitations to the celebrations of 275/274.

73. The four-year interval between the festivals, counting inclusively in the normal Greek manner.

D. Celebration of wine: floats with satyrs and Silenoi pressing wine, a gigantic wine bag of leopard skin, a huge silver krater, and hundreds of other vessels of gold and silver; several thousand acolytes, many with gold and silver vessels, offering wine to all present
E. Floats illustrating the life of Dionysos, including his triumphal return from India on an elephant, accompanied by an army of satyrs, Silenoi, boys, and girls; by chariots drawn by elephants and other exotic beasts; by women prisoners; and by more wild animals
F. A float with Alexander, Ptolemy, Arete, Priapos, Corinth, and gold wine vessels, followed by women representing the Greek cities formerly subject to Persia (S 5); a golden thyrsos 135 feet long; a silver spear 90 feet long; and a 180-foot golden phallos
G. The end of the Dionysiac procession. Other floats, including caged lions, statues of gods and kings, an orchestra, and two thousand bulls decked for sacrifice

IV. The processions of "Zeus and all the other gods" (202a)

V. The procession of Alexander (202a–f)
A. A chariot drawn by four elephants carrying his portrait in gold, flanked by Athena and Nike (S 6) and accompanied by many gold and ivory thrones bearing gold crowns and cornucopiae
B. Altars and ritual objects of gold
C. Other paraphernalia, including a 60-foot gilded thunderbolt, colossal eagles, 3,200 gold crowns, a golden aegis, colossal gold and silver breastplates (the latter embossed with thunderbolts), gold shields, panoplies, greaves, and vast quantities of gold and silver plate

VI. The parade of troops (202f–203a)
A. 57,600 infantry and 23,200 cavalry
B. Other military equipment

VII. The culminating ceremony and dedications to the royal family (203a–b)

VIII. The procession of the Evening Star (197d)

Royal processions are "centers of charisma" in their own right, the means whereby kings take symbolic possession of their realms. Focusing attention on the monarchy, enhancing its majesty and legitimacy, they mark the territories through which they pass as extensions of the king's person. They serve to "locate the society's center and affirm its connection with transcendent

things by stamping a territory with ritual signs of dominance."[74] Totally Greek in character, Ptolemy's procession featured not a single Egyptian divinity or symbol. Its message was one of Greek military, cultural, and racial superiority, and its purposes were to affirm the Ptolemaic dynasty's place at the center of the life of Alexandria, and Alexandria's place at the center of both the civilized and barbarian worlds.[75] It declared that the new ruling house and its equally arriviste capital were here to stay.

To this end, the procession was doubly enframed in a way that broadly corresponded to the two complementary matrices of "nature" and "culture." The Morning and Evening Stars (I, VIII) provided the outer frame, locating the entire festival in a cosmic setting just as Pheidias had done almost two hundred years earlier, on the Parthenon.[76] The homage to the Ptolemies (II, VII) furnished the inner frame, which was dynastic and political. For though the meaning of the procession "named after the parents of the *basileis*" (II) is obscure,[77] it must have included Ptolemy II's father, Ptolemy I Soter: indeed, the identification of the occasion as the Ptolemaieia shows that Soter must have been the focus of attention at this point. In the dedications to the royal family (VII) he and his wife, Berenike, are honored with statues in golden chariots and precincts in Dodona, and Ptolemy II gets two golden statues in golden chariots, and others on columns. These two frames were linked by the figures of Penteteris, Eniautos, and the Horai in the Dionysiac procession (IIIA), representing both Philadelphos's calendar for the festival and the annual cycle of prosperity over which Dionysos presides. Significantly, Penteteris was crowned with the proverbially ever-fruitful Egyptian *perseia* tree, firmly localizing the allusion (198a).

Yet meaning is signaled as much by what is left unsaid as by what is said, and a spectator familiar with the affairs of Ptolemy II and his empire in that winter of 275/274 would have found much to ponder. For although the king's position was strong, he had only just weathered an invasion by Magas of Kyrene and a revolt of Celtic mercenaries in Egypt itself. An alliance between Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon and Antiochos I of Syria threatened his po-

74. Geertz 1983: 125. Processions and power: R. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals* (Woodbridge, 1984); L. Partridge and R. Starn, "Triumphalism and the Sala Regia in the Vatican," in *"All the World's a Stage . . .": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, ed. B. Wisch and S. Scott Munshower (University Park, Penn., 1990), 22–81; and especially Geertz 1977; Geertz 1983: 120–46 (revised version).

75. The latter symbolized by the wild animals, mostly from Africa, Arabia, and India, but some from "Asia" and Europe too: see Rice 1983: 86–99 for the details.

76. Cf. Stewart 1990: 150–60.

77. Discussions: Rice 1983: 38–45; Foertenmeyer 1988; perhaps Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, who were married between her return from Samothrace in the early 270s and June 29, 273.

sitions in the Aegean, Asia Minor, and Phoenicia. War with Syria actually broke out early in 274, and the Great Procession's military parade (VI) surely represents a mobilization for the coming campaign.[78] And with war looming, there must have been great anxiety over the heir to the throne—whether Ptolemy had already married his sister Arsinoe or not. His first marriage had collapsed around 280 amid charges of conspiracy, depriving his three children (including his eventual successor, Ptolemy III Euergetes) of any legal status. He would not, in fact, recognize them until Arsinoe's death in 270, when it was finally plain that her incestuous union with him would be barren.[79]

Clearly, then, the situation was fraught with tension: war and peace, offense and defense, universality and regionalism, legitimacy and illegitimacy, fertility and sterility, prosperity and pillage—these are just a few of the antinomies that a critical reading of this text may be expected to uncover. Yet a full analysis would take us far from the question at hand: What was Alexander's role in all this? In the Great Procession he appears twice, once as conqueror of the East in the footsteps of Dionysos (201d: T 96a; cf. fig. 86) and once on his own account, after "Zeus and all the other gods" (202a: T 96b).

The first of these two epiphanies (IIIF; S 5) was cast in allegorical form.[80] It emphasized Ptolemy's role at Alexander's side and the freedom and prosperity that Alexander's emulation of Dionysos had brought to the Greek cities. To this end, both Alexander and Ptolemy wore ivy crowns of gold, were attended by Priapos, Arete, and Corinth, and were accompanied in the float by a large gold krater and gold cups. Now, Priapos was the son of Dionysos, and his presence (whether ithyphallic or not) would have radiated fertility, prosperity, and sexual power; his ivy crown specifically linked him with Ptolemy and Alexander, making them his mortal avatars.[81] Arete was the driving force behind Alexander's campaign; in contrast to the Dionysiac associations of the ivy crowns of Alexander, Ptolemy, and Priapos, her olive crown was presumably a victory symbol, as on Alexander's hearse (T 74; fig. 75). And finally, Corinth must represent the League of Corinth, under whose auspices

78. Summary: Green 1990: 137–46. Magas and the Celts: Paus. 1. 7. 1–2.

79. Scholium to Theokritos *Idyll* 17. 128 (quoted by Fraser 1972: vol. 2: 502 n. 46); see *RhMus* 72 (1917–18): 458 on the legal problems.

80. Rice 1983: 102–10 discusses the earlier literature, some of it bizarre in the extreme; most of it will not reappear here.

81. Who stood next to whom has generated much speculation and even textual emendation: see Rice 1983: 103. On Ptolemy I Soter and Dionysos see most recently Donderer 1988, who publishes a Roman mosaic in Algeria with a king in attendance at Dionysos' Indian triumph. An inscription at Aulis praises Ptolemy III Euergetes' descent from Herakles and Dionysos (Dittenberger 1903: no. 54), but there is as yet no evidence that his father Philadelphos or grandfather Soter claimed Dionysiac ancestry; discussions: Fraser 1972: vol. 2: 202–3; Errington 1976: 155; and Walbank and Astin 1984: 86.

the campaign had been launched and whose elected *hēgemōn* Alexander had been. The city's golden diadem indicated that it was sovereign, perhaps even (since Alexander himself was apparently not diademed) that his conquests legally belonged to it.[82] An inscribed late fourth-century mirror case gives some idea of the figure's appearance: a long-haired, bearded man with a himation wrapped around his waist and legs, and a scepter in his right hand (fig. 81).[83] Walking behind this float came women representing the Greek cities "of Asia and the Islands formerly subject to Persia," gorgeously dressed and wearing golden crowns to signify their prosperity, freedom, and current felicity. And finally, if all this were not enough, Dionysos' 135-foot golden thyrsos was followed by a 90-foot silver spear (*longchē*) and accompanied by a 180-foot golden phallos.

The credulous might be forgiven for taking this sumptuous and beguiling display at face value. The characterization of Alexander's conquests as a reprise of those of Dionysos (fig. 86), bringing liberty and prosperity to all Greeks, certainly served Ptolemaic interests well. The dynasty's claim to be protectors of the freedom of the Greeks dated back to at least 308 and is well attested in a number of third-century inscriptions, including the reply of the Islanders to their invitation to the first Ptolemaieia of 279/278.[84] This tableau, then, was clearly directed primarily at the visiting envoys from the Greek cities: with Alexander's "barbarian" conquests completely omitted, the spotlight fell squarely on them. Yet, as we have seen in Chapter 3.4, the reality of the "liberation" was somewhat different. Alexander had treated both the League of Corinth and the Greek cities formerly subject to Persia with much the same high-handedness and had certainly not laid his conquests tamely at the feet of the former. The 90-foot silver spear that followed the rejoicing Ionian cities was much closer to reality than they were.

As for Priapos, he was surely intended to symbolize the potency of Alexander and Ptolemy, their successful rape of Persia, and the prodigious fruits of their triumph. The decision to employ him in this novel way may have been inspired by the ithyphallic Min/Ammon-Ra Khamutef (fig. 54—though here the phallos has been defaced), whose domain and functions were broadly similar to Priapos's. Kallixeinos's description, however, suggests that this Priapos was wholly Greek in character. Though he does not specifically state

82. Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 230–31 recognizes the diadem as signifying "sovereignty" but rejects Corinth as a personification of the League; Rice 1983: 105–6 accepts the reference to the League but rejects Tarn's interpretation of the diadem. Both treat the tableau as a true reflection of either past or contemporary "reality": it was not.

83. Züchner 1942: KS 163, fig. 99.

84. Diod. 20. 37. 1–2; cf., for example, *SIG*³: nos. 390 and 434–35. 16–17, passed in 280 and on the eve of the Chremonidean War of ca. 268–262, respectively.

that the god was ithyphallic, there is no reason to think that he was not, and it would have been difficult to identify him otherwise. Yet if so, what of Alexander's reputation for sexual continence (hinted at by the figure of Arete), even impotence?[85] The "liberated" cities, too, were all represented by women, belying the phallos's traditional role as a symbol of *polis* independence and of its citizens' untrammeled self-assertion.[86]

Of course, by 275 the "liberation" was ancient history; yet how had the Greeks fared in the two generations that had followed it, and did their current situation perhaps justify this rosy tableau? Hardly: Alexander's universal empire had fallen apart, and Ptolemy I's attempt to revive the League of Corinth and to proclaim the freedom of the Greeks in 308/307 had failed dismally.[87] Indeed, Corinth in 275, so far from being free and sovereign, was one of the Macedonian garrison towns later aptly termed the "fetters of Greece"; true, the Island League was free (under Ptolemaic protection), as were Miletos and Iasos, but most of the other Asian cities were subject to the Seleukids.[88] Though the Ptolemies seem to have been received in Athens and the Islands with genuine affection (if one believes the evidence of statues and cults), their "freedom" actually meant submission to Ptolemaic power. Yet fellow-traveling produced no ironclad guarantees: Philadelphos's attitude to Greece and the Aegean during the 270s was torpid in the extreme, and his performance during the disastrous Chremonidean War (ca. 268–262) was to be little better.[89]

To the more perspicacious among the Greek envoys, then, this tableau must have seemed at best a pious hope, at worst a promise unfulfilled and a cynical hit at the Antigonids and Seleukids. The Alexandrians, of course, probably saw it quite differently: their view is perhaps best articulated in Theokritos's "Encomium of Ptolemy," written at this very time. After conjuring up the images of Soter and Alexander enthroned side by side, he praises Philadelphos as follows:

> Over all [Egypt] Ptolemy rules as king; in addition
> He cuts himself slices from Phoenicia and Arabia,

85. Cf. Chapters 3.2 and 5.2.

86. Halperin 1990: 103–4.

87. Diod. 20. 37. 1–2; *Souda*, s.v. "Demetrios"; discussion and references: Rice 1983: 106; Walbank and Astin 1984: 55.

88. Cf. Walbank and Astin 1984: 54, 59, 108, 116, 207–8, 230–31; Green 1990: 129, 137–46.

89. Cults, statues, and later comments: Diod. 20. 100. 2–8; Paus. 1. 8. 6 and 9. 4; *SIG*^{3}: nos. 390 and 434–35. 16–17; cf. Habicht 1970: 26, 109–10; Rice 1983: 107; Walbank and Astin 1984: 92. Philadelphos's failures in the Chremonidean War: Walbank and Astin 1984: 236–40; Green 1990: 146–47.

From Syria, Libya, and the swarthy Ethiops' lands;
Over all Pamphylia his word is law, and among the Kilikian
Spearmen, the Lykians and the warlike Karians,
And the isles of the Cyclades, for the finest vessels
That sail the seas are his, all the sea and land
And the echoing rivers are ruled by Ptolemy, while about him
Swarm horsemen and shieldmen, agleam in brazen armor.
(*Idyll* 17. 85–94, trans. Peter Green)[90]

This was basically true, if exaggerated in parts. Yet though Priapos could justly be said to have invigorated both kingdom and dynasty (Soter had fathered Philadelphos at the age of sixty), Philadelphos's own three children were now in legal limbo, and his incestuous union with Arsinoe, whether already consummated or not, would have done little to allay his subjects' anxieties.

This tableau, then, was a Ptolemaic fantasy that corresponded neither to historical reality nor to contemporary circumstance. Besides its obviously idealized form and overtly political content, it also unceremoniously thrust the pragmatic Alexander of Ptolemy's history into the background in favor of the quasi-Dionysiac conqueror popularized by the "Vulgate"/Kleitarchos. The famous account in Diodoros, Curtius, and Plutarch of Alexander's return from India in 324, emergence from the horrors of the Gedrosian desert, and seven-day Bacchic revel through Karmania has generated endless controversy, but Arrian is explicit that Soter omitted it from his history entirely.[91] Clearly, his sober and subtle portrait of Alexander was poorly adapted both to his son's need for self-promotion in the Greek world and to the Greeks' own mixed feelings about the expedition and its results. In this tableau, Philadelphos transformed Alexander into an icon of Ptolemaic and Greek wish fulfillment. With his charisma routinized, institutionalized, and specially packaged for Greek consumption, the conqueror was now indentured to a carefully crafted and specifically Ptolemaic ideology.

Despite the often-repeated claim that Alexander and Ptolemy appeared in this tableau as gods or demigods,[92] the text actually betrays no hint of apotheosis. Kallixeinos says only that they wore ivy crowns, the standard attribute of Dionysos' devotees since time immemorial. Even his use of the term *agalma* to describe the images of the two men is probably conventional, since he also uses the term for the image of Nysa, Dionysos' nurse (198f), who

90. Fraser 1972: vol. 2: 666 dates the poem between 276 and 270.

91. Arr. *Anab.* 6. 28. 1–2 (*FGH* 138 F 27).

92. E.g., Rice 1983: 107: "Alexander and Soter appear in this context as public cult figures."

was by no means a goddess. His description of Alexander's second epiphany (VA: T 96b; S 6) is at first sight equally ambiguous. This time, he tells us only that the king's image, of gold, was set on a chariot "drawn by four real elephants." Athena accompanied him in the chariot, appearing once more in her role as patroness of the expedition, and Nike stood there too, symbolizing its successful outcome. The trio followed the processions of "Zeus and all the other gods."

This order of events was the same as in Philip's procession at Aigai on the day of his murder in 336, when his "godlike" image was carried in procession after those of the twelve Olympians.[93] The elephant quadriga, too, immediately recalls the Ptolemaic gold staters where Alexander stands in one, wears the aegis, and carries the thunderbolt (fig. 76); the car and statue must have been colossal, or they would have been dwarfed by the team. In addition, the thrones and altars carried along behind clearly echo Eumenes' strategem of 318/317, when he set up Alexander's throne in his tent, piled his insignia upon it, and persuaded the generals to sacrifice to the king on an altar before it and to deliberate in council around it.[94]

Of the regalia placed on these thrones Kallixeinos mentions golden crowns (*stephanai*) and cornucopiae but does not specifically connect any individual item with Alexander; he only says that Ptolemy Soter's crown "was made from ten thousand gold pieces." Alexander's diadem was not in Philadelphos's possession, but it is interesting that the first throne carried a golden *stephanē*. In his account of the hearse (T 74), Diodoros tells us that a huge golden *stephanē* crowned the apex of the vault: could this have been it? The gigantic eagles, thunderbolts, suits of armor, weapons, crowns, and almost unbelievable amounts of gold and silver plate require little imagination to interpret. They were the symbols of the divine conqueror and his chosen successors, and the spoils of their wars. The wealth of the East was being paraded for the benefit of their people, the lucky citizens of the Queen of the Mediterranean, and the vast army that followed behind (VI) clearly indicated that more would be arriving soon.

5. ALEXANDER'S IMAGE AND PTOLEMAIC POLICY

In these early Ptolemaic portraits, Alexander's image is institutionalized to a degree that is unparalleled in the other Successor regimes. For all their overt

93. Diod. 16. 92. 5; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 10. 77 calls Alexander the thirteenth god.
94. Diod. 18. 60–61 and 19. 15. 3–4; Plut. *Eum.* 13; Nep. *Eum.* 7. 2–3; Polyainos 4. 8. 2.

display of machistic symbols and strident proclamation of military and political success, they develop new themes in counterpoint, as it were, to the now-familiar imperialistic rhetoric of *dynamis* and *archē*. Security, stability, and prosperity are the main themes, orchestrated by associating Alexander with the Ptolemies and with gods such as Zeus Aigiochos, Athena Promachos, Tyche, Dionysos, and Priapos. Though Theokritos makes much of the dynasty's links with Herakles in his "Encomium of Ptolemy" (*Idyll* 17. 13–33), the portraits as a rule do not. A single pair of bronze statuettes that represent Ptolemy II Philadelphos with elephant scalp, club, spear or scepter, and boots, and Arsinoe II with crown and double cornucopia, is the only archaeological evidence for the association.[95] Possibly the fact that the Antigonids had already claimed Herakles as their ancestor caused this relative lack of interest, but it may equally be that the Ptolemies simply found that Dionysos offered a better symbol for their achievements and aspirations than the blatantly aggressive and somewhat inflexible Herakles.[96]

Our first extant analysis of Ptolemaic foreign policy was penned by Polybios in the mid-second century, and following him, scholars have often described it as offensive-defensive in character. In this view, the Ptolemies followed Soter's lead in happily profiting from their rivals' weaknesses, but in essence contented themselves with a purely regional hegemony.[97] While attempting to keep the Antigonids and Seleukids off balance, they lacked both the will and the strength to embark upon campaigns intended to destroy the other major powers. Instead, they put their main investment into developing Alexandria itself and into maintaining their defensive cordon of buffer territories, of which Coele-Syria, Cyprus, and Cyrenaica were the most important.

The evidence presented in the foregoing pages suggests that this thesis may be misleading, at least for the period covered here. Not only were the early Ptolemies extensively involved in Greece, the Islands, and Asia Minor—territories too far away to be described as "buffer zones"—but the rhetoric of their Alexander images is by no means defensive. To the Greeks of the mainland, Aegean, and Asia, it announced the dynasty's benign protectorate over their affairs, implicitly equating its rivals with the despotic Persians; to the Ptolemaic army, it signaled military victory and its attendant spoils; and to the Alexandrians, it spelled an invincible defense and never-ending prosperity. Flexible and open-ended, it could easily embrace all of these functions. It pointedly contrasted Ptolemaic stability and Alexandria's

95. Kyrieleis 1975: B1 and J2, pls. 8. 5–6, 9; 72, 4; Smith 1988: appendix 8, no. 9, pl. 70. 6; Smith 1991: fig. 230.

96. Discussion, Fraser 1972: vol. 2: 202–3; Rice 1983: 104 n. 209.

97. Polyb. 5. 34. 1–9; discussion and references: Walbank and Astin 1984: 442–45.

security with the chaos that reigned elsewhere in the Greek world—at least until a proper balance of power was established in the 270s. Although the system was certainly self-serving, even cynical (for in the end all three groups were but tools to further the Ptolemies' own quest for wealth and power), there is no doubting that it worked. Its breakdown after 220 under the twin handicaps of weak rulers and severe economic recession are another matter, and no concern of this book.

These portraits do, however, place Alexandria squarely at the forefront of Ptolemaic concerns. By at least the mid-second century the city was called Alexandria *by* Egypt; it was not a part of Egypt but had its own small administrative territory, the *chōra*. It was, in fact, technically a city-state, but one from which the Ptolemies governed an empire: the Hellenistic successor to Periklean Athens.[98] The Alexander Aigiochos (fig. 83) with its explicitly thematized borrowings from the Athena Parthenos (text fig. 10) emphasizes this special function, but so do the other images too, particularly the ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ tetradrachms (fig. 79). Finally, by pointedly excluding any reference to the native Egyptian culture, the Great Procession made the city's privileged status crystal clear: Alexandria was the Queen of the Mediterranean and brooked no rival. And the city responded with enthusiasm and loyalty, at least until relations between dynasty and people turned sour in the second century.

Kallixeinos's description of the procession is the last written record of Alexander's image from the Ptolemaic kingdom. Nor is the mid- and late Hellenistic archaeological evidence—the replicas of the Aigiochos, a number of disembodied heads, and two late Ptolemaic statuettes (figs. 83, 124, 132, 144–45)—much more prepossessing. Yet it would be foolish to conclude that Alexander's image ceased to be of use to the Ptolemies and their subjects. For one thing, his body was still in the Sema—which Ptolemy IV Philopator renovated and substantially enlarged at the end of the third century—and his portraits were still the focus of cult; the replicas of the Aigiochos document his continuing importance to the army, and perhaps to others as well. For another, the floats in the Great Procession were presumably used over and over again, as the four-year cycle of the Ptolemaieia rolled around, perhaps with modifications to bring them up-to-date. In Egypt, then, Alexander remained exactly as Soter had made him—an icon of stability in a turbulent world. Elsewhere in the *oikoumenē*, he met a quite different fate, as we will now see.

98. Cf. Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 93–118.

9

IMAGES OF INSECURITY

1. "ALEXANDER AND VICTORY"

The contrast between Ptolemy's doings and those of the other Successors is largely a matter of hindsight. Though he founded the most stable and enduring of the Successor monarchies, he came close to losing everything in both 320 and 306, and his successes were often countered by reverses elsewhere. Yet only he never lost control of the heartland of his domains, and in the end he managed to bequeath most of his gains to his son. Elsewhere, conditions were decidedly more volatile. Between Perdikkas's murder in 320 and the emergence of a more or less stable balance of power in the 270s, the power struggle was ferocious, the oscillations of fortune violent, and the life expectancy of the principals short; a grasping and often ruthless opportunism was the key to survival.[1] This situation is registered directly in the one sphere in which stability was maintained, the monetary, where "posthumous Alexanders" (as numismatists call the Successors' and later issues of his coinage) reigned supreme.

Throughout the empire, the Successors continued to produce Alexander's gold and silver, either under his name or under the names of Philip III Arrhidaios and Alexander IV (fig. 104). As explained in Chapter 8.1, Ptolemy had already invented his own types (figs. 76–79) and let the others lapse soon after Philip was eliminated in 317. Yet in Macedonia and Asia even Alexander's murder in 310 caused no interruption, nor did the assumption of the royal title by Antigonos One-Eye, Seleukos, and Kassandros five years or so

1. Summaries and analyses of events: Walbank and Astin 1984: 21–61 (still adhering to the old chronology for 322–320, one year too high), 101–117; Green 1990: 3–51, 119–34.

later.[2] Whether the head of Herakles on the silver was by then considered to be a portrait of Alexander is unclear and has caused endless debate.[3] If the Alexander Sarcophagus's strange image of the king wearing a lion-scalp helmet (fig. 103) imitates these posthumous Alexanders, as many have thought, then this would indicate that it was, at least in Sidon. Yet Kassandros surely did not subscribe to this view, since he loathed both the king and his image (T 111) but still continued to mint these coins.[4]

When Antigonos fell in a shower of javelins at Ipsos in 301, his son Demetrios Poliorketes continued to strike posthumous Alexanders at the mints he still controlled. In Macedon, too, Kassandros's death in 297 caused no break at his mints at all, but Demetrios substituted his own portrait after he became king there in 294; yet he also struck posthumous Alexanders in the Peloponnese, apparently in order to finance his projected invasion of Asia in 287. In Thrace, Lysimachos had at first followed Kassandros's lead but after 297 substituted a new portrait (color pl. 8; fig. 117) that soon found ready acceptance as far away as Baktria, though it never came close to rivaling the posthumous Alexanders in popularity. Two cities, Miletos and the Karian town of Mylasa, produced them too—among the earliest examples of civic issues of this type.

Demetrios was captured by Seleukos in 285 and drank himself to death in 283; in 281 Seleukos killed Lysimachos at the battle of Korypedion and invaded Europe but was murdered soon after. His son Antiochos I continued to mint posthumous Alexanders in Seleukos's name, as did his two successors Antiochos II and Seleukos II. At this time Thrace and Macedon began a slide into chaos, which was accelerated by an invasion of Celts in 279; the two regions produced posthumous Alexanders throughout this period until Antigonos Gonatas established control in 272/271 (one issue carries his name). Some Peloponnesian cities and some Asian ones not subject to the Seleukids also joined the bandwagon but understandably reverted to the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Not surprisingly, as remarked before, this type accounts for up to 90 percent of all coins found in third-century hoards outside Egypt.[5]

Publicly, then, the marshals' stubborn adherence to Alexander's Herakles coinage in the years after 323 proclaimed to their subjects and followers (their troops in particular) their continuing allegiance to the kings and to the concept of an undivided empire and boosted their own prestige by emphasizing their service with Alexander. Yet it also betrays their shock at his premature demise and the problems they faced in building up their own support: as ever,

2. For the details, see le Rider 1986: 5–9 and Mørkholm 1991: 55–62 and 70ff.
3. Summary: Bellinger 1963: 14–21.
4. Kassandros's hostility: Chapter 5.2, with the literature there cited.
5. Statistics: le Rider 1986: 14–30.

legitimacy was the overriding issue.[6] Though Ptolemy was the first to discontinue minting this coinage, he and the other Successors still continued to pay lip service to the ideals it stood for even after they declared themselves kings: for the prize at stake was nothing less than the whole of Alexander's legacy, *hē tōn holōn hēgemonia*.

For the most part, the Successors usually retained Alexander's name on these coins, but they occasionally betrayed their ambitions by substituting their own. "Alexander and Victory" was a potent battle cry in this period: service under him was highly valued, counted for a great deal in recruiting, and helped to weld armies and commanders together.[7] Seleukos, for example, supposedly played upon this kind of nostalgia to stiffen the resolve of the tiny expeditionary force with which he took Babylonia in 311. Reminding them how Alexander had taught them to accomplish great deeds by skill and cunning, he reportedly claimed that the oracle at Didyma had saluted him as "King Seleukos," and recalled a dream in which Alexander, standing beside him, "had given him a clear sign of his coming hegemony" (Diod. 19. 90. 3–4). Though the story is obviously apocryphal, for Alexander's son was still alive and Seleukos was certainly not about to challenge him for the throne, he probably invented and circulated it a few years later, when the boy king was safely in his grave, and he was completing yet another triumphant march to the East. And when he founded his new Eastern capital of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, the first coins that he struck there, presumably to finance its construction and defense, were posthumous Alexanders and Athena/Nike staters with the legend ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, "of King Seleukos."[8]

Yet the amazing longevity of this coinage cannot be explained simply in terms of a mixture of opportunism and nostalgia. Alexander's vast output had made his coins a truly international currency, accepted by soldiers and civilians from the Adriatic to the Indus. Many of those in the third-century hoards are badly worn, and it seems that the Successors continued to produce these coins partly in order to make up for attrition of this kind. When the cities followed suit in the course of the third century, they did so not out of fidelity to Alexander and his dreams of universal hegemony, still less to those who now claimed his legacy, but because this money would find ready acceptance

6. Cf. Burling 1974; Barnes 1988: 108–10.

7. "Alexander and Victory": cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 29. 1 and *Eum.* 6. 6, with Hadley 1974a: 56–57 and Errington 1976: 158–62.

8. Newell 1938a: 12–14, nos. 1–5, pls. 1–2; Houghton 1983: nos. 936–42; Mørkholm 1991: 71, pl. 8. 134. Newell dated the foundation of the city to ca. 311–306, but following Hadley 1978 most numismatists (e.g., Houghton 1983: 94 n. 1) now accept a date after Ipsos, which puts the opening of the mint around 300. Mørkholm 1991: 71 fudges the issue with a date of ca. 305–300, and Grainger 1990: 100, who pays no attention to coins, misleadingly cites Hadley in support of the earlier date.

everywhere.[9] Alexander's plans for an imperial currency thus came to fruition in a way that he never envisaged: now enthroned not in Babylon but on Olympos, he became the undisputed king of Hellenistic finance.

2. CRUSADE IN AFRICA

Alexander's image was used by other aspirants to empire than Ptolemy, by those seeking to conciliate or flatter them, and by cities that claimed Alexander as founder or owed some kind of a debt to his quest for hegemony. The remainder of this chapter and the next will survey what remains of these images, traversing a four-thousand-mile arc from Sicily to India. If the material is uneven and somewhat intractable, that is not only because so much has been lost. Few among those who achieved power after Alexander's death could claim a personal relationship with him, and even they rarely seem to have employed his image with much consistency. This may be because they could not usefully invoke Alexander to justify much of what they were doing, because they were busy with other things, because Ptolemy had preempted them, or for some other reason. We shall have to take each case on its merits.

The West, though unconquered by Alexander, was certainly not oblivious to him. His victory over Darius at the Issos in 333 had inspired at least one Apulian vase painter (text figs. 4–5; figs. 25–27), and his portrait in the temple of Melkart at Gades (S 21) might have been a propitiatory offering by the Phoenician colonists there, connected with his last plans of 324/323 (Chapter 6.3). One more monument remains to be added to this little corpus: a gold stater of Agathokles of Syracuse (fig. 87), of which only three examples are known.[10]

The stater bears on its obverse a head wearing an elephant scalp, Ammon's horn, and aegis, and on its reverse a striding, winged Athena, helmeted and brandishing shield and spear; she is preceded by an owl, and behind her is the

9. Since Alexander had appeared as the liberator of the East Greek cities in Ptolemy II's Grand Procession of 275/274 (S 5; T 95; cf. Chapter 8.4), one might be tempted to argue that their posthumous Alexanders were a kind of badge of freedom. Yet not only was the procession a piece of Ptolemaic rhetoric, but the first city to strike these coins, Miletos, supported Demetrios Poliorketes, who also minted them, and the Seleukids continued to produce them until near the end of the century; so the "liberated" and the "oppressors" shared the same emblem. Mørkholm 1991: 138 explicitly connects these civic issues of posthumous Alexanders with war and unrest.

10. For examples and bibliography see Appendix 4.

legend ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ, "of Agathokles."[11] This coin has been connected with the Syracusan tyrant's African campaign of 310–307 since the nineteenth century, and its obvious imitation of Ptolemy's tetradrachms of the period from 314/313 (series [ii]D: color pl. 8; figs. 78–79) is generally admitted. The legend furnishes a cross-check for the date, for it coincides with the second stage of the development of his silver coinage, after the coins of ca. 316–310, which are simply labeled ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, "of the Syracusans," but before he declared himself king in or around 304 and soon thereafter put the legend ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, "of King Agathokles," on his coins.[12]

Agathokles' African campaign was one of the most audacious ventures in Greek military history. After seizing power in Syracuse in 316/315 and gaining control of most of Sicily, he inevitably became embroiled with Carthage, was heavily defeated, and found himself penned up in Syracuse. Since no help could be expected, he decided upon an action equal to the boldest undertakings of Alexander and the Successors: he would attack Carthage itself. Stripping Syracuse of its treasures, he raised an army of 13,500 men, predominantly mercenaries, and landed near Carthage on August 20, 310—the first European ever to invade North Africa. Burning his ships, and plundering as he went, he was confronted by a hastily assembled Carthaginian army under the city walls. Diodoros then tells us that, outnumbered three to one, he reportedly kindled his men's ardor by the stratagem of releasing owls that settled on their helmets and shields.[13] This portable aviary is difficult to credit, and the story surely gained much in the telling, but as the first scholar to publish a systematic study of these coins drily observed, perhaps "some real omen drawn from the bird of Athena suggested this 'flight of fancy' to the

11. Kuschel 1961: 15 seems to have been the first and so far the only scholar to list all three attributes. As on the Ptolemaic examples, the Ammon's horn lies under the scalp, in front of and above the ear; first noticed by Babelon 1924: 102, it seems quite clear to me, though Cahn, in Cahn et al. 1988: 143 is dubious. The interpolated iota on the Basel example, making the legend ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ, has ramifications for the sequence of Agathokles' silver. This section owes much to conversations with Michael Ierardi, who has kindly given me his unpublished paper on Agathokles' silver coinage, and whose dissertation on the tyrant's career is in preparation.

12. Cf. Head 1911: 180–82; Giesecke 1923: 89–92; Jenkins 1968: 151–52; Buda 1969–70; and Ierardi 1990. Jenkins revises the dates downward on the basis of hoard evidence, while Buda follows Head's higher chronology; most recently, Ierardi offers strong new arguments for Head's scheme. Diod. 20. 54. 1 alleges that Agathokles took the royal title in 308/307, but explicitly states that he did so in imitation of Antigonos, Ptolemy, Lysimachos, and Kassandros (cf. 20. 53). Antigonos claimed the kingship in 306, the others shortly thereafter (Gruen 1985: 254–60). Meister, in Walbank and Astin 1983: 405 plausibly argues that Agathokles followed suit after the Carthaginians implicitly recognized him as master of eastern Sicily in the treaty they signed with him in 306/305 (Diod. 20. 79. 5).

13. Diod. 20. 11. 3–5; summary: Meister, in Walbank and Astin 1983: 390–400.

historian."[14] Whatever actually happened, the Carthaginians were soundly defeated and withdrew behind their city walls.

Each army now directly threatened the other's capital city and proceeded to attack its surrounding territory. While the Carthaginians continued to assault Agathokles' positions in Sicily, he raised revolts against them in Tunisia and allied himself with Ptolemy's governor of Kyrene, Ophellas, who joined him with an army in the late summer of 308. Yet the two soon fell out; Agathokles treacherously murdered Ophellas, then took over his leaderless troops. Unfortunately, at this most favorable juncture, many of the Greek cities in Sicily, fed up with both sides, revolted and declared their autonomy. This compelled Agathokles to return to Sicily, leaving one of his sons in charge of the army. For the next year, the Greek position in North Africa gradually eroded, and when Agathokles reappeared he was unable to rescue it; finally, in November of 307, he again decamped to Sicily, abandoning his army and his sons to their fate.

If the owl and winged Athena (who must be Athena Nike) refer to the victory outside Carthage in the early fall of 310—and there would have been no incentive for Agathokles to mint such a coin after the debacle of 307—then whose is the head on the obverse? Both its identification and its sex are disputed: Africa, Libya, Sicilia, Alexander, and Agathokles himself have all been suggested at one time or another.[15] Yet the head imitates Ptolemy's Alexanders (color pl. 8; figs. 78–79) so closely that the leading candidate must be Alexander. The personified Africa, Libya, and Sicily are not securely documented until the Roman period, and in any case the heavily muscled brow and Ammon's horn surely identify the subject as male. The elephant scalp cannot refer to African elephants, for Agathokles had none, and the Carthaginians acquired them only during their third-century wars with Rome. Finally, the other supposed numismatic portraits of Agathokles are quite different.[16]

It is unfortunate that all three extant examples of the type are unprovenanced. It has been suggested that they were struck in Africa just after Agathokles' junction with Ophellas's army in 308, but their message may have been more immediate than this, and directed at the home front. A papyrus fragment gives us a vivid description of the political turmoil that shook Syracuse

14. Evans 1894: 239.

15. Africa and Libya: Kuschel 1961: 15 (with earlier literature); Goukowsky 1978: 207; Sicilia is also tentatively suggested by Goukowsky 1978: 356 n. 19. Alexander: Svoronos 1908: 14; Giesecke 1923: 91; Babelon 1924: 102; Hadley 1964: 37; Cahn et al. 1988: 143; and apparently Buda 1969–70: 206. Agathokles himself: Sjöqvist 1962: 320; and apparently Michel 1967: 41, who sees it as symbolizing "victory over Africa" and as a statement by Agathokles that he now rivals Alexander.

16. As Sjöqvist 1962: 320 admits, illustrating the *comparanda*.

when Agathokles left in 310, and Diodoros narrates the gripping tale of how the news of his stunning Carthaginian victory arrived there.[17] Hamilcar, besieging the city, heard it first, but so far from heeding his countrymen's frantic pleas for help, he sent a message to the Syracusans that Agathokles' army and fleet had been annihilated, offered the beaks of his burned ships as proof, and demanded the city's surrender. The distraught Syracusans and Agathokles' brother, the feeble and irresolute Antandros, nearly fell victim to this ruse and were actually under attack when Agathokles' own messenger slipped past the blockade and into port. Overjoyed, they threw back the Carthaginians, and the dispirited Hamilcar withdrew, dispatching five thousand men to Africa.

As Plautus remarked a century later, Agathokles and Alexander were chips off the same block.[18] The Syracusan had not only performed a feat that rivaled Alexander's in daring, but was actually putting into practice the most ambitious of his last plans: the conquest of Carthage and its neighbors.[19] Seen from this point of view, these staters fit perfectly as a victory issue by the now much-relieved Antandros, perhaps a donative to keep up spirits on the home front. If so, the recipients would have been the mercenary garrison left to him by Agathokles, and the tyrant's leading supporters.[20] Of course, the perceptive might have discerned a further significance in his choice of Ptolemy's coinage as a model. Noting that Agathokles' Athena was a good deal more active than Ptolemy's, they might have concluded that with or without Ophellas the venturesome Sicilian was doing Ptolemy's job for him.

These coins are the only evidence so far that the Western Greek rulers ever sought to capitalize on Alexander's fame. Private individuals, however, displayed no such scruples: a sumptuous funerary naiskos from Taras (Taranto), probably carved around 270, featured an Alexander-like warrior on horseback as the focal point of a set of eight metopes (fig. 88). He slays a fallen barbarian; others meet their fates on the adjacent metopes, a marine cortège filled the gable, and a Skylla served as the central akroterion.[21] Co-opting Alexander as the hero *sans peur et sans reproche*, alluding to Achilles' journey across the sea to the Isles of the Blest, and invoking Odysseus's escape from certain death off Messina, the program takes its place as the worthy successor of the Apulian funerary vases discussed in Chapter 5.3 (text figs. 4–5; figs. 25–27).

17. *POxy.* 24, 2399; Diod. 20. 15–16.

18. *Mostell.* 775–76; cf. Weippert 1972: 55; Wirth 1976: 185 n. 1; Green 1989: 200–201.

19. Diod. 18. 4. 4; commentary: Bosworth 1988b: 190–202.

20. On these see Diod. 20. 4. 1, 15. 3, 16. 1.

21. Ridgway 1990: 181–84; Stewart 1990: 205, figs. 658–61. Calcani 1989: 48, 52, 55–56, and 132 discusses its possible debt to the Granikos monument (S 12).

3. A SOLDIER'S RETURN

When Alexander died, Greece exploded into rebellion, the so-called Lamian War—the first of many futile attempts by the cities to free themselves from the Macedonian yoke. The Krateros monument at Delphi (S 13), perhaps the earliest and arguably the greatest of the Alexander monuments of the Successors, was apparently commissioned during or shortly after this rebellion was suppressed in 322 and 321 and may register these difficulties more or less directly. Today only its imposing stone niche is preserved, overlooking the terrace of the temple of Apollo. It measures no less than 15.27 meters in length and 6.35 meters in depth, and its walls stand to a height of almost 4 meters. Far larger than the Krateros group would require, it may have been erected to display at least one other dedication.[22] Though both sculptures and base are gone, its dedicatory epigram and the ancient authors (T 108–10) allow some comments to be made and possible replicas to be investigated.

As the epigram describes the scene, the monument showed Krateros saving Alexander's life by killing a lion that had succeeded in closing with him during a hunt "in farthest Syria." Plutarch (T 110), who was a priest at Delphi and knew the monument at firsthand, begins by telling us that Alexander was "bringing down" the lion, but then describes Krateros in the dedication as "coming to his aid." He also seems to place the hunt in Persia or even farther east; since the Greeks used the terms "Syria" and "Assyria" interchangeably, attempts to locate the hunt in the famous Persian game reserve at Sidon are probably misplaced. Alexander was fond of hunting, and the sources record at least one other lion hunt of his, in Sogdiana; this time it was Lysimachos who tried to shield the king from harm, but Alexander brusquely rebuffed him.[23] This incident makes it unlikely that the Krateros monument was begun before the king's death, for he obviously hated being beholden to anyone.

The group was of bronze and was made by Leochares and Lysippos according to Plutarch, by Lysippos according to Pliny. The epigram does not mention either of them, but it does say that the monument was "installed" by the younger Krateros after his father's death, which occurred in 320. Some prefer a date around 300, arguing that Krateros junior was responsible for the

22. Cf. Moreno 1974: 89.

23. Sidon: Willrich 1899: 231–34; cf. Hamilton 1969: 107; von Graeve 1970: 136–39; Moreno 1974: 101–4; Messerschmidt 1989: 86–87. No text mentions a hunt in the Sidonian park, and, as Chapter 10.1 will show, the one on the Alexander Sarcophagus (figs. 105–6) may well not feature Alexander at all; the Sogdian hunt is described in Curt. 8. 1. 14–19; Plut. *Demetr.* 27. 3 may refer to this or another one. Stamatiou 1988: 212 n. 15 conflates the Sidonian and Sogdian hunts.

entire project. Born in 321, he became the trusted lieutenant of his stepfather Demetrios Poliorketes and his half brother Antigonos Gonatas.[24] Yet both sculptors had begun their careers in the early 360s and would have been well over eighty at the century's end.[25] Either they collaborated or perhaps one—Leochares?—died before the project was completed, and the other took over; Plutarch's statement that "some figures were made by Lysippos, others by Leochares" is consistent with either alternative.

The epigram also suggests that the project was well under way by Krateros's death, for the two lines describing his son's filial piety (3–4) are most awkward and look like an interpolation into the text. If so, the original poem was composed before 320 but was edited and carved in stone only when the monument was finished.[26] Its position on the niche's back wall supports this conclusion, for the walls were apparently the latest element in the ensemble. As remarked above, the niche was built to accommodate at least one other group, a development that Krateros himself would surely have vetoed but that is perfectly explicable after he was dead and gone. Without these lines, the poem develops in a quite logical manner, couplet by couplet. The first (1–2) introduces and praises the dedicator, Krateros; the second (5–6) describes the glory (*kleos*) that the lion hunt brought him; the third (7–8) dates it to his war service with the king of Asia, Alexander; and the fourth (9–10) reveals the rescue and locates it in farthest Syria.

Why did Krateros decide to make this dedication, and what did it signify? A staunch traditionalist and the rank-and-file's favorite general, he outspokenly opposed those who would dilute the Macedonian tradition, even criticizing the king's hybrid Greco-Persian costume. He heartily disliked the sinister Hephaistion, and the feeling was mutual.[27] He was therefore the natural choice to lead the ten thousand veterans discharged at Opis in 324 back to Macedon; since Antipatros and Olympias were by then totally estranged, his orders were to relieve Antipatros and to "take care of Macedon, Thrace, and the freedom of Greece" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 12. 4). Antipatros for his part was to bring fresh troops out to Babylon. Krateros had reached Kilikia when he heard of Alexander's death and stayed there until the spring of 322, despite the outbreak of revolt in Greece and Antipatros's desperate pleas for help,

24. For the later date see, for example, Hamilton 1969: 107; Billows 1990: 396; others: Voutiras 1984: 58 n. 7. Von Roques de Maumont 1958: 27, Moreno 1974 : 94, and Moreno 1987: 104–5 accept it, but most archaeologists prefer the earlier date: thus, for instance, Hölscher 1973: 182–83; Willers 1979; and Voutiras 1984.

25. Cf. Stewart 1990: 282–84, 290–93. Nothing by Leochares can be dated after 320, and Lysippos's last recorded commission was to design an amphora for Kassandros's new city of Kassandreia in 316: Ath. 11, 784c.

26. Willers 1979: 23; Voutiras 1984: 58–59.

27. Plut. *Eum.* 6. 2; *Alex.* 47. 9–12; cf. Bosworth 1988a: 161.

delaying his departure until Perdikkas came up from Babylon with the royal army to conquer inner Anatolia for Eumenes.[28]

During this time, Krateros must have heard that Perdikkas had appointed him *prostatēs* (proxy or champion) of the kings in Europe but had also left Antipatros in place; their particular responsibilities were left undefined.[29] He can hardly have relished this arrangement, which would certainly have been different had he been present at the meeting, for it was obviously a stopgap solution. Since he and Antipatros were the most senior of the marshals, Perdikkas had to accommodate both of them, but since their seniority also made them his two closest potential rivals, it was in his interest to neutralize both of them if possible. By the spring of 322 Krateros would also have realized that Perdikkas intended to keep the kings with him, but that he was too strong to face militarily; his inaction until the moment that Perdikkas marched could signal that he was by no means sure of his next move.

Once Krateros joined Antipatros, though, comradely cooperation became the order of the day. Krateros yielded the supreme command to him, and together they defeated the Greek armies at Krannon in August, forcing the rebels to come to terms one by one. To cement the alliance, Antipatros then gave Krateros his daughter Phila in marriage, but he also offered his two other daughters, Nikaia and Eurydike, to Perdikkas and Ptolemy, respectively. Realizing that collaboration would get them farther than confrontation, the two men simply pooled their resources against the day when Krateros could leave for Asia again. Indeed, Diodoros even has them conspiring to this end as early as the winter of 322/321, placing the marriage with Phila in this context.[30]

The next spring the two marshals again took the field, this time against the Aitolians (who alone among the rebels had refused to submit), desisting only when Antigonos arrived from Asia late in the year with the shocking news that Perdikkas was about to supplant or supplement Nikaia in his bed with Kleopatra, the daughter of Antipatros's bitter enemy Olympias. By then, Phila had given Krateros a son, Krateros junior. At a council of war, all agreed that Antipatros should continue to govern Europe, Krateros should take Asia, and Ptolemy should be urged to join the alliance.[31] Krateros duly crossed the Hellespont in the spring of 320 but was unexpectedly defeated and

28. Diod. 18. 16. 3–4.

29. Yet this has not deterred numerous historians from making the most ingenious attempts to define them: sensible comments in Walbank and Astin 1984: 26–27; Billows 1990: 56; Errington 1990: 117. Cf. Arr. *Events after Alexander* frags. 1, 3 and 7 (*FGH* 156); Dexippos, *FGH* 100 F 8; and Just. *Epit.* 13. 4. 5.

30. Diod. 18. 18. 7.

31. Diod. 18. 25. 4; cf. Plut. *Eum.* 5. 1.

killed by Eumenes; the other events of that momentous summer have already been described in Chapter 7.4.

How does the Delphi monument fit into all this? Most have taken it to be a straightforward commemoration of Krateros's valiant deed, presumably finished by Phila soon after his death, but in their son's name. Yet it has also been plausibly suggested that it served other functions as well, advertising Krateros's credentials in preparation for his triumphant return to Asia and securing Apollo's favor for the campaign.[32] For not only does Plutarch produce a Spartan ambassador at the hunt to state what all knew already, that a fight with a lion was a contest over kingship (T 110), but the way in which the epigram emphasizes Krateros's role at the side of "Asia's much-famed king" (7–8) in both battle and hunt insinuates his fitness to step into Alexander's shoes. One can, perhaps, go farther: the first three words of the epigram, "Alexander's son, Krateros" (1) would immediately stop any Greek or Macedonian in his tracks. Upon reflection he might remember that Krateros was the son of Alexandros of Orestis, not of Alexander the Great, but the seed would already have been sown.

Yet there are other dimensions to the monument, hitherto unrecognized. As already mentioned, the main fact in Krateros's life once he reached Greece in 322 was the weakness of his position: his exact role as *prostatēs* of the kings was unclear, he had ceded supreme command in Europe to Antipatros, and once his veterans had been demobilized, he did not even have an army.[33] The monument's strident proclamation of his valor, his closeness to Alexander, and his "imperishable glory" (*aidion kleos*: 5) from saving the king's life was surely an attempt to compensate for this weakness. Indeed, it showed him acting out the very role that Perdikkas had assigned him: for literally translated, a *prostatēs* of the king is the "one who stands before" him—his champion. His loyalty to the institution of the monarchy was proverbial and had become so through the lips of Alexander himself.[34]

Krateros chose to commemorate this particular incident, then, because it could serve both as an index of his sterling credentials and as a symbol of the position he merited in the world of the Successors. He above all, it declared, possessed the authority, loyalty, courage, skill, and true Macedonian grit to

32. Voutiras 1984.

33. Diod. 18. 22. 8 puts Perdikkas's final consolidation of his *prostasia* in 321; Krateros's acknowledgment of Antipatros's supremacy in 322 is narrated in 18. 16. 1; and a comparison of 18. 16. 4–5 and 24. 1 reveals that Antipatros and Krateros demobilized 10,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry in the winter of 322/321. The majority of these lucky men were presumably Krateros's veterans.

34. Plut. *Alex.* 47. 10.

11. Drawing of the hunt fresco, from the façade of Tomb II at Vergina. 316 B.C. (?)

be champion of the kings; all he lacked was an army. Since the Panhellenic sanctuaries were the labor exchanges of Greece and were frequented by unemployed mercenaries along with other itinerant professionals, potential recruits surely got the point. The defeated Greek cities, on the other hand, would have been decidedly less impressed. They were probably quite glad to see him go and wished heartily that Antipatros would follow suit.

Replicas of the group have been sought for over a century. Interest has focused on a large and somewhat miscellaneous collection of monuments in several media. Several are late classical or early Hellenistic in date, the first lion hunts to appear in Greek art since the archaic period. They include the painting on the facade of Tomb II (the so-called Tomb of Philip) at Vergina, the long hunting frieze on the Alexander Sarcophagus, and a third-century relief from Messene in the Louvre (text fig. 11; figs. 89, 105).[35] Others are Roman: a mosaic in Palermo that closely resembles the Alexander Mosaic in technique and style (but not in quality), Arretine bowls by M. Perennius Tigranus (figs. 91–94), a Campana plaque in Richmond, a gem formerly in the possession of Sir Arthur Evans, and one of the Aboukir medallions.[36] In

35. For the Messene relief and the Sarcophagus see Appendix 4. The Vergina fresco is illustrated and described in Andronikos 1984: 111–19, figs. 57–71. The lion-hunt mosaic in Pella, often connected with this group, is now dated to the 320s by its context (Willers 1979), and so should be dissociated from it. Lions could still be found in Macedonia in the early fifth century (Hdt. 7. 125–26) but were gone by the fourth.

36. For the mosaic, bowls, plaque, and gem see Furtwängler 1900: pl. 31. 21 (gem); *Monumenti antichi* 27 (1921): 194–98, fig. 6, pls. 1–4 (mosaic); Fuhrmann 1931: 228–70, figs. 9–10 (reconstruction of mosaic, and bowl), pls. 8–9 (mosaic, details); Dragendorff and Watzinger 1948: 94, fig. 10, 245–48 (bowls); von Graeve 1970: 69–70; Hölscher 1973: 186–89 (with com-

each case distinctive items of dress or equipment characterize the hunt as Macedonian, and on the bowls and perhaps the Sarcophagus one of the hunters is diademed; the medallion alone names Alexander.

The tomb painting, the Sarcophagus, the mosaic, and the bowls further enliven the occasion by adding wild boar, stags, and even a bear, perhaps to indicate that the scene is a Persian game park in Syria or Iran (text fig. 11; figs. 91–94, 105).[37] The mosaic includes a Persian to make this explicit. Yet these additions also modify the hunt's symbolism somewhat. For whereas lion hunts were specifically regal, wild beasts in general represented nature "red in tooth and claw," and killing them was a victory for civilization over barbarism.[38] Isokrates, writing exactly twenty years before Krateros's death, is quite specific about this: "Among our wars, the most necessary and just is that which we wage in alliance with all mankind against the savagery of the beasts, but second is that of Greeks against barbarians, who are also our natural enemies and eternally plot against us" (*Panath.* 163).

Though all the above-mentioned scenes draw on a common stock of motifs (axe swingers, riders stabbing downward with their spears, lions turning to bite, and dogs mauled, at bay, and attacking), they seem to echo at least three separate compositions. The Sarcophagus and the medallion have the mounted hunter directly engaged with the lion; on the former (fig. 105), the protagonist is an Oriental, and the lion bites deep into his horse's chest, while on the latter it is Alexander, and the lion crouches under his horse's belly. On the mosaic, the bowls (figs. 91–93), the plaque, and the gem, the lion is triumphant, at least for the moment: he mauls a downed hunter while another, mounted, tries to kill him with his sword or spear. Finally, the tomb painting and the Messene relief (text fig. 11; fig. 89) have the most complex scene of all: the lion (crushing a dog underfoot) is about to attack a man swinging an axe but is distracted from his prey at the last minute by a spear-wielding rider.

The Sarcophagus and medallion are too different to form a proper group: their models, if any, are uncertain and have been endlessly debated. Neither conforms to what we know of the Krateros monument, though Pliny's notice that Lysippos's son Euthykrates made an Alexander Hunting for Thespiai (T 112; S 14) shows that other sources of inspiration were also available. The

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plete bibliography); Moreno 1974: 100; *Bonner Jahrbücher* 180 (1980): 123, fig. 12 (mosaic); Andronikos et al. 1980, Boston Supplement: nos. 10–14 (bowls, plaque); Nielsen 1987: 167; Stamatiou 1988: 215–17. Aboukir medallion: Göbl 1978: pl. 2. 16.

37. Alexander and the boar hunt: Donderer 1988: 793, with a useful list of examples; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 4. 13. 2, with notes to Chapter 1. 2.

38. Cf. Durand and Schapp 1989: 59.

scenes with the mauled hunter are much more consistent and so probably derive from a common source, perhaps a painting. The Palermo mosaic, laid in the second century B.C., seems to be the earliest of them: curiously, they parallel the Alexander Mosaic and its fellows in distribution and date. Perhaps hunt paintings were taken to Italy along with battle paintings when Pella was plundered in 146. And finally, the early Hellenistic fresco and relief lead us to the Krateros monument, for they alone fit the epigram and Plutarch's description of both the rescue and the dedication (T 110 and 112): the axe man and his mounted rescuer would then be Alexander and Krateros, respectively.

The relief (fig. 89), which looks like part of a statue base, was found in 1813 and was first connected with the Krateros monument in 1888; the fresco (text fig. 11) was discovered only in 1977, and its close affinity with the relief was recognized ten years later.[39] Briefly, the scene on the relief is a much-simplified mirror image of the lion-hunt section of the fresco. The composition has been flattened out and spread paratactically over the relief plane, and the landscaping, two hunters, and one dog have been omitted. The axe swinger now wears a lion skin, and his rescuer a Macedonian hat or *kausia*. The lion-man can hardly be anyone else except Alexander, even though his head is broken away and no trace of a diadem remains. In the fresco, the only figure who is individually characterized is the rider to the left of the main group of lion hunters, in the exact center of the picture, who wears a wreath. He has been identified as Alexander, but one might rather expect this place of honor to go to the occupant of the tomb.[40]

The relief is unanimously dated to the early third century on stylistic grounds, but the fresco is placed by its excavator in 336, by others in 316 or even later. It all depends upon whether one is convinced that the tomb is royal, and if so, whether one thinks that its contents belonged to Philip II and his sixth wife, Kleopatra, or to Philip III Arrhidaios and his wife, Eurydike, whom Olympias drove to their deaths in the winter of 317/316.[41] In my view, the assemblage belongs towards the end of the century rather than in its third quarter, and the painting—which is quite episodic and unbalanced—probably borrowed from the Krateros monument rather than provided a model for it.

Until further evidence emerges, it is quite impossible to say which of the two images is the more faithful replica. The greater three-dimensionality of the scene on the fresco is no bar, for one might expect a sculptor who had

39. Nielsen 1987: 166–67.

40. Andronikos 1984: 115, figs. 65–66, 70; in fig. 71 he offers a reconstruction of the rescuing rider.

41. Earlier date: Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 171; and Andronikos 1984. Later date: Lehmann and Fredricksmeyer in *AJA* 84 (1980)–87 (1983), and cf. Green 1982. Summary of pros and cons: Borza 1990: 256–76.

made a group as complex as the Granikos monument (S 12; Chapter 5.1) to produce something even more daring a decade and more later. Yet the hunter on foot who spears the lion in the throat certainly steals much of the rescuing horseman's thunder, while this man, in turn, is barely visible behind his horse's neck. He would be a poor advertisement for Krateros and his bravery, and hardly one to generate the undying *kleos* he wanted.

The relief, on the other hand, looks decidedly sparse and two-dimensional, and the lion skin carried by the axe man is suspicious. Though it clearly designates him as "Herakles reborn" (*allos houtos Heraklēs*, a Greek proverb) and recalls the killing of the Nemean Lion, one is surprised to find it appearing in a documentary scene of this kind. Either Leochares or Lysippos or both felt no compunction in indulging in such explicit heroization after 323, or the carver of the relief added it for the benefit of his Messenian audience, who could not necessarily be expected to know the original. One argument for its authenticity is that it neatly turns the traditional iconography of the Nemean Lion (fig. 90) on its head. For whereas Iolaos always looks on in helpless impotence as Herakles grapples with the beast, here his Macedonian avatar actually takes the initiative and saves his master's life. The relationship is exactly that expressed in Krateros's epigram, which emphasizes his privileged position at Alexander's side throughout the campaign (7–8), then describes the rescue itself (9–10).

4. MACEDONIA AND GREECE: KASSANDROS TO GONATAS

After Antipatros died in 319, three years passed before his son Kassandros was able to step into his shoes. In the interim Alexander's mother, Olympias, had murdered Philip III Arrhidaios and his Amazonian wife, Eurydike, perhaps interring them in Tomb II of those discovered by Manolis Andronikos at Vergina in 1977. Once in power Kassandros immediately had Olympias condemned to death and placed Roxane and the young Alexander IV in protective custody. In late 311, on the conclusion of the so-called Peace of the Dynasts, he at last felt safe to murder them too. "With the king dead, he and the other dynasts were relieved of anxiety; each of them held his territory now as 'spear-won land,' and each began to cherish hopes of royal status for himself."[42]

42. Billows 1990: 135, paraphrasing Diod. 19. 105. 2–4.

Yet Kassandros had no interest in trying for the grand prize, the whole of Alexander's legacy: "[he] was a European at heart, and stood for the traditional European interests of the Macedonian state."[43] If he acknowledged any model, it was not Alexander but Philip, and nothing can have interested him less than mobilizing his Macedonians, now much depleted in numbers, to reconquer the East for himself. He also never forgot Alexander's brutality to him in Babylon in 324. He hated the sight of his portrait, breaking out into shivers and sweats when he saw one—perhaps the Krateros group itself—at Delphi (T 111). As argued in Chapter 5.2, Philoxenos's picture for him (P 9) therefore probably predates the fateful meeting in 324; furthermore, if the Getty fragments (figs. 146–211) belong after Alexander's death and if they indeed come from Megara, they are unlikely to postdate 315, when Kassandros used the town as a base.[44] And finally, the Perdikkas, Philip, Alexander, Kassandros, and "other kings" at Larissa in Thessaly (S 32), if authentic, were probably civic commissions, not royal ones.

Indirect evidence of a sort also comes from Kassandros's new foundation of Thessalonike, named after the sister of Alexander whom Kassandros married in 315. In Roman times the city boasted a cult of Philip II, Alexander *basileus* and son of Zeus, and Thessalonike herself (Appendix 3). This may be a purely Roman invention, but it is neverthelesss suggestive that Kassandros is absent. Finally, though he minted "posthumous Alexanders" until the day he died in 297, there is no evidence that he regarded them as portraits of the king or attempted to exploit any potential they may have had as "propaganda." His eventual successor in Macedon, Demetrios Poliorketes, was too young to have fought with Alexander and so could not usefully exploit his image to any significant degree. He was also too concerned with promoting his own image, which though adopting some of Alexander's mannerisms carefully presents him as his own man, beholden to no one.[45] His few issues of posthumous Alexanders will occupy us further in Chapter 10.3.

It is not surprising, then, that the rest of our evidence from early Hellenistic Greece and Macedon concerns, in one way or another, not Kassandros but the Antigonids. Yet not one of the monuments is definitely a royal commission, and most of them cannot be so. Although it is probable that the great ancestor (*progonoi*) monument of either Antigonos Gonatas or Antigonos Doson on Delos (S 28) included an Alexander, this cannot be proved, and this dubious example is the only "official" Alexander portrait that one can

43. Errington 1990: 147.

44. *RE,* s.v. "Megara," cols. 314–15; cf. Chapter 4.3.

45. See Newell 1927; Stewart 1984; Smith 1988: 64, pls. 4–5 and 74. 8; Ridgway 1990: 125–27; Stewart 1990: 201, figs. 621–23; Mørkholm 1991: 77–81, pl. 10. 169, 172–74.

ascribe to the dynasty. Though the Antigonids followed the other Successor monarchies in seeking to promote their links with the Argeads, Alexander played no special part in this enterprise.[46] The initiative in every case seems to lie either with the Greek cities or with private individuals, both Greek and Macedonian.

The earliest of these monuments is a group reported by Pausanias at Olympia (S 11). Dedicated by the Eleans, it featured Alexander, Philip, and Seleukos on horseback, and Antigonos One-Eye on foot.[47] A parallel dedication, by one Tydeus of Elis, honored only Seleukos and Antigonos.[48] This is curious, to say the least: one would like to know why both marshals were included, and why Antigonos was not given a horse. The two were on reasonable terms for several years after Alexander's death, but aside from Antigonos's few months of enforced sojourn in Macedonia in the winter of 321/320, neither had anything to do with Greece in that period. In 315, however, Antigonos occupied Seleukos's satrapy of Babylonia, and relations between them soon worsened to the point where Seleukos thought it prudent to flee to Ptolemy. His sole contact with the Greek cities during the remaining years of Antigonos's life came in the next two years, which he spent as a Ptolemaic admiral; yet he operated only in the eastern Aegean, where he spent his time undermining Antigonid power.[49] After his return to Babylon in 312 he and Antigonos were unremittingly hostile to each other, though not always at war. Yet Antigonos seems to have made an alliance with the Eleans by 311, and they were certainly included in his Hellenic League, set up at Corinth in 302 but dissolved after Seleukos and Lysimachos defeated and killed him at Ipsos in 301.[50]

Could one or both marshals have been added later?[51] Another Elean monument in the Altis showed Elis herself crowning both Ptolemy I Soter and Demetrios Poliorketes; yet Ptolemy remained implacably hostile to Demetrios, and the composition as Pausanias describes it precludes one king or

46. Cf. Errington 1976: 153–54 and Errington 1990: 147–86 on Antigonid policies during this period. Simon 1958 identifies the figure mirrored in the shield on the Boscoreale frescoes as Alexander and the seated monarchs as Philip and Olympias. She interprets the scene as an oracle predicting his birth, and ascribes the original to the Antigonid court; yet (thanks to Maxwell Anderson's kind assistance) a personal examination of the seated king shows that he is definitely clean-shaven, which rules out Philip. The original may still have been Antigonid, but the birth it predicts cannot be Alexander's.

47. In *Olympia* 2 (1892): 157, Purgold conjecturally attributed an uninscribed base in the Altis to this group.

48. Paus. 6. 12. 2.

49. Diod. 19. 60. 4 and 68. 3–4; see, in general, Grainger 1990.

50. Diod. 19. 87. 1–3, 20. 103. 4–7; cf. Billows 1990: 172, 228–29.

51. So Siedentopf 1968: 13–14, but forgetting Antigonos!

the other being an afterthought.[52] Ptolemy was, in fact, Demetrios's chief rival in Greece and the Aegean from 296 to 287 and consistently claimed to support the freedom of the Greeks. Perhaps this is why they honored him too, uncertain of the outcome and nervously hedging their bets.

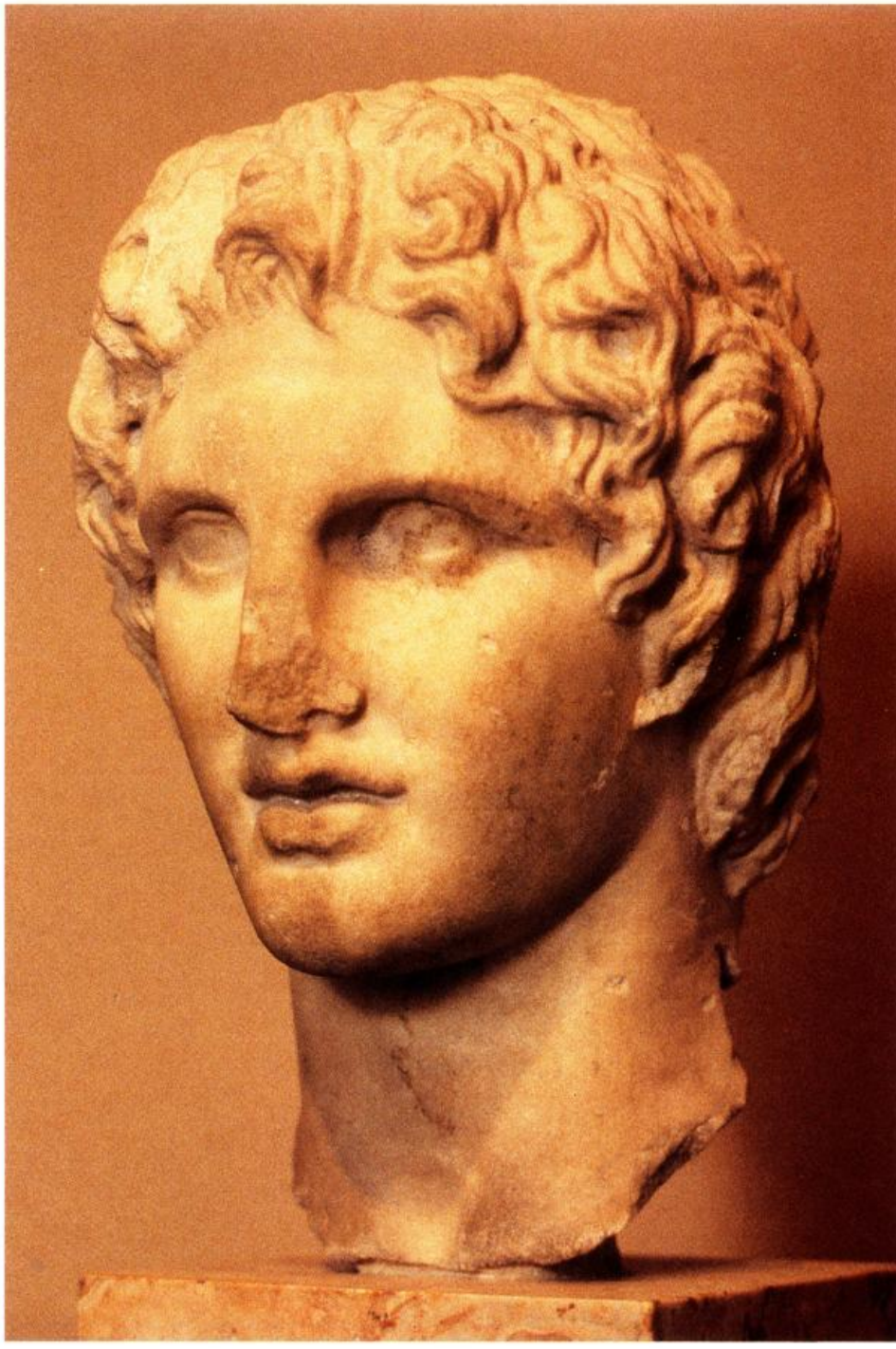
Yet in this monument Ptolemy and Demetrios were put on a par; in the other Antigonos was on foot and Seleukos was mounted—a clear sign of superiority. Since Seleukos worsted Antigonos in 301 and was not closely involved with the affairs of mainland Greece until twenty years later, in 281, the obvious explanation is that he was indeed an afterthought. So either the original monument comprised Philip, Alexander, and Antigonos or it featured Philip and Alexander alone; without the base, the issue can hardly be resolved. Whatever the truth, Antigonos's presence and subordinate status is easily explicable: Philip and Alexander were the first two *hēgemones* of the Corinthian League, and Antigonos resurrected this league in 302. Honors were appropriate, but within limits: the superstars must not be upstaged. As for Seleukos, the Eleans either included him after Ipsos and Antigonos's death or (perhaps more likely) twenty years later when he defeated and killed Lysimachos at Korypedion in February 281. He then crossed the Hellespont and invaded Europe, intending to reunify the empire, but was assassinated in September by Ptolemy Keraunos.

The Elean practice of honoring the Antigonids at Olympia was repeated twice during the third century. The group with Elis herself, Ptolemy, and Demetrios has already been mentioned, but for the next seventy years or so, except for a few months of a particularly brutal pro-Antigonid tyranny, Elis had as little to do with the Macedonians as possible. The city issued no posthumous Alexanders and made no dedications to the dynasty at all. The final monument in the series proves the rule. Placed alongside the Elis-Demetrios-Ptolemy group, it showed Hellas crowning Antigonos Doson and Philip V and was probably commissioned shortly after July 222, when Doson finally quashed the Spartan menace at Sellasia. Having resurrected the Hellenic leagues of Philip II, Antigonos One-Eye, and Demetrios Poliorketes, he then surprised everyone by granting the cities a large degree of autonomy, marched north to defeat another barbarian invasion, and promptly died of tuberculosis, leaving his kingdom to Philip.[53]

Together, these four dedications shed some light upon the different ways in which the Eleans strove to come to terms with the Macedonians' overwhelming power. Though in this period above all others one must resist the

52. Paus. 6. 16. 3. Ptolemy and Demetrios: Walbank and Astin 1984: 105–9; Green 1990: 121–29. Elis during this period: *RE*, q.v., cols. 2408–12.

53. Paus. 6.16. 3; cf. Polyb. 2. 70. 4–5, with Walbank and Astin 1984: 473; Green 1990: 260–62.



1. Akropolis Alexander (perhaps a copy). Ca. 338–330 B.C. Athens.

2. Getty Alexander, reportedly from Megara. Ca. 325–320 B.C. Malibu.

3. Head of a youth ("Hephaistion"), reportedly from Megara. Ca. 325–320 B.C. Malibu.

4. The Alexander Mosaic (Hellenistic/Roman copy) from Pompeii. Original, ca. 330 B.C. Naples.

5a. Detail from the Mosaic, pl. 4: Alexander.

5b. Detail from the Mosaic, pl. 4: Darius.

7a. Detail from the fresco, pl. 6: Alexander.

7b. Dionysos and Ariadne, detail from the pendant to pl. 6. Pompeii.

8a. Red cornelian gemstone with Alexander holding a thunderbolt. Inscribed "Neisou." Ca. 300–250 B.C. St. Petersburg.

8b. Alexander, from a silver tetradrachm minted by Lysimachos of Thrace. 297–281 B.C. London.

8c. Silver tetradrachm minted by Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt. Alexander/Athena. Ca. 315–305 B.C. Berkeley.

temptation to generalize, it is interesting that in the immediate aftermath of Alexander's death we find the city totally eclipsed by the Argead monarchy and its successors, Antigonos One-Eye and Seleukos. In the more fluid circumstances of the early third century, however, it soon reasserted itself; then, after ignoring the Antigonids altogether for two generations, it finally succumbed to dreams of Panhellenism in the heady atmosphere of Doson's last year as king.

Overtaken by events, and apparently irrelevant to both the donors and the recipients of these later honors, Alexander played no part in them, but he does put in an appearance in a neighboring Peloponnesian city. This is Messene, where the marble block carved with the replica of the Krateros monument was found in 1813 (fig. 89). Measuring 1.2 meters across and 0.59 meters in height, it is curved, anathyrosed at the sides and above, and preserves traces of clamp holes on these surfaces. It was clearly part of a much larger structure, probably a circular statue base, and the adjoining blocks presumably bore either a continuation of the hunt or other scenes entirely. There are no obvious signs of water damage, so it must have supported a capping block with a drip molding, into which the dedication proper was set. Since the lean and muscular post-Lysippic style of the figures places it in the first half of the third century, the obvious inference is that it somehow relates to the younger Krateros's tenure as Antigonid governor in the Peloponnese.

Krateros junior was apparently installed in Corinth around 280, when he was about forty years old; he continued in this post until his death around 260, becoming a byword for loyal service to his king.[54] His fidelity to his father's memory, already proclaimed by "his" (more likely, his mother, Phila's) completion of the great monument at Delphi (T 108), was also broadcast at intervals by the performance of a paean there. Composed by Alexinos of Elis, who flourished around 300, this paean was sung to Apollo in his father's honor and was accompanied by a boy playing the lyre—presumably a surrogate for Krateros junior.[55]

Could the Messene relief be from the base of an honorary statue for, or dedication by, the younger Krateros? Certainly, only he or his flatterers would have been interested in reviving the memory of his father's exploit fifty years after the event. Of the two alternatives, an honorary portrait for him seems more likely than a dedication by him, if only because there is no reason

54. Plut. *Mor.* 486A; cf. Billows 1990: 396–97.

55. Ath. 15, 696e–f; for Alexinos see Plut. *Mor.* 536A-B, with *RE,* q.v., cols. 1465–66. Voutiras 1984: 62 n. 30 tries to reattribute Alexinos's commission to the elder Krateros, connecting it with a hypothetical oracle in preparation for the Asian expedition of 320, but given the poet's date and the stipulation that the paean be accompanied by a boy, a posthumous honor remains most likely.

why he should make a dedication at this remote location. Since any honorary decree would certainly mention his patronymic, the relief would function as a visual counterpart to this part of the inscription. As to when all this could have occurred, Messene also kept clear of the Macedonians for most of the early third century, with only one recorded exception. In his account of the events of A.D. 25, Tacitus describes the arrival of Messenian and Spartan embassies seeking arbitration over who owned the important sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis and its surrounding district. The Messenians "brought forward the old partition of the Peloponnese between the descendants of Hercules" and stated that among the arbitrators who agreed with them in the past was "King Antigonus" (*Ann.* 4. 43. 4). If this is Antigonos Gonatas, as some historians think—presumably operating through his Peloponnesian representative, Krateros—then our humble marble slab might have acquired a context.[56]

The remaining "evidence" for Alexander's portrait in Southern Greece during this period consists of several youthful heads wearing the lion-skin cap.[57] Unfortunately, there is no reason to think that any of them represents Alexander rather than a young Herakles, despite repeated assertions to the contrary. The three most favored candidates come from Sparta (fig. 71) and Athens, cities that were for the most part bitterly hostile to Alexander's memory. The Spartans, deprived of what they saw as their rightful hegemony of the Peloponnese in Agis's War, derided his pretensions to divinity, and after his death the Athenians actually fined Demades heavily for proposing to erect a portrait of him as the Invincible God.[58] Forty years later, they had still not forgiven or forgotten: erecting a statue to the now long-dead Demosthenes, they inscribed it as follows:

> If your strength had equaled your will, Demosthenes,
> Never would Greece have obeyed a Macedonian Ares.
> (Ps.-Plutarch *Moralia* 847A)

56. Cf. *RE,* Suppl. 15, s.v. "Messenien," col. 268, summarizing what little is known of Messene's history in this period. Messene issued a few posthumous Alexanders either late in this century or early in the next: Mørkholm 1991: 137–38 and pl. 30. 450.

57. For these heads see Bieber 1964: 52, figs. 37–39; Andronikos et al. 1980: nos. 4, 5; Palagia 1986: 142. Palagia rejects two but accepts the third because its "noble, sad, slightly drawn features and the upward glance are better suited to Alexander than the normally robust Herakles." Yet as she herself notes, it was found in the sanctuary of Herakles Pankrates, frequented by Phoenicians; with its lion skin knotted under its chin, it duplicates the Melkart coinages of Tyre and the other Phoenician states. Ridgway 1990: 113 correctly dismisses all three.

58. Sparta: Plut. *Mor.* 219E; Ael. *VH* 2. 19; Palagia 1986: 140 is the latest of a long line of scholars to assume that these quips "attest" the existence of a Spartan cult of Alexander; they

If this were not enough, Pausanias's account of the Athenian honors to the Successors, and Hermokles' hymn to Demetrios Poliorketes (probably performed when he entered the city in triumph in 290) leave no doubts that the here and now was their prime, indeed their only, concern.[59]

It is pleasant to move away from ghosts and impostors to some real, tangible sculpture. Northern Greece has now yielded three marble portraits that can be plausibly identified as Alexanders, each of which offers new perspectives on the development of his image in the early Hellenistic period. The pieces in question are a marble head from Thasos, another from Yannitsa, and an Alexander-Pan from Pella (figs. 96, 97, 99); the first is a Roman copy, the others are Greek originals.[60]

The Thasian head (fig. 96) was found in 1985, in an early Hellenistic building that may have been a shrine; there has been speculation that the cult was Alexander's, which inscriptions show was founded on the island in the late fourth century.[61] The head's over-life-size dimensions and imposing character would certainly be appropriate for a cult statue, but its date is clearly Roman. Either it was a later dedication or, like the cult of Alexander in Bargylia in Karia, this one and its statue were "renewed" in the Roman period.

Style and iconography argue strongly for the latter. The face is clearly descended from the Getty Alexander (cf. fig. 16). Its closest relative is the so-called Heyl Ruler (fig. 95), known in three copies and usually ascribed to the early Hellenistic period.[62] This individual has also sometimes been identified as Alexander, but although he wears a tubular headband or *strophion*, he lacks the *anastolē*, so there is no way to be sure. Yet the best *comparanda* for the Thasos head are not sculptural but numismatic. Its facial proportions, compact modeling, huge *anastolē*, and swept-back locks all reappear on Lysimachos's coins of 297–281 (color pl. 8; fig. 117): what is the relation between them? Was the coin type perhaps modeled on the Thasos statue, was the statue taken from the coins, or were both derived from a common original, now lost?

Here, examples taken at random from the coins will not suffice: the only secure method is to go back to the first die in the series and see if it includes the traits in question. Fortunately, although the coinage of Lysimachos is vast and by no means fully published, scrutiny of E. T. Newell's preliminary classification of mints and issues suggests that it does. The coins assigned to his

do nothing of the sort. Demades: Ath. 6, 251b; Ael. *VH* 5. 12 increases the fine tenfold: cf. Chapter 3.5.

59. Paus. 1. 9. 4, 11. 1; 10. 10. 2; Ath. 6, 253b–254b; cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 12.

60. For bibliographies see Appendix 4.

61. C. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, in Andronikos et al. 1988: 178; cf. Appendix 4.

62. Smith 1988: 68–69, 158–59 no. 20, pls. 14–15.

capital at Lysimacheia, for example, show these features from the very beginning—and Thasos, only a few hours' sail along the coast, was well within Lysimachos's sphere of influence even if not formally part of his satrapy.[63] Though both sculpture and coins could still be derived from a common original, the law of parsimony counsels otherwise. In any case, these authentically early Hellenistic features strengthen the Thasos head's claim to reproduce the island's late fourth-century cult statue, which (since the cult was founded before 300) would certainly have been made in time to inspire the designer of the coins. A fine example of the "extroverted" ephebe type (figs. 16–17), it radiates confidence, charisma, and irresistible *dynamis*.

Equally youthful, but somewhat different in style, is the head from Yannitsa, near Pella (fig. 97); unfortunately it is a stray find, without context. Though some have assigned it to the late Hellenistic period, comparison with the Getty portrait and other late classical/early Hellenistic marbles strongly suggests a date in the early third century.[64] In style and expression it is very close indeed to the Copenhagen Pyrrhos, who ruled the neigboring kingdom of Epeiros from 297 to 272 (fig. 98). Its features are less emphatically modeled than those of the Getty Alexander (fig. 16), and the surfaces are harder and drier, but this is exactly what one expects of the postclassical style of these years. The mainland styles of the second and first centuries are quite different.[65] The suppression of the cheekbones and other modulating features in favor of the idealized oval of the face makes the subject look even younger than the Getty Alexander, while the emphatic turn of the head, the pursed lips, and the more deeply set eyes intensify the expression considerably. The impressionistic, dynamic mass of hair suggests Alexander's heroic status, completing the composition with something akin to a halo.[66] All the sculptor's resources are poured into articulating the young king's unquenchable *pothos* for conquest, the indomitable will of the world conqueror: an Alexander fit for Demetrios Poliorketes or Pyrrhos himself.

Pyrrhos, who claimed descent from Achilles, reminded everyone of Alexander, whom he closely resembled "in appearance, speed, and movement" (T 11; cf. T 148).[67] So instead of exploiting Alexander's memory by (for example) minting posthumous Alexanders, he took another route, presenting himself as the great Macedonian's reincarnation.[68] The Copenhagen Pyrrhos,

63. Thompson 1968: nos. 8, 10, and 11.

64. Earlier date: Smith 1991: 238; the later: Siganidou, in Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 155 ("late Hellenistic"); Pollitt 1986: 21 ("ca. 200–150"); and Killerich 1988: 55. Copenhagen Pyrrhos: Poulsen 1954: no. 32; Smith 1988: 64–65, 156, no. 6, pl. 7.

65. See Stewart 1979 and Stewart 1990: figs. 776–93.

66. Hair symbolism: Smith 1988: 47.

67. Also Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1 and 26. 5.

68. His coinage featured Achilles, Thetis, Dione, and Zeus: Göbl 1978: nos. 775–76.

though only a copy, shows how a dynast's features could be mapped onto Alexander's to create a new synthesis of past and present. From the evidence to hand, this is a relatively rare occurrence in the age of the Successors, but it increases dramatically later.[69] For not only were men like Ptolemy, Lysimachos, and Seleukos quite old when they assumed the diadem, but they wished to differentiate their style of kingship from Alexander's, while the late Hellenistic kings like Mithradates (fig. 139) and the later Seleukids found him useful either to publicize their ambitions or to shore up their crumbling regimes.

Pyrrhos's hair closely resembles Alexander's in both length and styling. At the temples it is swept back in waves by the speed of his movement, and his sideburns recall Alexander's on the Alexander Mosaic; his *anastolē*, though, now forms a slight widow's peak. His face is almost a carbon copy of Alexander's, though the eyes are now level, the mouth is articulated differently, and the chin is a little deeper. The overall expression is less romanticized, partly owing to the more composed features and more assertive grid of horizontals and verticals, partly to the less emphatic turn of the head. Against the visionary Alexander, Pyrrhos emerges as an intensely practical leader, levelheaded and down to earth but still infused with the idealism of youth.

Unfortunately, Pyrrhos had neither Alexander's intelligence nor his luck, and his enemies had their own ways of dealing with his pretensions. Like Churchill or Kennedy in the 1980s, Alexander in the early third century could be a two-edged weapon—particularly if you were not a full-blooded Macedonian and your rivals had served with him when you were not even born.[70] Though Pyrrhos briefly gained control of western Macedonia in 287, Lysimachos threw him out two years later, suborning many of his Macedonian troops by asking them why they had chosen a foreigner as king and rejected Alexander's friends and companions.[71] In 281 the Tarentines, hard-pressed by Rome, gave him an opportunity to fulfill Alexander's dream of conquering the West. He gained two "Pyrrhic" victories and almost reached Rome, but Appius Claudius Caecus stiffened Roman resolve to fight on by asking them if they really feared someone who had spent most of his life dancing attendance on one or other of Alexander's bodyguards.[72] Six years later, Pyrrhos was back where he started, in Epeiros, but he did manage to take much of

69. Cf. Smith 1988: 68, 111–12, 123–24.

70. Compare the derision that Margaret Thatcher's Churchillian pretensions evoked in many British political circles, and Lloyd Bentsen's famous put-down of Dan Quayle in the election campaign of 1988: "Senator, I knew Jack Kennedy. Jack Kennedy was my friend. You're no Jack Kennedy."

71. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 12. 6.

72. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 19. 2.

Macedonia again in 274, allowing his Celtic mercenaries to plunder the royal tombs at Aigai (Vergina).[73] His end was as ignominious as it was unexpected: storming Argos in 272, he failed to dodge a tile thrown by an old woman from a rooftop, was knocked senseless, and lost his head to an alert defender's sword.[74]

The second Macedonian Alexander, the statuette of Alexander-Pan (fig. 99), was found in the residential quarter of Pella, lying in a street against the wall of a house. These houses, whose contents included famous mosaics like the lion hunt mentioned in Section 2, were built in the late fourth century. Since more than one of them contained rooms set aside for domestic cult (a half-life-size bronze Poseidon of the so-called Lateran type was found in one such room), it seems likely that the Alexander-Pan, too, was made for this purpose, as its small scale suggests.[75] Its head is encircled by a diadem from which sprout two small goat's horns. Its arms and lower legs are missing, but the right arm was held high, presumably to grasp a spear or scepter. (Pan's attribute, the *lagōbolon* or hooked throwing stick with which he killed hares and other small animals, would be too small.) Yet the identification as Alexander masquerading as Pan is more problematic than some have assumed, for the statuette also has pointed ears and the stump of a tail.[76]

The diadem seems to clinch the issue. The statuette is truly syncretistic, to be ranked iconographically with the Dionysos-Apollo of the west pediment of the late fourth-century temple at Delphi and the early third-century Ptolemaic cult statue of Sarapis.[77] Nothing in its style would preclude an early Hellenistic date: the twisting pose is perfectly at home in this period, as is the modeling of the body, and the face with its powerful jaw, flat cheeks, compact features, and rectangular forehead is sub-Lysippic. Among the datable types of the period, the closest is the herm of Demetrios Poliorketes (d. 283) in Naples.[78] What occasioned this remarkable synthesis?

Pan and Alexander were already associated by the end of the fourth century, in the painter Protogenes' last work, completed after the siege of Rhodes in 305 (P 3). Unfortunately, nothing more is known about the circumstances of this painting, but the association presumably had something to do with the god's special capacity to generate panic in his enemies. Not surprisingly, Pan

73. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26; cf. Andronikos 1984: 62, 228, 230, 233. The Great Tumulus must have been heaped up over the tombs after this event.

74. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 32–34; Paus. 1. 13. 8; Polyainos 8. 68; Just. *Epit.* 25. 5. 1–2.

75. *ADelt* 18 (1963): Χρονικά: 205; plan: *ADelt* 16 (1960): 74, fig. 1 (see p. 80 and pl. 65a for the Poseidon, best known from Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 154, color pl. 25).

76. Pointed out by Ridgway 1990: 124; identified as Pan alone by Smith 1991: 238.

77. Stewart 1982; Stewart 1990: 195–96, 202–3, figs. 599, 632–34; Smith 1991: figs. 79–82. For a bronze bust of an Alexander(?)-Pan see Barr-Sharrar 1987: pl. 31 (C95).

78. Smith 1988: pl. 4; Stewart 1990: fig. 621; Smith 1991: fig. 10.

had been present at the battle of Marathon (his cave overlooked the battlefield) and was included in the Marathon Painting in the Painted Stoa at Athens. Particularly venerated in Macedonia, he entered the world of the major arts there around 400, when Zeuxis gave a painting of him to his patron, Archelaos I (reigned 413–399).[79]

The summit of Pan's popularity in Macedonia, however, came under Antigonos Gonatas (reigned 283–239), when he seems to have been credited with the event that both delivered the country from a decade of anarchy and furnished Antigonos with the credentials to justify his title of king: the utter destruction of a horde of invading Celts near Lysimacheia in 277.[80] The accounts of the battle are brief and fragmentary, and none of them specifically names Pan, but Antigonos's actions immediately afterward are extremely suggestive. He commissioned his court poet, Aratos of Soloi, to write a hymn to Pan, which apparently included references to the victory, and struck silver coins bearing a Macedonian shield with the god's head in its center on the obverse, and an archaistic Athena Promachos (actually, Athena Alkis of Pella) brandishing a thunderbolt and framed by the legend ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the reverse. Some issues equip Pan with a diadem, while on others the legend "of King Antigonos" is repeated on the obverse, sandwiched between the two concentric circles that demarcate the shield boss. Obviously, then, this Pan's head is intended to be a cryptoportrait of Antigonos himself, casting him as the shield and bulwark of Macedonia and the bane of Macedonia's enemies.[81]

The battle near Lysimacheia was the Macedonian Marathon, and from all this it is reasonable to hazard that the Pella statuette has something to do with it. As we have seen, Ptolemy's coins and statue of Alexander Aigiochos had already played on the meaning of Alexander's name, "repeller of men" (Chapter 8.2, 3). In Greek, this statuette could be described either as a Pan Alexandros, a Pan who "repelled men" from Macedonia, or an Alexander Panikos, an Alexander who "panicked" his enemies. This statuette was probably intended to serve as the focus of a domestic cult, like some of the Egyptian statuettes of Alexander Aigiochos (fig. 83). It fuses the two individuals into a single talisman of military success and apotropaic power. Maybe its owner was an officer who fought in the battle and subsequently continued to

79. Marathon Painting: Aelius Aristides *Panath.* 88, 202–203D; Polemon 1. 35; 2. 41; 2. 62; *Souda,* s.v. "Hippias"; cf. Robertson 1975: 177, 323 (omits Pan); Stewart 1990: text figure on p. 85. Zeuxis: Pliny *HN* 35. 62, with Laubscher 1985: 336–37 on his Macedonian cult.

80. Cf. Walbank and Astin 1984: 116–17; Errington 1990: 163; Green 1990: 134.

81. Hymn: *Vit. Arat.* I and II; *Souda,* q.v.; cf. *RE,* Suppl. 10, s.v. "Aratos," col. 29; Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983: no. 115; Laubscher 1985: 340, with full bibliography. Coins: Göbl 1978: no. 674; Laubscher 1985: 341–42, pl. 71.

serve in the Antigonid army, where Alexander's spirit was still potent over forty years after his death. Not only texts but several Macedonian tomb paintings and an altar from the army's sanctuary at Dion testify to this fact, with their Alexander-like warriors in full armor, either quietly standing or charging the barbarian foe (figs. 36, 100).[82]

On the face of it, these Alexanders from Macedonia and Northern Greece seem to foreshadow that eclipse of the Lysippic image of the king by the Attic that is so characteristic a feature of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods. Of course, this phenomenon may simply be a matter of survival, bronzes being more vulnerable to destruction than marbles. It is nevertheless striking to find an Attic Alexander (fig. 97) in Macedonia so soon after the king's death, and the later evidence, briefly reviewed in Chapter 2.1, is difficult to argue away completely. Several possible explanations, none of them mutually exclusive, come to mind.

First, Macedonian material culture of the fourth century and early Hellenistic period is heavily Atticizing, and such sculpture as survives is no exception.[83] In this milieu, the Lysippic style was an anomaly, and it is worth noting that although Lysippos's school is documented through the late third century, all the signed bases come from Southern Greece.[84] Second, Lysippos's highly personal and perhaps disturbingly intense vision of Alexander may not have been as congenial to early Hellenistic patrons as the more typecast Athenian version. In an age that divinized Alexander and tended to romanticize him too, the more traditional Attic portraits were perhaps more easily assimilable to divine types than the Lysippic, and definitely less threatening.

Finally, one must not forget the well-known phenomenon of Attic cultural imperialism. One scholar has already suggested that the dominance of the Attic Alexander tradition after 323 could be a function of Athenian-inspired propaganda representing the king's conquests as a Panhellenic crusade.[85] Unfortunately, Isokrates' *Letter to Philip*, written just after Chaironeia in 338,[86] is the last known document of this kind, and the Athenians' own largely negative opinion of Alexander does not bode well for this thesis as so far presented. Rather, since the culture that Alexander was credited with disseminating throughout the world was largely Attic culture,[87] the Athenians

82. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 12. 6; cf. Errington 1976: 162. On the paintings see most recently Andronikos 1984: 35–37, figs. 15–16, and Calcani 1989: 58–59, 70, figs. 14, 16, 19, 75 (Dion).

83. Comments in Andronikos et al. 1988: 24–25; cf. Andronikos 1984: passim; Andronikos et al. 1988: 87–89.

84. Summary and references: Stewart 1990: 297–300.

85. Von Graeve 1973: 237.

86. Isok. 3: see Markle 1976.

87. Recognized, for example, by Plut. *Mor.* 328D–E; cf. Stewart 1979: 36–38; Green 1990: 36, 147, 255, 565, 568.

perhaps eventually co-opted him into their own camp, turning him into a kind of cultural crusader on their behalf. This could not have happened until at least the mid-Hellenistic period, since Athenian resentment at the woes they had suffered at the hands of the Macedonians took a long time to subside. Not for nothing did the inscription on their statue of Demosthenes in 280 call Alexander the "Macedonian Ares."

10

ASIAN FIGUREHEAD

From Macedon and Greece we move east, to Asia. This chapter examines Alexander's image in that "spear-won land" through Seleukos's temporary acquisition of the lion's share of it in 281. First will come the monuments of two of his client kings, then those of the Greek cities, and finally those of the four main contenders for the area, Antigonos One-Eye, Demetrios Poliorketes, Seleukos, and Lysimachos. All offer different perspectives on how Alexander's legacy fared in the years after 323: how the Successors and their subjects sought to come to terms with the power vacuum created by his death, and how they strove to exploit the situation to their own advantage.

1. TWO VASSALS

Alexander's practice of delegating power to native rulers brought mixed results. Some proved venal or treasonous and had to be removed; others survived his death but quickly fell victim to the ambitions of his generals; only a few retained their positions well into the age of the Successors. A Persian who soon fell into disfavor, Aboulites, was discussed in Chapter 7.2; now it is time to present an Indian and a Phoenician from categories two and three. The mighty Porus, viceroy of India and guardian of Alexander's entire eastern frontier, outlived him by a mere five years, while the unassuming Abdalonymos, client king of Sidon, may have survived him for twenty.

Philostratos's account of the Alexander monuments allegedly seen by the wandering sage Apollonios of Tyana in India in the first century A.D. was briefly examined in Chapter 6.3. Apollonios was particularly impressed by a series of embossed and inlaid bronze panels that Porus supposedly dedicated

in the extramural temple at Taxila immediately after the king's death (T 157; V 3). He says that they showed "the exploits of Porus and Alexander," but describes only one in detail: it featured Alexander, magnanimous in the hour of victory, restoring the wounded Porus to his kingdom and presenting him with India as a gift. As Apollonios describes it, the technique was what the Greeks called *toreutikē*, or repoussé: the panels were hammered out from the back, then chased and inlaid from the front in other metals to make a kind of brilliantly pictorial relief.

Philostratos compares the panels to works by the great masters of classical Greek painting, then proceeds to use them as a springboard to a discussion of the problem of mimesis in art; his discussion finishes with the obvious comparison to Homer's Shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18. Though their technique has no parallel in the extant art of India, and Philostratos was happy to embellish his narrative with local color invented for the occasion (T 146), his commentary should not be dismissed out of hand. As explained in Chapter 6.3, his description of Taxila clearly draws on an eyewitness account, and in this case both his discussion of the panels themselves and the circumstances to which it alludes tend to support their authenticity.

Instead of directly comparing the panels to the work of Zeuxis, Polygnotos, and Euphranor, he says rather strangely that they were like the "subject" (*logos*) of a famous painting by one of these men, for they "also" gave an appearance of real life, depth, and relief. To him, or rather to his informant, they were clearly strange and required explanation by analogy. Their style was therefore probably not Greek, and if it was not Indian, then only one possibility remains.

After Alexander conquered Persia, numerous Achaemenid craftsmen made their way east to India. Indian sculpture of the third century shows strong reminiscences of Achaemenid style, reminiscences that are best explained by the presence of refugee carvers on the subcontinent. Embossed metalwork had been one of the glories of Near Eastern art since the Bronze Age, and the taste for it lived on through the Hellenistic period; in the Roman, we have explicit testimony that it was still highly prized in India. Royal audiences, too, were a staple of Achaemenid art; though the king is usually enthroned in his palace, battlefield submissions are not uncommon in Babylonian, Assyrian, and Sassanian art.[1]

Though Porus never actually controlled Taxila, it is perfectly plausible that he should make dedications there, for it was the capital of the easternmost

1. Achaemenid reminiscences in India: Huntington 1985: 42–46. Market in embossed metalwork: *Periplous of the Erythraian Sea* 28, 39, 49. For a submission scene that could easily be converted into the one Philostratos describes, see the so-called Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (858–824): Pritchard 1969: figs. 351, 355.

satrapy of the empire (cf. map 3). Eudamos, the satrap, held general authority over the local king, Taxiles, whom Alexander had reconciled with Porus in 326. Yet this reconciliation was never more than a facade, and it cannot have been strengthened by Alexander's progressive enlargement of Porus's authority, until he apparently ruled what amounted to a huge buffer state that stretched from the upper reaches of the Indus to the ocean. After the king's death, this arrangement was ratified by Perdikkas when he redistributed the satrapies at Babylon in late 323, and again by the marshals who met at Triparadeisos in the summer of 320.[2]

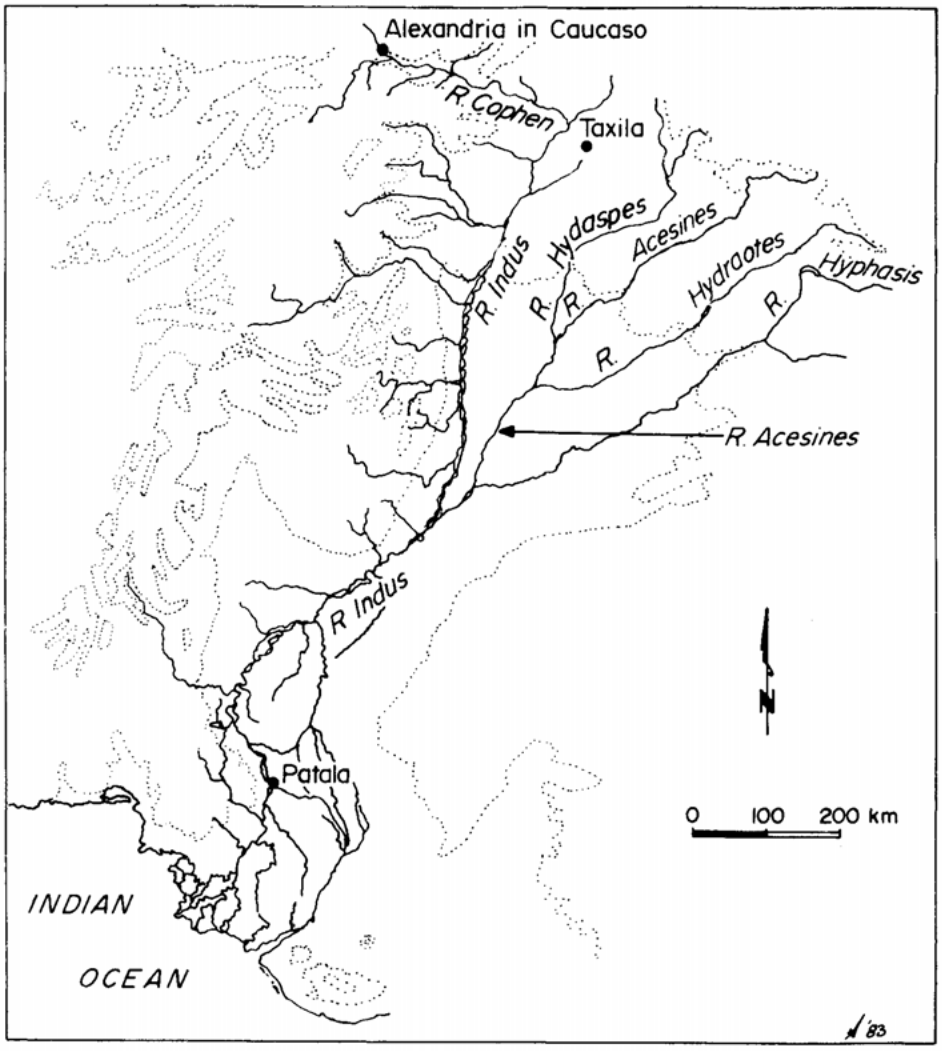
In these circumstances, for Porus to emphasize his loyalty to Alexander (and by implication to his Successors too) was only prudent. His kingdom, relatively modest when Alexander arrived, was now huge, and he would surely lose it if Macedonian support were withdrawn. Yet Taxiles, on the spot in Taxila, had the ear of Eudamos and could easily turn the satrap against him. Even if Porus had ordered the panels as soon as he heard of Alexander's death, he must have known that they would not be ready in time to influence the outcome of events at Babylon. They should perhaps be considered a kind of long-term insurance policy, reassuring Eudamos of Porus's continued loyalty and steadfastness as the eastern bulwark of the empire, and reminding him that Alexander had ordained it thus.

In this situation, Porus could be forgiven for indulging in a little anachronism, for Alexander enlarged his kingdom only in a modest way after the battle of the Hydaspes: his major donations came later.[3] The price was his own dignity, for never in the long history of Near Eastern art do we find a king erecting a monument to his own subservience; Near Eastern submission scenes were icons of victory, never of defeat. He seems caught in the classic dilemma of the client king: the more such a ruler tries to ingratiate himself with his masters, the more he both earns their disdain and isolates himself from his own people, and the more vulnerable he becomes.

Whether or not the marshals meeting at Triparadeisos in 320 knew of Porus's ostentatious parade of loyalty, they certainly contemplated replacing both him and Taxiles with Macedonians. Both Arrian and Diodoros, who may be drawing on the same source, mention that the two Indians were confirmed in their posts only because they had enough force at their disposal to

2. Alexander and Porus: Arr. *Anab.* 5. 19. 3 and 29. 2; 6. 2. 2; Diod. 17. 89. 6; Curt. 8. 14. 45; Just. *Epit.* 12. 8. 7; Plut. *Alex.* 60. 15. Porus's kingdom after Alexander's death: Arr. *Events after Alexander* frag. 9, 36 (*FGH* 156); Diod. 18. 3. 2 and 39. 6; Just. *Epit.* 13. 4. 19–20; Dexippos, *FGH* 100 F 8, 5 (corrupt); cf. Schober 1981: 11–26 and 90–91; Bosworth 1983; Brunt 1983: 472–73 (appendix 17); Bosworth 1988a: 125–31, 238–40.

3. Arr. *Anab.* 5. 19. 3; Plut. *Alex.* 60. 15.



3. The Indian frontier, 326–303 B.C.

make their removal a matter for the royal army and a first-rate general.[4] Yet even with this reprieve, Porus held on to his kingdom only for another two years, for Eudamos had his own agenda. By 318, Peithon Krateua, the satrap of Media and general of all the Upper Satrapies (as the territories of the Iranian plateau and beyond were commonly called), was getting above himself and had succeeded in uniting all the other satraps of the area against him. Eudamos joined the anti-Peithon coalition, massively strengthening his hand

4. Arr. *Events After Alexander* frag. 9, 36 (*FGH* 156); Diod. 18. 39. 6.

by somehow luring Porus into a trap, murdering him, and commandeering 120 of his elephants. The beasts of which Porus was so proud, and to which he gave pride of place in his reliefs, in the end proved to be his downfall.[5]

Eudamos then abandoned his satrapy, arriving in Persia in time to help the other satraps drive Peithon back to Media. Joined around the beginning of 316 by Eumenes, who was fleeing the wrath of Antigonos One-Eye, the coalition then prepared to face this second threat to its autonomy, but after some hard fighting it was defeated. Like Eumenes, Eudamos was captured and executed, and his elephants were appropriated by Antigonos.[6] Yet Antigonos himself had no ambitions to rule the Upper Satrapies, still less any part of India. Not for another dozen years would Macedonians again advance to the Indus Valley, and not until the second century would they succeed in holding any part of it at all.

The spectacular Alexander Sarcophagus (figs. 101–6) offers a quite different perspective on Macedonian client kingship. Found in the royal nekropolis of Sidon in 1887 along with over a dozen other sarcophagi, three of them embellished with figured reliefs, it was soon connected with the name of Abdalonymos, the last king of the native Sidonian dynasty, whom Alexander elevated to power shortly after the Issos in 333.[7] Since it clearly features Alexander on one of its long sides (A: fig. 103) and can be dated on stylistic grounds to the last quarter of the fourth century, this attribution is now generally accepted. It is tempting to see its scaled roof, running vine garlands, guardian lions, and long narrative friezes as an homage to Alexander's hearse (text fig. 9; fig. 75), which must have passed close by the city in 321, but nothing can be proved. Its state of preservation is generally excellent, though its metal attachments—probably all in silver and gold—were stolen in antiquity, and its colors are now much faded.

The Sarcophagus, made of two massive blocks of Pentelic marble that together weigh almost 15 tons, is just under 3.2 meters long, 1.7 meters wide, and 2 meters high. Women's heads (probably the goddess Atargatis) and eagles alternate along the roof ridge, more such heads line the horizontal gutters, and horned lion-griffins do duty for gargoyles. Below them and the

5. Diod. 19. 14. 1–8; cf. Schober 1981: 90–91; Billows 1990: 89–90.

6. Diod. 19. 15–44. 1; Plut. *Eum.* 16. 2; narrative of events: Billows 1990: 90–103. If Eudamos brought all his men, as seems likely, then their numbers are revealing: only eight hundred in all, of whom five hundred were cavalry. For Bernard's attempt (1985b) to assign the "Porus" coins (figs. 68–69) to Eudamos, see Chapter 7.2.

7. For bibliography see Appendix 4. First connected with Abdalonymos by Studniczka in 1894; dissenters: von Graeve 1970: 125 n. 30. The best photographs and fullest discussion of the Sarcophagus are to be found in von Graeve: for brevity, I will not reference individual illustrations here.

horizontal cornice runs a frieze of vine tendrils. On the ends, florals supported by more lion-griffins crown the gables, and crouching, snarling lions take the place of side akroteria. All four sides and both pediments bear scenes in relief: battles between Macedonians and/or Greeks and Persians occupy one long and one short side (A, C), and hunts cover the other long and short sides (B, D). The horseman in a lion-scalp helmet at the far left of the long battle frieze (A) is clearly Alexander, and he has also been recognized in the Macedonian horseman at center left in the lion hunt (B). In the lion and deer hunt (B) Westerners and Persians collaborate, whereas the panther hunt (D) is carried out by Persians alone. On one pediment (C), armed Macedonians or Greeks kill an unarmed man, who is also Macedonian or Greek, and on the other (D), Persians again fight Macedonians and/or Greeks. The style is eclectic, the mixture varying from scene to scene, though its greatest debts are to Attic sculpture and the Parian master, Skopas.

Our knowledge of Abdalonymos is virtually confined to the story of his accession. When Alexander reached Sidon, its inhabitants opened their gates and invited him inside "out of hatred for the Persians and Darius" (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 15. 6). For a mere dozen years earlier Artaxerxes III Ochus had brutally sacked their city in the course of reasserting Persian control over his crumbling empire. Though they had a good chance of successfully resisting him, their king, Tennes, lost his nerve and betrayed the city to Artaxerxes' Greek mercenaries, led by the thuggish Nikostratos of Argos, a bull of a man accustomed to go into battle armed with the lion skin and club of Herakles. Though Diodoros exaggerates the extent of the disaster, it is clear that the city had barely recovered by the time Alexander arrived.[8]

Resolving to replace the reigning king, Straton, whom he deemed unreliable, Alexander appointed Hephaistion to find a suitable successor, but his efforts seemed doomed to failure because the only acceptable candidates refused to usurp the prerogatives of the royal house. Finally Abdalonymos, a distant relative of the royal family, was discovered living in poverty in the suburbs; overcoming his initial reluctance, he agreed to offer himself for the job and was cleaned up and duly presented to Alexander. Impressed with his bearing and character, the king confirmed him in his post, rewarding him with booty and new territory for his city.[9]

When Alexander returned from Egypt in mid-331, he regularized the

8. Diod. 16. 42–45; Messerschmidt 1989: 65 n. 13 dates the sack to 345. His article reached me when this section was already substantially complete; its contributions to my argument are acknowledged in the footnotes that follow.

9. Curt. 4. 1. 15–26; Just. *Epit.* 11. 10. 8; Diod. 17. 46. 6–47. 6 garbles Abdalonymos's name; Plut. *Mor.* 340D transfers the whole incident to Paphos in Cyprus.

status of the Phoenicians within the empire: they were to be independent of the local satrap but subject to a war levy. He therefore placed them on the same footing as the East Greek cities, appointing a revenue collector to each area to ensure that the levy was paid in full. Within six months, though, he altered this arrangement again, appointing a *hyparchos* of Kilikia, Syria, and Phoenicia, presumably with authority over the cities, and by the end of the reign Phoenicia was governed by the satrap of Syria.[10]

The last we hear of Abdalonymos is an anecdote reporting a gift of perfume to Alexander, though a dedication by one of his sons has appeared on Kos.[11] We do not know whether he was still king in June–July 323, when Perdikkas appointed Laomedon of Mytilene satrap of Syria and confirmed Sidon's subordination to him, or whether he was among the kings of the Phoenicians summoned by Antigonos One-Eye in 314 and ordered to build him a fleet. Some have argued that he was killed at the battle of Gaza in 312, but this is pure conjecture.[12]

Except for the events surrounding Abdalonymos's accession, the picture would be virtually blank were it not for the indirect evidence of the local coinage.[13] Alexander had suppressed Sidon's autonomous coinage after the Issos and replaced it with his own. Monogrammed ΣΙ and dated year by year first in Aramaic and then in Greek, these issues continue almost to the end of the century. Years 1–2, 7–10, and 12–28 are extant, of which 13–16 (fig. 104) carry Philip's name, the rest Alexander's. They can be dated absolutely not only from the changes of name (Philip Arrhidaios was proclaimed king in July–August 323 and murdered in October 317), but from a single Sidonian issue of Ptolemy dated to year 22. Since the only time that he controlled Sidon between 314 and 301 was in the first few months of 311, after he won the battle of Gaza, this puts the beginning of the series in 333/332, exactly as one would expect, and its end in 306/305.[14]

Do these dates represent an Alexander era or Abdalonymos's regnal years? Numismatists are divided, and both systems have ample precedent. Since Abdalonymos's predecessors on the Sidonian throne and his contemporaries in the other Phoenician cities certainly dated their coins by their regnal years,

10. Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 3, 4. 7. 2; cf. Badian 1965: 168–69; Brunt 1976: 278–79, 360–61; Bosworth 1988a: 233, 242.

11. Poll. *Onom.* 6. 105; *ADelt* 35 (1980): 1–30, pl. 1.

12. Laomedon: Arr. *Events after Alexander* frag. 1, 5 (*FGH* 156); Diod. 18. 3. 1; Curt. 10. 9. 2 (who explicitly states that he got Syria and Phoenicia). Antigonos: Diod. 19. 58. 1. Gaza: e.g., von Graeve 1970: 131.

13. Newell 1916: 1–38, pls. 1–5; von Graeve 1970: 127–28; Messerschmidt 1989: 66–69.

14. For the Ptolemaic issue see Zervos 1967: 7, 8, pl. 4. 22; Mørkholm 1991: 65 and pl. 6. 94; cf. Diod. 19. 93.

this system is perhaps the more likely—though since the Sidonian mint ceased operation in 306/305, the year of his death remains a mystery.[15] By the early third century, however, the city's king was Philokles, a Ptolemaic admiral.[16] Interpreted in this way, the coins suggest that Abdalonymos's capacity for survival almost matched the king of Ake's, whose regnal years began in 347 and ended in 307.

From the death of Perdikkas to the century's end, Sidon and Ake suffered no fewer than six changes of master, as the fortunes of war oscillated between Ptolemy and Antigonos. In 320 the marshals confirmed Laomedon in his post, but within a year he was expelled by Ptolemy, who coveted Phoenicia's resources and had already begun to expand beyond the confines of his satrapy by taking Cyrenaica. Eumenes raided the area in 317 and raised a fleet there, but Ptolemy soon regained control. In 314, however, Antigonos came down from Asia with an army, annexed Phoenicia, and told the local kings to build him a fleet. After defeating his son Demetrios at Gaza, Ptolemy was back again in the last days of 312, but, faced with vastly superior forces, he withdrew within a few months, ceding Sidon once more to Antigonos. Demetrios held on to it after Antigonos's defeat and death at Ipsos in 301, but in 287 Ptolemy expelled him and secured it for good. Within a few years its king, Philokles, was commanding the Ptolemaic fleet.[17]

Where does the Sarcophagus fit into all this? Near Eastern kings, attentive to their posthumous reputations, customarily commissioned their tombs during their lifetimes, and it is generally agreed that nothing in the Sarcophagus's style prohibits this. There, however, consensus ends, for the subject matter of the reliefs has been accorded the most varied interpretations, according to whether one sees it as thoroughly Hellenic, as an authentic product of Near Eastern art (albeit in Greek style), or as an uneasy mixture of the two.

The most radical of the Hellenists see the program as essentially biographical, beginning with the battle of the Issos on one long frieze (A) and continuing with Alexander's supposed hunt in the Sidonian game park in 332 on the other long frieze (B), the murder of Perdikkas in 320 in one pediment (C), an unidentified fight involving Abdalonymos in the other pediment (D), and finally his last moments in battle, presumably at Gaza in 312, on the short

15. Cf. Newell 1916: 26; cf. 58–59 (uncertain for Sidon, but Ake's dates are regnal years); Messerschmidt 1989: 66–69 (both are regnal years); Mørkholm 1991: 33, 47 (Alexander era at Sidon, regnal years at Ake).

16. For the evidence, see J. Seibert, "Philokles, Sohn des Apollodoros, König der Sidonier," *Historia* 19 (1970): 337–51.

17. Newell 1916 summarizes Phoenician history in this period, though his dates are too high by a year or so.

frieze (C).[18] This reading leaves the panther hunt as the only "generic" scene on the monument and entails that the Sarcophagus was carved after his death. On the other hand, the "orientalizing" interpretations see the entire program either as Abdalonymos's expression of nostalgia for the Achaemenid empire and of faith in Alexander's "fusion" policy or as repeated self-glorification in traditional Near Eastern fashion.[19] Yet while accepting the Issos for (A) and rejecting a specific interpretation for the short sides and their pediments (C, D), the orientalists agree on little else. Between these extremes stand those who give a place to Abdalonymos and the "fusion" policy in the program but doubt the historicity of some or all of the smaller friezes and pediments and also implicitly challenge the contention that the Sarcophagus was posthumous.[20]

Oddly, almost no one seems interested in the audience that the Sarcophagus was intended to address. While some assume that it was made simply to be closeted underground, contemporary practice elsewhere in Asia indicates that this was emphatically not the case. Maussolos of Karia and the fourth-century Lykian kings erected their tombs during their lifetimes at the centers of their respective capitals, and the pharaohs had invested heavily in conspicuous mortuary temples for millennia.[21] Ostentatious, complex, and certainly expensive, the Sarcophagus presupposes an admiring and informed public. Abdalonymos himself must have personally supervised its design and surely exhibited it during his lifetime; yet since it is unweathered, it presumably stood under cover, perhaps in the royal palace. There, it would have been seen by a mixture of the local Phoenician aristocracy and visiting foreigners, high-ranking Macedonians and Greeks included. As will appear, many of its puzzles can be elucidated by the need to address—and impress—all shades of the political spectrum.

The Sarcophagus is a highly conflicted monument. Although its style is pure Greek, its iconography mixes West and East, history and genre, and real and ideal in a most uneasy fashion. It presents no unified program, offers no obviously coherent message. The Macedonians who are winning on the long battle scene (A) play second fiddle to the conquered on the hunt (B) and are

18. Von Graeve 1970, followed more or less by Hölscher 1973: 189–96, and more cautiously by myself, in Stewart 1990: 193–95, and by Smith 1991: 191.

19. Borchhardt 1983: 119–20; Messerschmidt 1989: 82–92.

20. E.g., Pollitt 1986: 38–45; Stamatiou 1988; Ridgway 1990: 37–45.

21. Maussolos and the Lykians: cf. Stewart 1990: 171–72, 180–82, and pls. 466–76, 524–38.

killing each other on the pediment (C); the Persians who are losing the long battle scene (A) more than hold their own in the other two battles on side (C) and pediment (D) and dominate the hunts on (B) and (D).

As to details, Alexander's lion helmet on (A) is quite fantastic, and he and one of his officers wear no armor; some of his infantry are nude, and all are equipped as Greek hoplites, not as Macedonian pikemen. His opponents all wear Persian dress, but none carries the usual Persian scale armor, quivers, and knives. In the short battle scene (C), two Orientals carry Greek hoplite shields, one of which has an audience scene with the Persian Great King painted on the inside! On the hunt scene (D), a third Oriental carries a hoplite shield, and on the pediment above (D) yet another wears Greek armor. This Greek equipment has often been explained as a reference to Alexander's army reforms of 324, which incorporated Persians into the Macedonian army. But Alexander's Persian infantry were trained as Macedonian pikemen, not as hoplites, and the Successors continued this practice and exploited Persian skill with sling and bow by raising ethnic units of their own, which fought alongside their Greeks and Macedonians but never lost their special identity.[22] A more general allusion to his so-called fusion policy is possible, though one must not forget that Abdalonymos presumably had palace guards and could easily have equipped them as hoplites.

A closer look at the reliefs themselves may help. The long battle scene (A: fig. 102) is surely Issos, the immediate cause of Abdalonymos's elevation to power. Many have recognized a debt to the original of the Alexander Mosaic (color pl. 4) in this scene, and their case can only be strengthened by the early date proposed for this work in Chapter 5.2. On the Sarcophagus, though, the battle has been cut up into duels and made more or less symmetrical, with three Macedonians dominating the composition at left, right, and center. At left, Alexander is conspicuous in his lion-scalp helmet (of which more later), stabbing down with his *sarissa* (originally secured by a dowel sunk into Boukephalas's right front fetlock) at the Persian rider before him. This Persian, however, has yet to feel the point of Alexander's lance: his horse is collapsing from a bloody wound in the side, but he is as yet untouched. Furthermore, instead of helplessly flinging his arm over his head (a gesture that contempo-

22. On this problem see von Graeve 1970: 85–100; Messerschmidt 1989: 70–77; Ridgway 1990: 43–44. For Alexander's army reforms see Arr. *Anab.* 7. 6. 1 and 12. 2; Plut. *Alex.* 71. 1; Diod. 17. 108. 1–3; Curt. 7. 5. 1, with Bosworth 1988a: 272–73. Cf. also the units of Persian archers and slingers in the armies of Krateros and Antigonos: e.g., Diod. 18. 16. 4; 19. 29. 1–7, 69. 1, and 82. 3, with Billows 1990: 264–65, 356–57.

rary Greeks would probably have recognized as signaling *athymia*, or loss of spirit),[23] he now brandishes a sword, glaring straight at Alexander and obviously intending to fight back. The sculptor is not simply registering artistic "influence" but deliberately transforming his sources. His Persian is no craven enemy, but a valiant fighter, as are his companions, even though their cause is irretrievably lost.[24]

The theme of oriental valor is further developed in the other two battle scenes, the side panel (C) and the pediment (D). On (C), the central rider, posed exactly like Alexander in (A), is presumably Abdalonymos himself. While he towers over his fallen foe, the Oriental on the left is on the defensive, and the one on the right is clearly doomed, countering the forceful image of the triumphant Asiatic at center. One Westerner wears a cloak, but otherwise all are nude except for their Phrygian helmets. This scene is clearly intended to be exemplary, not historical: since battle is the testing ground of kings, Abdalonymos must fight and win. Indeed, on the pediment (D), not only is he triumphant once more, but the other Orientals are clearly winning too.

The other sport of kings is hunting, particularly hunting lions. On the long frieze (B: fig. 105) cooperation is the order of the day. The composition is symmetrical and involves four pairs of figures. Once again, oriental valor is paramount. An Oriental, presumably Abdalonymos again, confronts the lion in an encounter that combines two scenes from the north palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh (figs. 107–8).[25] Meanwhile, another Oriental swings at the lion with an axe, while two Macedonians (one often identified as Alexander, of which more below) ride in to help.

Two more pairs of figures frame the central group. One pair runs in from the left to assist with the lion, while another at right kills a deer. This is often explained as a decoy for the lion but is more likely just another inhabitant of the game park: Assurbanipal's reliefs show that not only lions but all kinds of animals were kept in these parks. The pendant to this scene, the panther hunt on the short side (D), involves Orientals alone; Abdalonymos has once more been recognized in the impressive spear-bearer with the round shield at center. Here the hunt has ceased to be a simple contest about kingship, for both East and West now collaborate "in alliance . . . against the savagery of the beasts" (Isok. *Panath.* 163).

23. Cf. Stewart 1982: 225–26, n. 68.

24. Darius is presumably omitted for this very reason: though the Sidonians hated him, to have included his headlong flight would have fatally compromised the very point that the scene is trying to make.

25. R. D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh* (London, 1976): pls. 10, 12, 49, 52.

In these scenes, the Orientals' Persian dress indicates that the Phoenician aristocracy had come to imitate their conquerors during their two centuries of subjection to Achaemenid rule; the other sarcophagi in the Sidonian nekropolis confirm this conclusion.[26] Yet clothing can also be symbolic. Here, it signals "East" just as surely as the the occasional nudity and hybrid Greco-Macedonian equipment of the opposition signals "West." These friezes collapse the distinctions among the races of Asia just as thoroughly as they collapse the distinctions between Greeks and Macedonians: a worldview that begins to point to Alexander's in his later years (Chapter 3.5). The Asians' adoption of some items of Greco-Macedonian armor on panels (B) and (D) and pediment (D)—but not on the Alexander battle (A)—also carries a message. It signals both that they are now open to a degree of Hellenization and that they are just as flexible as their opponents. The hoplite shield was the classic equipment of the Greek warrior, and here it certifies their credentials as warriors too.

The most difficult scene of all is the fight in pediment (C). Two fully armed Macedonians kill an unarmed man dressed only in a light tunic or *exōmis*; a spear lies on the ground behind him, which he has either dropped or failed to reach in time. His two guards are both dying or dead. On the left, a fearful slave or page boy props one of them up, while on the right a powerful, bearded man in a muscle cuirass is about to make short work of the second, who vainly tries to crawl away into the corner. The victor's purple chiton and the cutting for a fillet in his hair seem to single him out as royal. This is clearly a historical event, characterized as emphatically as Greek artistic convention would allow. The best candidate is the murder of Perdikkas in 320, whose context was sketched at the end of Chapter 7.[27]

The murder occurred in the evening of Perdikkas's disastrous attempt to cross the Nile and take Memphis. Alienated by his repeated failure to breach Ptolemy's defenses, some of the chiliarch's officers confronted him, and the infantry joined in with shouts and threats. The mutiny, led by Peithon, swiftly spread among the officer corps and then infected the cavalry, a group of whom then went to Perdikkas's tent, fell on him, and stabbed him to death. Seleukos and Antigenes were among the killers.[28] The scene in the pediment is completely consistent with this story; since the kings were also in the camp, the obvious candidate for the diademed, bearded man in the muscle cuirass is the weak-minded Philip III Arrhidaios, who would certainly have lent re-

26. *Contra*, Borchhardt 1983: 108 and passim; demolished by Messerschmidt 1989: 89–90. Mummification and anthropoid sarcophagi, however, are Egyptianizing.

27. First suggested by von Graeve 1970: 138–42.

28. Diod. 18. 36. 2–5; Nep. *Eum*. 5. 1.

spectability to the plot had he been persuaded to join in. Perdikkas was also accustomed to use the royal page boys as attendants.[29]

Von Graeve defended this reading by pointing to the East-West cooperation evidenced in the Sidonian hunting scene (B) and its diametrical opposite in the two small battle scenes in panel (C) and pediment (D), which he dated to the period of the Successors. The murder, he argued, marked a turning point in East-West relations, hitherto guided by Alexander's policy of "fusion"; henceforth, relations between conquerors and conquered were hostile. Including it was thus an act of homage by an Abdalonymos nostalgic for the halcyon days of the 320s. Objectors to this thesis argue that Abdalonymos cannot have included an event on his tomb about which he felt so negative.[30]

Though the fragility of both of these positions will be apparent, they have the merit of leading us to the heart of the program: its message and its public. For while the Phoenicians surely did not weep at the sight of their masters falling out among themselves, and probably greeted the end of the unified empire with enthusiasm, to the conquerors Perdikkas had become the archetypal tyrant. Not only does the pediment draw on scenes like that of the murder of the tyrant Hipparchos on an Attic red-figure stamnos in Würzburg, but Diodoros seems to preserve a reminiscence of this very tradition when after describing Perdikkas as "a man of blood, one who usurped the authority of the other commanders and generally wanted to rule by force," he immediately goes on to praise Ptolemy for being "generous, fair, and respectful of the commanders' right to free speech" (18. 33. 3).[31] And Ptolemy became master of Phoenicia in 319.

All this suggests that a reading of the Sarcophagus in terms of a bifurcated address to "Asians" and "Greeks" could bear further fruit. Regarded as utterances addressed to two quite different audiences that aimed to provoke a favorable reaction from each, its contradictions shed some light on the preoccupations of Abdalonymos and the world he was trying to reach. By designing not one but two model spectators, one "Asian" and one "Greek," the Sarcophagus may give us what we have hitherto altogether lacked: a key to the reactions of the conquered to the distasteful but apparently inescapable fact of Macedonian power.

To Abdalonymos and the Phoenician aristocracy, the Sarcophagus would certainly have offered a strong boost to their pride: against the *archē* of the conquerors it promotes the *dynamis* of Asia. Though their fleet had served

29. Curt. 10. 8. 3.

30. Von Graeve 1970: 156–57; *contra*, Lauter, *Gnomon* 45 (1973): 183; Messerschmidt 1989: 91.

31. Stamnos, attributed to the Copenhagen Painter: *ARV*² 256, no. 5; Hölscher 1973: 87, pl. 7.

Darius, it had served him valiantly and, on the whole, successfully. Furthermore, the Sidonians had not fought at the Issos and so would not directly associate themselves with Darius's defeat and flight. The way that the sculptures repeatedly emphasize Asian valor (even in defeat), Asian primacy in the hunt, and the Asians' right to stand at the side of the Macedonians indicates that Abdalonymos took Alexander's policy of "concord and community in empire between Macedonians and Persians" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 11. 9) seriously—perhaps more seriously than Alexander took it himself.[32] Whereas at Opis Alexander had seated the revelers in three circles—first Macedonians, then Persians, and finally "the others"[33]—the Sarcophagus conflates the three peoples into two, "Greek" and "Asian," and puts them more or less on a par. It thus speaks both to Alexander's own style as "king of Asia" and to the realities of the Age of the Successors, when the shrinking pool of Macedonian manpower meant that distinctions between Macedonians and Greeks were rapidly beginning to disappear.

Yet the reliefs also hint at unresolved frustrations. Though the Sidonians had welcomed the Macedonians in 333, their initial enthusiasm was no doubt considerably tempered when Alexander abolished their autonomous coinage. The reorganized mint now operated on a small scale, employing only nineteen obverse stater dies and thirteen obverse tetradrachm dies during Alexander's lifetime. This reorganization was a more dictatorial act than one would think, for Sidon was a great commercial city, and it not only deprived her elite of fiscal control but actually subordinated their finances to the Macedonian treasury. The city's subjection to the satrapy of Syria two years later simply added insult to injury. Alexander's lion-scalp helmet on (A) characterized him as a Heraklid of surpassing *aretē*, but to some it may have smacked more strongly of Nikostratos and his brutal sack of 345.

Though the murder of Perdikkas signaled the end of the unified empire, it nevertheless failed to restore Phoenician independence. True, it offered local rulers like Abdalonymos the prospect of greater room to maneuver, but it also brought increased insecurity and continual changes of master. Furthermore, whereas both Ptolemy and Antigonos certainly continued Alexander's policy of using Orientals in their administrations and Asiatic troops in their armies, Antigonos had a well-deserved reputation for harshness to those "barbarians" who crossed him.[34] To Ptolemy and his lieutenants, then, these

32. Cf. Bosworth 1980b: 1–4, 8; Bosworth 1988a: 158, 160–61, 271–73; Hamilton 1987: 484–85. Yet on the other side, the Sarcophagus gainsays the cynicism of Green 1990: 190 about "the stubborn refusal of the civilizations he invaded to appreciate the higher things he offered them in return for their subjugation."

33. Arr. *Anab.* 7. 11. 8.

34. Ptolemy: Diod. 18. 14. 1; cf. Walbank and Astin 1984: 123–28. Antigonos: Billows

reliefs would have offered a message of praise; to Antigonos and his, one of tactful admonition.

Yet even if the Westerners recognized the Sarcophagus's discreet advocacy of Sidonian independence, they probably saw nothing objectionable in it. It gave Alexander his due, showed who the true masters were, and even affirmed Abdalonymos's recognition of the dominance of Hellenism—whose representational traditions had flourished in the city since the late fifth century.[35] Even the inclusion of Perdikkas's murder would hardly have disturbed them, for his name was now mud. Whether they took its plea for "Asian" martial prowess seriously cannot of course be determined: the history of the Successors in the area shows that like the Persians and Alexander before them they were interested in the Phoenicians only for their ability to build and man fleets.[36]

Where does Alexander fit into all this? In the long battle scene (A: figs. 102–3), he is literally sidelined, displaced from the position of honor at the center by another Macedonian who is often identified as Hephaistion, Abdalonymos's sponsor. A third Macedonian, who once wore a crown around his helmet, balances Alexander at far right: candidates so far proposed include Perdikkas, Parmenion, Philotas, Krateros, Kleitos, and Antigonos One-Eye.[37] Another possibility, hitherto overlooked, is Ptolemy, who also distinguished himself in the battle and who later became Abdalonymos's master—like Antigonos. Yet such speculations, though diverting, miss the point: unlike Alexander, neither of the two officers is in any way individualized. This idealizing mode both flattered the sitters and enabled a decent ambiguity to be maintained in an era of flux. Abdalonymos, too, can be forgiven for not advertising his status as a vassal by personally identifying his patrons.

Alexander himself wears Macedonian high-laced sandals or *krēpides* (rendered in paint), a sleeved and double-girdled *chitōniskos*, a purple cloak, and a lion-scalp helmet (fig. 103). Though some see the *chitōniskos* as a reference to

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1990: 306–8; harshness towards Asiatics: Diod. 19. 48. 5, 90. 1–91. 2, 92. 4; *Babylonian Chronicle*, rev., lines 1–43.

35. The testimony of the Sidonian sarcophagi has now been much amplified by discoveries in the sanctuary of Eshmun, which show that Greek sculptural workshops thrived in the city during the late fifth and fourth centuries: see Messerschmidt 1989: 65 and 92 for summary and references.

36. Cf. Arr. *Anab.* 7. 19. 3–5 (Alexander's preparations for the Arabian expedition); Diod. 18. 4. 4 (Alexander's last plans); 18. 49. 3 (Kassandros urges Ptolemy to send a fleet from Phoenicia in 319); 18. 63. 6 (Eumenes recruits a fleet in Phoenicia for Polyperchon in 317); 19. 58. 1–4 (Antigonos orders the kings of Phoenicia to build him a fleet in 314); 20. 50. 3 and 52. 1 (the best ships in the Antigonid navy at Salamis in 306 are Phoenician).

37. Cf. von Graeve 1970: 134–36 and Hölscher 1973: 189–90 for the full range of options.

his adoption of some items of Persian dress after Darius's final defeat in 331, this is to misunderstand both texts and images.[38] The chiton of his hybrid "imperial" dress (T 33, 35, 46) was a totally different garment, the long robe with the central white stripe that Darius wears on the Alexander Mosaic (color pl. 6). The short chiton or *chitōniskos*, on the other hand, was an authentic item of Macedonian dress—either indigenous or (like the Achaemenid calyx cup) borrowed from Persia before Alexander was born.[39] His two officers on (A) also wear it, and a sleeveless version appears on the central rider on the Hunt fresco from Tomb II at Vergina and on Hephaistion in the "Hero Hephaistion" relief in Thessalonike (text fig. 11; fig. 72). Hephaistion, however, omits the second girdle. The sleeves are certainly practical for riding in the cold, and the battle of the Issos, it will be remembered, was fought when winter was already on the way.

Alexander's headgear and physiognomy are unique, and controversy has raged for a century as to what the sculptor intended: specifically, whether he was imitating the Herakles head on Alexander's own tetradrachms (figs. 30, 104).[40] Those who think so sometimes take the argument one stage farther, offering the comparison as evidence that the Herakles of the coins was actually seen as an Alexander by this time. Yet on the coins Herakles' lion skin is toothless, leaves the front hair uncovered, and includes the front paws, which are knotted under the chin. On the Sarcophagus, the helmet has teeth, covers the front hair completely, and terminates abruptly at the nape of the neck. Since Herakles had occasionally worn a helmet of this kind in sculpture and on coins since the early fifth century, and the Lykian dynast Erbbina had followed suit in the early fourth, it is more economical to suppose that the sculptor was following this tradition, not that of the tetradrachms.[41]

38. Persianizing: Winter 1912: 15; Neuffer 1929: 8, 24; Messerschmidt 1989: 72; *contra*, Fuhrmann 1931; Rumpf 1962: 235; Hölscher 1973: 128; von Graeve 1970: 85–86; and apparently Ridgway 1990: 43–44.

39. Calyx cup: cf. Andronikos et al. 1980: nos. 118–20.

40. First proposed by Reinach in 1892: endorsed by, among others, Schreiber 1903: 87 n. 23, 122, 140; Fuhrmann 1931: 275 n. 35; Gebauer 1939: 52; Bieber 1964: 50; Hölscher 1971: 46 n. 173; Hölscher 1973: 191–92; Giuliani 1977: 38; Messerschmidt 1989: 82; *contra*, von Graeve 1970: 148–49. Bellinger 1963: 13–20 seems to have forgotten the Sarcophagus in his discussion of the iconography of the coins, and despite her theme, Palagia 1986: 141–42 does not discuss the matter either; Ridgway 1990: 43 seems undecided.

41. First attested on the Athenian treasury at Delphi, ca. 490: J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (London, 1978), fig. 206. 6; next at Aegina, ca. 480: Stewart 1990: fig. 253. Cf. also the west pediment at Tegea, ca. 340, where Telephos wears a lion-skin cap or a helmet of similar form: Stewart 1990: fig. 542. For the coins, cf. those of Archelaos I of Macedon, 413–399: *LIMC*, s.v. "Herakles," no. 230; for Erbbina see B. Jacobs, *Griechische und persische Elemente in der Grabkunst Lykiens zur Zeit der Achaemenidenherrschaft* (Berlin, 1988), pl. 18. 4.

Alexander's physiognomy is another matter. His compact, densely modeled face and its powerful chin, pursed lips, strong nose, deep-set eyes, "clouded" brow, and cauliflowered ear are complemented by the staring mask of the lion, whose incisors frame his forehead and whose eyes stare up and out into the battle. All are outspoken metaphors of force, characterizing him as the living reincarnation of his ancestor Herakles. The sculptor could easily have borrowed this face from the coins: a Sidonian issue of year 15 (319/318) offers a strikingly close parallel (fig. 104). This by no means implies that there were no freestanding portraits around for him to copy,[42] but merely indicates that he, like others after him, simply chose the most appropriate model for what he wanted to say. He thematizes Herakles' physiognomy, like his helmet, in order to characterize Alexander as his descendant and rival, as the invincible conqueror of Asia.

The hunter on the other long side (B: fig. 106) is more problematic. Though his head is more dynamically modeled than the others on this side, it is basically no different in structure from any of them. His hair is short, and he sports no *anastolē*. Since the cutting in his hair could have supported a diadem, fillet, or crown (compare the youth in the center of the Hunt fresco from Tomb II at Vergina, text fig. 11), it cannot help to determine his identity.[43] Nor is there any evidence that Alexander hunted in the Sidonian game park, with or without Abdalonymos (cf. Chapter 9.3); thus, the last shred of justification for identifying this man as him disappears.

This hunter may be Hephaistion once more, in which case the cutting could be for a hero's tubular diadem, or possibly Antigonos One-Eye's son Demetrios Poliorketes. His boyish physiognomy, short hair, and generally dynamic appearance certainly fit the literary descriptions of Demetrios and are compatible with known examples of his portrait. He was an avid hunter and of about the right age: when he commanded the Antigonid army at Gaza in 312 he was only twenty-two.[44] If so, his subordinate status in the composition would signal that Abdalonymos was claiming to play a guiding role in his education, proclaiming that the East could still teach the West a thing or two about kingship.

42. So, for example, Gebauer 1939: 52.

43. Details: Andronikos 1984: figs. 65–66 and 70; for a narrow diadem that—translated into metal—would fit into the cutting, cf. the herm of Demetrios Poliorketes from Herculaneum: Smith 1988: pl. 5; Stewart 1990: fig. 622.

44. Gebauer 1939: 52 and 101 vigorously argued against Alexander, suggesting Hephaistion; Demetrios was first proposed by Charbonneaux 1952 and was endorsed by Schefold, in Schefold and Seidel 1968: 22; *contra*, von Graeve 1970: 146 and Hölscher 1973: 192. On Demetrios see Plut. *Demetr.* 2. 2 (appearance); 3. 1, 50. 5, and 52. 1 (hunting); 5. 3 (age at Gaza in 312).

2. THE CITIES OF ASIA

For our purposes, the Greek cities of Asia may be roughly divided into three classes: those that predated Alexander, those that he founded, and those that were founded by his Successors. Unfortunately, though many of these communities will have erected statues to Alexander, the evidence is exiguous at best, and for our period, coins of the Roman period are at present our only source.

As already described in Chapter 3.5, several of the cities that Alexander "liberated" in 334 and 333 voted cults to him (cf. Appendix 3), though when they did so is unclear. The form of his cult statues—if any—is also unknown, though in Chapter 7.3 a case was presented for the thunderbolt and perhaps the lion-scalp helmet as possible attributes (cf. figs. 70–71). They could have been nude or perhaps in armor, like the "Porus" coins (figs. 68–69), the Kyme Alexander (figs. 137–38), the two terracotta busts from Thessalonike, and the Alexander on the Thessalonike cult relief, which explicitly describes him as king and son of Zeus.[45] Priene and Magnesia have yielded draped Alexanders of the mid-second century B.C. (figs. 133–35), but there is no reason to assume that they necessarily reproduce early Hellenistic types.

Alexander's own foundations must all have venerated him as *ktistēs*, an appellation that demands a hero cult and altar and at this period normally implies a statue as well. The rich legacy of Alexandria-by-Egypt was discussed in Chapter 8, but the other Alexandrias have yielded disappointingly little. Some were only planned by Alexander, others were soon abandoned, and still others were so thoroughly destroyed in later times that nothing substantial survives. Even so, it is strange that only a single battered inscription on a statue base from Kandahar (Alexandria-in-Arachosia) has so far come to light (T 143), and even its connection with Alexander is disputed. Though the dedicant was clearly thanking someone for his escape from a wild beast, according to one reconstruction the statue honored Alexander in his *temenos*, while another refers it to Apollo.[46]

Some cities did not bear Alexander's name but nevertheless claimed him as their founder. In the Roman period, at least three issued coins bearing his image: Smyrna in Ionia, Apollonia Mordiaion in Pisidia, and Gerasa (Jerash) in present-day Jordan. The Smyrnaean coins show two figures of Nemesis,

45. G. M. A. Richter, in Amandry 1963: 113–14, no. 64 *bis*, fig. 48 *bis*; Rizakes and Touratsoglou 1985: no. 148 (cf. Appendix 3).

46. Alexander: Oikonomedes 1984 and 1985. Apollo: Peek 1985 (overlooking Oikonomedes).

mostly alone, but sometimes with another figure sleeping under a tree (fig. 109).[47] This scene would be unintelligible if Pausanias had not described it in his brief digression on Ionian history (7. 5. 1). Alexander, after hunting on Mount Pagos, came to a spring shaded by a plane tree. Exhausted, he went to sleep there; in his dream, two Nemeseis appeared and told him to found a city at the spot, using the Smyrnaeans whom the Lydians had expelled almost three centuries before. After consulting Apollo's oracle at Klaros, the Smyrnaeans duly obliged. Though they honored Alexander for reestablishing their city, Strabo tells us that the real job of synoecism was begun only after his death, by Antigonos One-Eye, and was completed by Lysimachos after Antigonos was killed in 301. The sanctuary of the Nemeseis was prominent among the city's monuments.[48]

The coins must be derived from a statue group or, less likely, a painting. The Nemeseis, wearing broad-brimmed hats and draped in chiton and himation, are always in the same pose and carry the same attributes. The one on the left faces inward, while the one on the right is frontal; they adjust their chitons at the shoulder with their right hands and hold a bridle and a cubit rule, respectively, in the left. Alexander, meanwhile, sleeps peacefully on his shield, his right arm thrown over his head in the familiar gesture of *athymia*; his pose is derived from figures like the sleeping Ariadne.[49] A boukranion lies near him, and the plane tree, arching over the group, completes the composition.

Though nothing remains of either sanctuary or monument, an early Hellenistic date for the latter seems reasonable enough. Not only might one expect the city's resurrection to be celebrated in this way at an early date, but the Nemeseis certainly look Hellenistic.[50] They presumably indicate that retribution has at last fallen upon the barbarians for daring to destroy a Greek city. The symbolism of the bridle and the ruler, signifying that the king should rest his horse and get to work, is also typical for the period: compare the Ptolemaic and other allegories discussed in Chapter 8 (cf. fig. 80). Ptolemy II's Great Procession of 275/274 also offers a parallel for the pictorial character of the composition, for it included floats with Dionysos and Nysa under vine-covered canopies, and the baby Dionysos in the ivy- and yew-shaded grotto of the Nymphs.[51] The boukranion is presumably also part of

47. *BMC Ionia* 279 pls. 26. 8; 26. 17; 28. 4 (alone); 29. 16 (with Alexander); Schweitzer 1931: 203–4, pl. 4. 1–4 (alone).

48. Paus. 4. 5. 1–4; Strabo 14. 1. 37, 646; *RE*, q.v., cols. 746–64; cf. Billows 1990: 213, 295.

49. *LIMC*, s.v. "Ariadne," figs. 54–152.

50. Cf., for example, Bieber 1961: figs. 515–16; Stewart 1979: pl. 12.

51. Ath. 5, 198d–f, 200b–c.

Alexander's dream: he is to make sacrifice as well, just as he did later when founding Alexandria-by-Egypt.[52]

Except for its antibarbarian undertone, there is nothing overtly political in this monument. Almost certainly erected when Alexander was safely dead, it seems quite neutral and conspicuously omits the two men who actually built the city, Antigonos and Lysimachos; presumably they were honored elsewhere. Unlike some of the other Greek cities of Asia, Smyrna had reason to be grateful to Alexander and responded accordingly. The coins of other cities show that they, too, thought kindly of him, though their testimony is more equivocal.

Under the emperor Elagabalus (A.D. 218–22), the city of Apollonia Mordiaion in Pisidia issued bronze coins claiming Alexander as its founder (*ktistēs*) and embellished with a youthful head in a lion skin (fig. 110).[53] Does this refer to an authentic Hellenistic cult, and if so, could the head echo its cult statue? Unfortunately, the answer on both counts is probably negative. The city cannot have been founded by Alexander, since it did not bear his name. Though he passed through the area in early 333 and took some of its fortresses, the Pisidians resisted him strongly, and he left no garrisons there. They were reduced by Antigonos in 319, were apparently left alone by Lysimachos, and passed under Seleukid control after the battle of Korypedion in 281.[54] Though a town probably existed at the site in 333, Apollonia itself is a Hellenistic refoundation; since it has not been excavated, its date is unknown.[55] Since the coins not only succeed in misspelling Alexander's name (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΟΣ) but also copy the Herakles head of his tetradrachms, we may safely dismiss their claim as a product of the Alexander-mania of Caracalla and the later Severan emperors.

Jordanian Gerasa also claimed Alexander as founder in the Roman period. The late Greek etymologists allege that the city's name derives from his massacre of its young men and establishment of a colony of veterans (*gerontes*) there.[56] Once more, current opinion is skeptical, but the discovery of two Roman monuments, a statue base of the third century A.D. dedicated to Perdikkas and a coin type of Elagabalus with the legend "Alexander of Macedon

52. Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 5.

53. See Appendix 3; best photo in Bieber 1964: fig. 117.

54. Antigonos: Diod. 18. 44. 1–47. 4. Pisidian independence: Grainger 1990: 185–86; *contra*, Billows 1990: 238–40.

55. Modern Uluborlu (a.k.a. Oluburlu): *RE*, s.v. "Apollonia" (22), col. 116; recent opinions are summarized in von Aulock 1979: 20–21; Apollonia's claim was peremptorily dismissed by Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 233.

56. *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. Γερασηνός (ed. Gaisford); also Iamblichos, cited by Gaisford, ad loc.

founder of Gerasa" (fig. 111) has led to a reconsideration.[57] Could Perdikkas have colonized the city on Alexander's orders? Samaria offers a parallel and a possible date: sacked by Alexander in 331 after the inhabitants murdered his governor, it also claimed to be a Macedonian colony founded by Perdikkas; the alternative date would be during the latter's period of supremacy, from 323 to 320.[58]

This suggestion cannot stand. Alexander had already left garrisons around the Issos in 333, at Tyre in 332, and four thousand troops in Egypt in 331, but he surely cannot have weakened his forces further by dispatching yet more troops to a minor desert outpost when he knew that Darius had assembled a vast army in Iran for the decisive contest. His first attested demobilization came after he conquered Persia, in 330. Though the ancient historians say little about his return from Egypt in 331, a punitive and colonizing expedition across the Jordan is most unlikely.[59] Perdikkas returned to the area only in the spring of 320, during his ill-fated expedition to Egypt, and when he did so he was preoccupied with crushing Ptolemy. Such a tradition could hardly have arisen so soon after Perdikkas's lifetime, given his bad reputation with the two men who thereafter controlled Gerasa, Antigonos and Ptolemy. Furthermore, the broad diadem that Alexander wears on this coin came into fashion only in the second century B.C. (cf. figs. 142–43).[60]

Among the cities founded by or under Alexander's Successors, only Sagalassos in Pisidia has yielded hard evidence of an Alexander monument. Under the emperor Claudius II Gothicus (A.D. 268–70), the city issued bronze coins with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ above a splendid group of Alexander on Boukephalas charging a fleeing barbarian, with Zeus pointing to the heavens and cradling a thunderbolt (fig. 112). The baseline confirms that this image echoes a sculptural group that, given its complexity, was surely in bronze.[61]

Alexander reached Sagalassos in the spring of 333, just before he passed by or through Apollonia. Its Pisidian inhabitants, "thought to be the most warlike of this warlike people" (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 28. 2), met him on a hill before

57. Again dismissed by Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 233; for the coin see Seyrig 1965.

58. Curt. 4. 8. 9; Euseb. *Chron.* 2. 114 and 118 Schoene; Eusebl. *apud* Hieron. *Chron.*, pp. 123 and 127 Helm; all quoted by Seyrig 1965: 27.

59. Garrisons at the Issos, Tyre, and in Egypt: Curt. 3. 7. 7, 4. 5. 9 ("praesidere"), and 4. 8. 4. Ekbatana: Diod. 17. 74. 3 (too late); Curt. 6. 2. 17 (at Hekatompylos); Plut. *Alex.* 42. 5; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 19. 5. From Egypt to Syria in 331: Diod. 17. 52. 6; Curt. 4. 8. 9–16; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 1–3; cf. Brunt 1976: 490–91; Engels 1978: 63–65; Bosworth 1980a: 278–85; Bosworth 1988a: 74–75.

60. Smith 1988: 35, pls. 76–79.

61. *BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia* 250 no. 50, pl. 38. 1; *SNG Deutschland, von Aulock* 12 (Berlin, 1964), no. 5206; Moreno 1987a: 100, fig. 49.

the city, but despite some success against his archers, they were held by the Agrianians until the phalanx, led by Alexander in person, could come up. Lacking defensive armor, they suffered heavy casualties and were driven back into the city, which Alexander then stormed at a cost of twenty-one men. The king then moved on into the hinterland, subduing the Pisidian citadels as he went.[62] There is no evidence that he destroyed Sagalassos before he left, but the ruins visible on the ground make it clear that it was thoroughly rebuilt in the Hellenistic period. The plan is Hippodamian, and though archaeological investigation has hardly begun, an early second-century heroon and other material have emerged.[63] The new city was probably founded under either Antigonos or the Seleukids. Since the Pisidians would never have erected a monument to their own defeat, the group reproduced on the coin must have been the work of colonists.

The group reduces the battle for the town to a foregone conclusion. Alexander, bareheaded, charges in from the left, wielding his *sarissa* overarm, while the Pisidian on the right runs away downhill, sword in hand, appealing to Zeus in exactly the same way as Darius appeals to Alexander on the Alexander Mosaic. The rock or ashlar block under his right foot may stand for the town's akropolis. If so, the fact that he shares it with Zeus's left foot is surely significant; the implication is that the king of the gods controls the citadel and has given it to the Macedonians. His pose is that of the late classical Lateran Poseidon.[64]

Here, then, Zeus points skyward to signify that Alexander's victory is preordained: his triumph is the fulfillment of heaven's will. As the king joins his father in the citadel, his *dynamis* becomes a function of Zeus's universal *archē*. In this respect the scene neatly complements that on the Smyrna coin (fig. 109), where Alexander is also shown as (potentially) the willing instrument of the gods. The distance from the Alexander Mosaic (color pl. 4) is clear: there, Alexander is on his own, subject only to the vagaries of chance, and the barbarians are proving to be tough foes indeed. This group, on the other hand, is cast in the mold of those numerous archaic and classical battle scenes where the gods ensure that their protégés triumph over all odds. It follows the encomiastic tradition of Kallisthenes' history (Chapter 1.1) and parallels the group in the Alexandrian Tychaion (S 4) and the pictures of Antiphilos, Protogenes, and Apelles (P 2–5). We have no idea what the Pisidians felt about the new city of Sagalassos, but this monument certainly suggests

62. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 28. 2–8.

63. *RE,* q.v.; *IstMitt* 29 (1979): 275–77; von Aulock 1979: 42–43; *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites,* q.v.; for the latest excavations see *Archäologische Bibliographie.*

64. Lateran Poseidon and derivations: Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 154, color pl. 25; Moreno 1987a: 159–64, figs. 94–95; Ridgway 1990: 125–26, fig. 67b; Stewart 1990: fig. 623.

that its colonists were anxious that the conqueror be thought invincible, and their own arrival accepted as the inevitable result of his conquests.[65]

3. ANTIGONOS, DEMETRIOS, SELEUKOS, AND LYSIMACHOS

Antigonos had been left behind by Alexander early in 333 to rule the expanded satrapy of Phrygia and therefore could not claim the same extended personal service with him as Ptolemy, Seleukos, and Lysimachos. Yet like the others he might still have exploited the king's image beyond merely continuing to mint his coin types, but for some reason chose not to. Indeed, if the rock-cut tomb at Termessos in Pisidia was carved out for Perdikkas's brother Alketas, whom he hounded to death there in late 319, his enemies seem to have utilized Alexander's image more effectively than he. The reliefs on the northwest side, though much damaged (fig. 113), show an Alexander-like warrior mounted on a massive horse, hovering above a warrior's panoply. He faces the funeral couch, which is surmounted by an eagle with a snake in its beak and surrounded by a complex array of symbols, including the heads of a bull and a satyr and two small figures who are perhaps Dionysos and Aphrodite. Though the Alexander symbolism is self-evident, and the eagle with prey announces future triumphs, the "message" of the whole is elusive.[66]

Unfortunately for the Perdikkan faction, the omen was not fulfilled for another eighteen years, long after the last of them, Eumenes, was dead. In the interim, the only attested portrait of Antigonos with Alexander was erected not in Asia but in Greece, by the Eleans (S 11: Chapter 9.4). The one allegedly included on the Alexander Sarcophagus (fig. 102) is, as we have seen, most uncertain; and finally, at Ipsos Antigonos's watchword was "Zeus and Victory," not "Alexander and Victory." The Greeks believed that this was why Alexander deserted him, costing him the battle and his life.[67]

Yet Antigonos, unlike Kassandros, had no cause to hate Alexander (he

65. The city's imperial coins allege Spartan ancestry (*BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia* 242 no. 13, 243 no. 18, 244 no. 25, pl. 38. 5): invented to boost confidence and overawe the neighbors?

66. Pekridou 1986; Ridgway 1990: 36–37, ills. 13–15. Antigonos and Alketas: Billows 1990: 71–80; on the eagle see *Il.* 12. 199–229; Aisch. *Ag.* 105–20; Joseph. *AJ* 12. 4. 10, 225–27; cf. M. Schmidt, "Adler und Schlange: Ein griechisches Bildzeichen für die Dimension der Zukunft," *Boreas* 6 (1983): 61–71, esp. 71 on the Termessos scene. Antigonos's posthumous Alexander coins: Mørkholm 1991: 61 and pl. 5. 80–86.

67. Plut. *Demetr.* 29. 2.

was among the very few officers whom the king trusted to the end), and it is possible that policy, not sentiment, dictated this apparent indifference to his sovereign's memory. Alexander's treatment of the East Greek cities, for example, was far less liberal than that to which Antigonos pledged himself in his declaration of Greek freedom at Tyre in 314 and his constitution for the revived League of Corinth in 302.[68] In his relations with the Greeks this "oldest and greatest of the Successors of Alexander" (Plut. *Demetr.* 3) perhaps preferred to stay away from the long shadow of his former sovereign. His son Demetrios, who had barely reached his teens when Alexander died, was even more radical. Though he continued to mint posthumous Alexanders at the eastern mints he controlled, and struck more in the Peloponnese for his invasion of Asia in the mid-280s, if any portrait went on his coins it was his own, furnished with the bull's horns of the sea-god Poseidon.[69]

The Antigonids' main rival for the kingdom of Asia was Seleukos. Awarded the satrapy of Babylonia at Triparadeisos, he was driven from it by Antigonos in 315 and had to take refuge with Ptolemy. He spent the next three years commanding a Ptolemaic fleet, but after Ptolemy's victory over Demetrios at Gaza in late 312 was able to borrow a thousand men to engineer his return. According to Diodoros, he at once invoked Alexander's name and reputation to boost his claim to kingship.[70] As argued in Chapter 9.2, the story is obviously apocryphal, but still revealing, for he probably invented and circulated it a few years later, when further triumphs in the East prompted him to take the diadem for himself.

For in 308, having expelled Antigonos from Babylonia, Seleukos began to turn his attentions to recovering Alexander's legacy in the Upper Satrapies. The next year, like Alexander before him, he invaded the Iranian plateau, then moved on Baktria, reconquering it in two seasons' campaigning. At this point, buoyed by his success, and hearing that Antigonos had assumed the diadem after defeating Ptolemy at Salamis, he proclaimed himself king.[71] Still retracing Alexander's footsteps, he then crossed the Hindu Kush and invaded India. There, however, he met not a motley array of local potentates but the formidable Chandragupta, who had already forged an empire that spanned

68. Diod. 19. 61. 1–5; Plut. *Demetr.* 25; on these events see Billows 1990: 113–15, 199–205, 228–30.

69. Newell 1927, with revisions by Stewart 1984; le Rider 1986: 7; Mørkholm 1991: 77–81 and pl. 10. 161–74.

70. Diod. 19. 90. 3–4 (apparently based on a letter of Seleukos to Ptolemy: 19. 92. 5). Seleukos and Alexander: Hadley 1974a: 52–63; Errington 1976: 156–57; Goukowsky 1978: 125–31; Holt 1988: 99–100; Grainger 1990: index, s.v. "Alexander." Yet the dating of the coins upon which many of Hadley's and Goukowsky's conclusions are based has now been substantially revised: see below.

71. Diod. 20. 53. 4, between March 305 and March 304: Gruen 1985: 258–59.

most of northern India. Crossing the Indus, Seleukos met him in battle, but this encounter was to turn out quite differently from Alexander's clash with Porus. The Greek sources do not describe what happened, but they are quite clear that he was forced to withdraw from India and to cede the Indus Valley. In return, Chandragupta gave him no less than five hundred elephants, a figure that has often been doubted, but for no good reason. This treaty was probably made in 303, for by late 302 Seleukos was back in Babylonia, ready to face Antigonos once more. At least four hundred of the elephants survived the journey westward, and when the two armies clashed at Ipsos in the following year, they proved decisive.[72]

Two coin types are connected with these events.[73] The first (fig. 114) is rare and comprises only gold double darics and bronze units. The obverse carries a head of Alexander wearing an elephant skin; the reverses have the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ and sometimes an anchor, sometimes a Nike holding either a crown or a crown and *stylis*; in the latter case a small horned head of a horse or an anchor is also included in the field. The second type (figs. 115–16) is a relatively large issue that covers the full range of silver denominations from tetradrachm to obol. Its obverse features a youthful male head wearing a helmet covered with a panther skin and embellished with the horns and ears of a bull, and another panther skin knotted around the neck; its reverse shows a Nike crowning a trophy, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, "of King Seleukos."

The two issues were formerly attributed to the mints of Persepolis, Susa, and Ekbatana. The elephant-skin type was dated to ca. 305–300 and connected with the Indian campaign, and the panther-skin type was considered to be a victory coinage struck after Ipsos in 301. Recently, however, it has been shown that the former was only minted at Ekbtana, the latter only at Susa. Furthermore, both types must begin before Ipsos; the second, however, continues into the reign of Antiochos I. The head wearing the elephant skin has long been identified as Alexander, and the other as Seleukos, but in 1974 it was remarked that Seleukos, who never otherwise put his head on his coins, would not have been shown with divine attributes in his lifetime. He also looks quite different on the posthumous issues of his son Antiochos and his vassal Philetairos. This head too must be Alexander. The circulation of these

72. App. *Syr.* 55; Strabo 15. 2. 9, 724; Just. *Epit.* 15. 4. 11–21; Plut. *Alex.* 62. 4; cf. Fraser 1979: 12; Schober 1981: 140–93; Grainger 1990: 107–17 (much exaggerating his territorial concessions: better, Tarn [1951]1985: 100). Elephants at Ipsos: Diod. 20. 113. 4 (480); Plut. *Demetr.* 18 (400).

73. For descriptions and bibliography see Appendix 4.

types is restricted to Mesopotamia and Iran, though a few later imitations of the panther-skin type do occur farther east in Baluchistan.[74]

The elephant-skin issue is the more problematic, for it offers no points of contact with other dated Seleukid coins. The obverse clearly imitates Ptolemy's elephant-skin tetradrachms of series (ii)D (color pl. 8; figs. 78–79), but this does not help much, for it only places the Seleukid pieces in the last decade of the century; the Nike on the reverse echoes that on Alexander's gold staters (fig. 29). Nor does the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ necessarily indicate a date prior to Seleukos's assumption of the diadem in 305/304, for his later coins also sometimes carry this legend. It must clearly be connected with the Eastern campaign, and since it is so rare, one is tempted to see the gold as a presentation issue and the bronze as an imitation. The horned horse, a common symbol on his coins, does double duty as both Boukephalas and the horse upon which he fled to Antigonos in 315: he was to dedicate a marble version of it at Antioch soon after 301, which could still be seen there in Justinian's reign, over eight hundred years later.[75] If he reached the Hydaspes during his invasion of India, Seleukos could easily have crossed it at the twin cities of Boukephalia (where Boukephalas was buried) and Nikaia.[76]

In this context, the type's reversion to the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ would not have gone unnoticed. The king's elephant skin would certainly have recalled Alexander's invincible power, as on the Ptolemaic coins, even if it did not refer directly to the Indian campaign or the results of the treaty with Chandragupta. Ptolemy's coins would not, of course, have circulated in Iran, so the plagiarism probably remained undetected. In 301, the elephants thus gained defeated Antigonos One-Eye at Ipsos: this is the triumph commemorated from Susa to Baktra in the eastern mints' massive issues of elephant-biga and elephant-quadriga silver. In all cases the chariot carries a fighting Athena, the patroness of Alexander's expedition, and minting continues throughout Seleukos's reign: clearly the treaty and its aftermath at Ipsos remained central to Seleukos's rhetoric of power in the East. As for the anchor, which also appears on the elephant and other issues as a countermark, this was Seleukos's personal talisman: he had an anchor-shaped birthmark on his

74. Newell 1938a: 109, 112–15, 154–61, 170–71, 174, 269; revised by Hadley 1974b (portraits); Houghton 1980; Houghton 1983: 102–3, 108–9 (dates and mints); for Seleukos's portraits see Smith 1988: pls. 16 and 76. 1–2; Stewart 1990: figs. 630–31. My sincere thanks to Stephen Glover and Arthur Houghton for their help with this material.

75. John Malalas *Chronogr.*, p. 202 Bonn; discussion: Newell 1938a: 43–44. The monument included a gilded bronze helmet and dedicatory inscription.

76. Boukephalia and Nikaia: Strabo 15. 1. 29, 698; Diod. 17. 95. 5; Curt. 9. 1. 6 and 3. 23; Just. *Epit.* 12. 8. 8; Arr. *Anab.* 5. 19. 4–5.

thigh, discovered an anchor on his way to Babylon in 311, and used a signet ring engraved with an anchor.[77]

The panther-skin type (figs. 115–16) precedes Ipsos, but not by more than two or three years. The legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ certifies a date after 305/304, and the series is preceded by standard posthumous Alexanders with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.[78] On the other side, connections with the elephant-biga tetradrachms of Susa show that these were introduced soon after the panther-skin type. This biga series, in turn, is contemporary with the elephant-quadriga series of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, a city that, it is now generally agreed, was founded shortly after Ipsos.[79]

The panther-skin type therefore begins either after the conquest of the Upper Satrapies and Baktria or after the treaty with Chandragupta. Not only was the panther Dionysos' special animal, as explained in Chapter 8.2, but the bull's horns on the helmet would have spoken to both Asians and Greeks together. The former would have read them as a generalized symbol of Alexander's divinity—a Mesopotamian convention since the third millennium B.C.—and the latter as a specific allusion to Dionysos Tauros.[80] This coin type, then, is the earliest hard evidence for Alexander's assimilation to the conquering Dionysos, though, as suggested in Chapter 1.1, Kleitarchos's history may have priority here. Alexander's Dionysiac attributes would certainly be appropriate to either campaign, and especially to the Indian one. For Seleukos to be proclaiming his Indian adventures as a resounding victory is no problem, for he would never have presented them otherwise.[81]

Unfortunately, though, the armor on the trophy is wholly Greek, which forces one to argue that if the series indeed celebrated the "victory" over Chandragupta, its designer either did not know or did not care what Indian armor looked like. This seems strange for a victory issue, particularly as Iran was Seleukos's principal recruiting ground, and these coins would surely have passed through the hands of veterans returning from the campaign. Since

77. App. *Syr.* 56; Just. *Epit.* 15. 4. 4–9; cf. Newell 1938a: 44, 112; Hadley 1974a: 60–61; Grainger 1990: 2; Mørkholm 1991: 71, pl. 8. 132–33, 135–36.

78. Newell 1938a: nos. 283–97; Houghton 1980: pl. 1. 4 and 26; Houghton 1983: no. 1021. The panther-skin type's reverse was perhaps modeled on Agathokles' silver in far-off Sicily, though his Nike actually hammers the helmet on the trophy: cf. Giesecke 1923: 89–92, pl. 21. 2, 3, 8; Buda 1969–70: 200 (series 2.B, 1–2), 204–5; Ierardi 1990: passim.

79. See Newell 1938a: nos. 29ff., 307–8, 316–17, 657ff., 746; Houghton 1983: nos. 914ff., 1027ff., 1280ff. Foundation of Seleukeia: Hadley 1978; Houghton 1980: 9 n. 6; Houghton 1983: 94 n. 1. Grainger 1990: 100–102 reverts to the old date of ca. 307, but as usual he seriously undervalues the numismatic evidence.

80. The earliest example is the Stele of Naram-Sin: Pritchard 1969: fig. 309.

81. This date resolves the puzzle that Alexander-Dionysos is inappropriate to Ipsos, and that a "victory" coinage for a battle in the West circulated only in the East.

they are the first that Seleukos struck under his own name, it is perhaps safest to see them as designed in the first place to celebrate his assumption of the diadem and the event that prompted it, his reconquest of the Upper Satrapies in 305. This would also help to explain the longevity of the series.[82]

These two coin types, then, emphasized Seleukos's fitness to step into Alexander's shoes as king of Asia. Those who used them at Susa and Ekbatana, the heart of the old Persian empire, will not have forgotten that he was the only one of Alexander's officers who had not repudiated the Persian wife, Apama, allotted to him in the great ceremony at Susa in 324. By keeping her, he presented himself as Alexander's legitimate successor in the region, presumably hoping to conciliate the Iranian aristocracy in much the same way. Furthermore, like Roxane, Apama was from Baktria—precisely the area Seleukos reconquered in 307–303.[83] As to the eclipse of both issues by the elephant-biga and elephant-quadriga coins after Ipsos, this indicates that Seleukos now preferred an image of more universal significance. Circulating primarily in the East, they erased any lingering memories of defeat on the Indus by announcing that the proceeds from the campaign had been instrumental in the task of regaining the West.

Seleukos issued large quantities of posthumous Alexanders from both his eastern mints and the western ones he inherited after Ipsos, and also continued to give the horned horse a prominent place on his coins. The horse recurs on his only new Alexander coinage from this period, ridden by a man with flying chlamys and horned helmet.[84] Yet this issue, of drachms and hemidrachms, is extremely rare, and we have no evidence that Seleukos commissioned portraits of the king in any other medium. His own portrait, while borrowing from the vocabulary of charismatic kingship invented by Lysippos and others, is as different from Alexander's as could be.[85] He was, after all, almost sixty at the turn of the century. Of course, the written evidence deteriorates rapidly after 301, and the few surviving descriptions of his newly founded cities are woefully incomplete, but it does seem that with the exception of these few coins he deliberately sought to avoid directly evoking Alexander in these years, preferring to allow the comparison to emerge by indirection. A classic example is his victory issue that celebrated the defeat of Lysimachos at Korypedion in 281: it features the familiar horned horse on the obverse and

82. The bull helmet could refer to Dionysos Tauros, to Seleukos's own bull-like strength (T 149; App. *Syr.* 57; Libanius 11, p. 466, 13), or both: yet Fuhrmann 1931: 349 n. 153; Michel 1967: 32–33 n. 7; and Smith 1988: 44–45 rightly note that the helmet type is not unknown elsewhere and was even worn by other Hellenistic kings.

83. Apama: Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 6; cf. Strabo 16. 2. 4, 750; Grainger 1990: index, q.v.

84. For bibliography see Appendix 4.

85. Smith 1988: pl. 16; Stewart 1990: fig. 630.

an elephant on the reverse, with an anchor and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ.[86]

Between Ipsos and Korypedion, Lysimachos had not been idle. Before 301 this thuggish ex-bodyguard of Alexander had been a relatively minor player on the field, controlling only what is now European Turkey and the Black Sea coast as far as the Danube. His position was precarious at best, and Kassandros (his brother-in-law and closest ally) even seems to have minted his coins for him. Ipsos was his salvation, gaining him title to the whole of Asia Minor as far as the Tauros Mountains, excepting those parts of the south that were held by Ptolemy. His appetite whetted, Lysimachos at once set about securing this enormous territory. By 294 he had taken a major stride towards doing so by expelling Demetrios Poliorketes from his last strongholds on the coast. Disaffection in Macedon soon presented him with another opportunity for expansion at Demetrios's expense. By 285 he had expelled both him and Pyrrhos from the country and annexed Thessaly as well. With these new acquisitions he reached the height of his power.[87]

And power required money. After assuming the diadem in 305 or 304, Lysimachos had begun minting small change at his new capital of Lysimacheia on the Hellespont, using Philip II's types but adding the letters ΛΥ and the forepart of a lion, his personal badge. He was a formidable hunter and had had several narrow escapes: according to one (surely apocryphal) story, Alexander once even shut him up in a lion's cage, and he used to show the scars with pride.[88] Ipsos brought him Antigonos's old mints in Anatolia (which Antigonos in turn had inherited from Alexander), but Lysimachos continued to mint their time-honored Alexander types, adding only his lion monogram and shortly thereafter the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ. In 297, though, Kassandros's death seems to have stimulated him to a complete reorganization of his finances. A new Alexander type was designed that not only paid proper respect to the past but also betrayed his own ambitions (color pl. 8; fig. 117).[89]

The design was the work of a master, whose very anonymity has sent scholars scurrying around for a name. Pyrgoteles is the favorite candidate, even though the sole fact we know about him is that he flourished a quarter-century before (T 54, 56, 154).[90] As suggested in Chapter 9.4, whoever he

86. Newell 1941: no. 1528; Andronikos et al. 1980, Boston Supplement: no. 3; Houghton 1983: no. 633; Mørkholm 1991: 75–76 and pl. 9. 157; minted at Pergamon.

87. Cf. Walbank and Astin 1984: 110–13; Green 1990: 121–32. Lysimachos's money: Thompson 1968 (publishing Newell's notes, left unfinished at his death in 1941); Mørkholm 1991: 81–82, pl. 11. 176–84; and for a revisionist account of his finances see Burstein 1984.

88. Curt. 8. 1. 14–19. The cage: Val. Max. 9. 3., ext. 1; Just. *Epit.* 15. 3. 7–9; Sen. *Ira* 3. 17. 2; Pliny, *HN* 8. 54; Plut. *Demetr.* 27. 3; Paus. 1. 9. 5.

89. For bibliography see Appendix 4.

90. E.g., Bernoulli 1905: 28; Guépin 1964; Pollitt 1986: 26.

was, it is just possible that he took Alexander's cult statue on Thasos (fig. 96) as his source of inspiration. On the obverse is Alexander, diademed and wearing the horn of Ammon, and on the reverse is the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ and a seated, armed Athena who holds out a Nike to crown the first letter of Lysimachos's name. As Lysimachos acquired more mints and opened some new ones of his own, this money poured forth in huge quantities. Its uniformity is extraordinary and its circulation extremely wide, with some examples traveling as far as Baktria. His main source was probably loot (bullion or already coined silver), taken first from Antigonos and later from Macedonia and the tyrants of Herakleia Pontica.

This huge outlay of coinage raises problems too complex to be addressed here. Though a preliminary classification of mints and issues has been made,[91] numismatists have yet to organize, attribute, and publish most of the material, and historians have yet to decide how to integrate it into their accounts of Lysimachos's career. His reputation as an extortionist and miser is well established, chiefly on the evidence of a few colorful anecdotes and some highly equivocal inscriptions, but money in the ancient world was struck to be used: Lysimachos did not coin all this cash in order to hoard it, but to spend it. After 301 he undertook the construction or reconstruction of five great cities in Anatolia (Ilion, Alexandria Troas, Nikaia, Ephesos, and Smyrna). In 287, too, he rebuilt his capital, Lysimacheia, after its destruction by earthquake. During this time he was almost continually at war, mostly fighting Demetrios but also Pyrrhos, the Paionians, the Bithynians, and Herakleia Pontica. Largesse to allies such as Athens, which received 130 talents, consumed yet more funds.[92]

Numismatists have also been puzzled by the iconography of these coins: specifically, why did Lysimachos choose Alexander-Ammon? Some have speculated that his second wife, Ptolemy's daughter Arsinoe, was an enthusiastic devotee of the god; others that he was publicizing Alexander's desertion of the Antigonid cause at Ipsos.[93] Yet all of this is beside the point, for by the early third century Ammon's relationship to Alexander had acquired a very specific cast. The "Vulgate"/Kleitarchan version of the events at Siwah was almost certainly in circulation by then, and in it the god made the king two promises: he would rule the world, and he would be invincible until he rejoined the gods.[94] So besides certifying Alexander as Ammon's son, the ram's

91. Thompson 1968.

92. Ilion and Alexandria Troas: Strabo 13. 1. 26, 593; Nikaia: Strabo 12. 7, 565; Ephesos: Strabo 14. 21, 640; Paus. 1. 9. 7; cf. 7. 3. 4–5; earthquake at Lysimacheia: Just. *Epit.* 17. 1. 2; Athens: *IG* ii². 657. Cf. Burstein 1984: 58.

93. Cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 29. 1; discussion: Hadley 1974a: 63.

94. Diod. 17. 51. 1–3; Curt. 4. 7. 25–27; Just. *Epit.* 11. 11. 7–11; cf. Plut. *Alex.* 27. 5–7.

horn signaled universal hegemony, and the diadem affirmed that the god's promise had come true.

Such allusions would be reasonably innocent were coins not two-sided. On the reverse, Athena Nikephoros, Alexander's mighty patroness, now transfers her sponsorship to Lysimachos. The implication is clear: both king and goddess are Lysimachos's divine sponsors. He is the heir to Alexander's legacy—Macedon, Asia, and all—and intends to administer it with the same pragmatism and ruthless efficiency as his mentor. The only Successor to create an absolutely uniform coinage, he certainly deserved the sarcastic nickname "Treasurer," bestowed upon him at the court of Demetrios.[95] Yet Lysimachos was deadly serious. Like Alexander's, his coinage was intended both to give him as much fiscal control as possible over his heterogeneous kingdom and to foster a sense of unity and common purpose among its parts.

Lysimachos signaled his intentions in other ways too. His choice of the name Alexander for one of his sons; his announcement to the Macedonians in 285 that he came as a "friend and confidant of Alexander" (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 12. 7); his attention to Athena at Ilion (where in 334 Alexander had sacrificed to Achilles and appropriated some of his armor: cf. Chapter 3.4); and his refoundation of Antigoneia as Alexandria Troas—all point in the same direction.[96] Indeed, Alexandria Troas is the *only* certain example of a city founded after Alexander's death that was given his name.[97]

As time passes, however, one notices an increasing stridency in the rhetoric. Beginning as a relatively self-contained image, set on a more-or-less upright neck, Alexander's visage becomes increasingly expressive and *pathos*-riven. The head covers more of the flan, the neck strains forward, the chin juts, the nose is more prominent, the eyes are bigger and more deep-set, the forehead bulges to a greater degree, and the hair becomes wilder. This is exactly the reverse of what happens in Egypt (figs. 77–79), and a purely formalist explanation is no more satisfactory here than there: for now many mints are involved, all apparently proceeding in the same direction simultaneously.[98]

These developments certainly testify to Lysimachos's growing ambitions but perhaps also hint at weakness within. He was now in his seventies, and his kingdom was a patchwork, lacking firm ties to the center and kept to-

95. Plut. *Demetr.* 25. 4; *Mor.* 823C–D; Phylarchos *apud* Ath. 6, 261b (*FGH* 81 F 31). The same courtiers dubbed Ptolemy "nauarch," Seleukos "elephantarch," and Agathokles "nesiarch." The drinking party is often dated to the period before Ipsos, but as Gruen 1985: 259–60 remarks, the omission of Kassandros and other details suggest the 290s.

96. On these see especially Strabo 13. 1. 26, 593.

97. Cf. Errington 1976: 165–66.

98. Thompson 1968: 167.

gether largely by intimidation. When in 283 intrigue split his court down the middle, prompting him to execute his able son Agathokles, his authority too began to crack. Soon Philetairos, governor of Pergamon and keeper of nine thousand talents of his treasure, began to intrigue with Seleukos.[99] Within a year the game was up. The aged Seleukos seized the initiative, defeating and killing the almost equally aged Lysimachos at Korypedion in 281. He then crossed the Hellespont into Europe but was assassinated in the moment of triumph—ironically, at Lysimacheia.

Though Lysimachos's empire immediately disintegrated, his coins continued to circulate. The cities soon began to produce imitations, just as they had already started to imitate Alexander's Herakles tetradrachms. For Lysimacheia and cities around the Sea of Marmara like Byzantion (fig. 122), Kalchedon, and Kyzikos (which had never been subject to Lysimachos) this apparently signaled a distinct reluctance to accept Seleukid suzerainty in the troubled years after 281. Yet this coinage enjoyed more than temporary success. For reasons that will be investigated in the Epilogue, it remains next in popularity to the posthumous Alexanders in most third-century hoards, though it never approaches them numerically.[100] One even made it as far as Baktria, where it was found in the Oxus Treasure: this, in turn, brings us to our final monument.

The Alexander-Ammon gem in Oxford (figs. 118–19), a tourmaline ring stone, is one of several that display the same iconography as the Lysimachos coins. Bought in Beirut, it carries a tiny inscription below Alexander's neck in a script that has been identified as Kharoshthi or (more probably) Brahmi.[101] Both were in use in northwestern India and Baktria in the third century B.C., and the small size of the letters has prompted speculation that this is the artist's signature rather than the owner's. In any case, the inscription proves that the gem was either made in the Far East or subsequently found its way there, presumably during the third or second century.[102] As it happens, excavation of the early Hellenistic levels at Taxila has yielded several fine gems in pure Greek style, though none of them carry portraits.[103]

99. Strabo 13. 4. 1, 623; Paus. 1. 10. 4.

100. Le Rider 1986: 10–11, 14–27. On the Propontis area after 281 see Grainger 1990: 192–210.

101. For bibliography see Appendix 4.

102. Kharoshthi: Boardman and Vollenwieder 1978: no. 280 (*na-ta-bhu*). Brahmi: Professors Barend A. Van Nooten and Joanna Williams, in a personal communication, 1987 (*jha-la-bhu*). *Bhu* means "the man from," but the other two syllables remain problematic. On the distribution of Kharoshthi and Brahmi inscriptions and its consequences for chronology, see Narain 1987; implicitly contradicted by Bernard 1985a, who establishes that Ai Khanoum was indeed occupied before 300.

103. Young 1946: 27, 33–34, and pl. XB.

Three questions remain: the date of the stone, its relation to the Lysimachos coins (color pl. 8; fig. 117), and its function. Any opinion about the first depends to some extent upon one's answer to the second: do both coins and gem derive from a common prototype, or did the coins inspire the gem? Those who ascribe the design to Pyrgoteles favor the first of these alternatives, while those who point to the existence of later gems of this type seem to prefer the second.[104] Full publication of the coins would help to resolve the question, but even among those already published there are several that have much in common with the gem stylistically; the dot in the eye is also a standard feature (fig. 117). The horn curving around behind the ear, however, is relatively rare; it usually crosses over it, is never tucked in behind it on the early issues, and only sometimes on the later ones. These later coins offer the best parallels for Alexander's thrusting neck and dense, muscular modeling.

To defend the thesis of a common prototype, then, one must argue that gem engraver and die sinkers developed the new-style horn, thrusting neck, and powerful facial modeling independently. It is easier to assume that the engraver was looking to the coins, copying one of them at about the same scale. His style seems very Greek, though the stylization of the neck hair into an upside-down palmette could betray a non-Greek hand. Regardless of his race, he was a master engraver, Greek-trained and fit to be ranked with the best that the Hellenistic world could produce. Since there is no trace of baroque theatricality in his work, we may tentatively date it to around 280–250, but not much later.[105]

Any answer to the question of function depends upon which side of the Hindu Kush the gem's owner lived—in Seleukid-controlled Baktria or in Maurya-controlled India. Greeks lived on both sides of the great divide: Seleukos colonized Baktria extensively in the early third century, and the remaining Greeks to the east of it were well treated by their Mauryan rulers. One can easily imagine why one of these men would want such a ring, but an Indian owner seems less easy to explain. Yet Chandragupta reportedly honored Alexander and said that he all but conquered his empire for him, and his grandson Ashoka (reigned, ca. 269–228) invited Greeks to settle in India; in his famous bilingual inscription at Kandahar, he even exhorted them to

104. Pyrgoteles: Boardman 1970: 360; Pollitt 1986: 26. Copied from the coins: Gebauer 1939: 22; Zazoff 1983: 199–200.

105. Contrast, for example, the very "baroque" cameo of this type in the Bibliothèque Nationale (E. Babelon, *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes* [Paris, 1897], no. 222; Gebauer 1939: G36/1), perhaps contemporary with the late third- and early second-century posthumous Alexanders illustrated in Mørkholm 1991: pls. 30–33.

heed the precepts of Buddhism.[106] One of his subjects or governors might well have wanted a portrait of the man who had turned both West and East upside down and paved the way for the subcontinent's first great empire.

This splendid gem is the last of the early Hellenistic Alexanders that will concern us in this book. Korypedion and its sequel were recognized in antiquity as a turning point in Hellenistic history: "the final contest of Alexander's marshals, and an example of fortune equally denied" (Just. *Epit.* 17. 1. 9). Those who now assumed the mantle of the Successors—Antigonos Gonatas, Antiochos Soter, and Ptolemy Philadelphos—were more sober men and had grudgingly come to accept their divided heritage. Never touched by Alexander's magic, they had long ceased to think of emulating the heroes, of seizing whole continents at a blow. In this sadder but wiser world, Alexander would have only a minor part to play—until the coming of Rome.

106. Chandragupta: Plut. *Mor.* 542D; *Alex.* 62. 9; like Hamilton 1969: 175, I see no reason why all this should be apocryphal: so Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 283 and Tarn (1951)1985: 155; Grainger 1990: 108. Ashoka: see Fraser 1979: n. 18 for his dates and that of the bilingual inscription.

EPILOGUE

RESURRECTIONS

Alexander's image did not fade with the passing of the Successors. His statues still stood, his cults in the Greek and Asian cities still functioned, and his coins and their imitations still continued to circulate. Indeed, as his coinage began to wear out and the kings began to supplement it with their own, civic issues of posthumous Alexanders and Lysimachi surged in numbers, flooding the market by the later third century (figs. 120, 122). The tide soon reached peoples he never conquered, like the Celts of Thrace and the Arabs of the Persian Gulf.[1] The styles of these images run the gamut from a cool neoclassicism to the most extroverted baroque, as moneyers sought to recast Alexander in the leadership styles of their times.

Numismatists have often attempted to correlate these issues of posthumous Alexanders with political events, though since almost none of them is externally dated, circular argumentation is an ever-present hazard. In the Peloponnese, for example, Argos and Megalopolis struck a series of them in the mid-third century: should one therefore date them to the 260s, when the cities were ruled by pro-Macedonian tyrannies and fighting Athens and Sparta in the Chremonidean War? In Asia, mints from Herakleia Pontica in the north to Rhodes in the south and along the coast to Side in Pamphylia produced vast quantities of them around 220–190 (fig. 120), when Philip V, Antiochos III, and eventually the Romans contended for control of the region.

Yet other posthumous Alexander issues cannot be pigeonholed so neatly. Chios produced a few tetradrachms around 280, some drachms perhaps a little later, a large issue of tetradrachms from ca. 270 to ca. 220, and another (the final one) from ca. 202 to ca. 190. Only the last of these correlates with known military activity. Finally, much of the Pamphylian production found

1. Le Rider 1986; Mørkholm 1991: 137–48; and for the Arabian Alexanders, Arnold-Biucchi 1991.

its way to Syria in the dark days after the Peace of Apameia in 188, when the Romans forced Antiochos III to evacuate Asia west of the Tauros Mountains and to pay them a huge indemnity, draining his kingdom of silver. Syrian countermarks certified the imported Alexanders as legal tender. Locally minted ones had to undergo no such scrutiny: the posthumous Alexanders of Arados, for example, bear no countermarks, for the city remained in the Seleukid sphere.

Baktria helps to prove the rule. There, around 190–170, Agathokles issued a posthumous Alexander type (fig. 121) as part of an impressive series of so-called pedigree tetradrachms honoring Alexander, Antiochos Nikator, Diodotos Soter, Diodotos Theos, Euthydemos Theos, Demetrios Aniketos, and Pantaleon Soter.[2] In each case Agathokles stresses that the honor is posthumous and that he is the reigning monarch by the unusual expedient of the genitive absolute, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, "[Issued] in the reign of Agathokles the Just." Recent study has tended to vindicate Tarn's thesis that these coins, along with others of Agathokles' contemporary, Antimachos, were struck in connection with their struggle against the usurper Eukratides; a division of the kingdom between them seems likely, though the details remain obscure.

Yet many other aspects of Tarn's reconstruction are untenable, particularly his contention that the coins present a (fictitious) pedigree associating the two kings with Alexander via the Seleukids.[3] Since Antimachos and Agathokles not only give cult epithets to all the men they honored but style themselves Theos and Dikaios, respectively (the first Baktrian kings to do so), it seems more likely that a newly founded ruler cult furnished the occasion. As in any power struggle, the overriding issue was legitimacy, and their address to it was both ingenious and innovative. It was also, ultimately, ineffective.[4] Eukratides won, took the title "The Great," issued the most sumptuous victory coinage the Greek world ever saw—a gold twenty-stater medallion—and promptly fell victim to the dagger of his own son.[5]

So while military necessity might prompt a city or a king to strike posthumous Alexanders, such action constitutes a special case within a general rule. These coins were a truly international currency, symbols of Greco-Macedonian *aretē*, to be sure, but otherwise ideologically neutral and accepted by all—kings, cities, merchants, mercenaries, and "barbarians" together. Converted into the common coin of all Greeks, Alexander's charisma was at

2. For description and bibliography see Appendix 4.

3. Tarn (1951)1985: 201–7, 446–51; *contra*, Holt 1984; most recently, O. Bopearachchi in Mørkholm 1991: 196.

4. Paraphrasing Holt 1984: 80.

5. Just. *Epit.* 41. 6. 5; for the medallion see Head 1911: 838–39, fig. 369.

last fully integrated into Hellenistic society. The posthumous Lysimachoi can be classified in much the same way, though their area of circulation was more limited, for they were mostly struck by the commercial centers that lined the Black Sea and its approaches (fig. 122). Here, they serviced not only a regional economy of considerable importance, but also the menacing Thracian tribes of the interior, who preferred their extortion money in this form above all others. Along with the cities that Lysimachos founded, this strong regional currency was the most lasting legacy of his reign.

By the same token, when the two types began to disappear, ideology seems to have played little or no role in the process. Despite attempts to link the phenomenon with Roman distaste for Alexander and all he stood for, even with his newly found role as a figurehead of Greek resistance to Rome, it now seems that the solution is not nearly so simple.[6] The latest posthumous Alexanders of Sikyon and Argos, for example, occur only in early second-century hoards from Asia Minor, prompting the speculation that they were minted to pay Achaian League troops operating there in 192–190. These men, however, fought on the side of Rome, not against her. The posthumous Lysimachoi of Byzantion (fig. 122) continue deep into the first century, even though the city concluded an alliance with Rome in 148 or perhaps even before and took the Roman side during the struggle with Mithradates VI of Pontos (fig. 139).[7] Until he too went down to defeat, Rome's control of Greek affairs was always intermittent, usually indirect, and generally heedless of the minutiae of numismatic iconography.

As to Macedon, when Macedonian silver disappeared from Greece for a generation after 196, it was probably not by Roman decree. Instead, at least three factors seem to have been at work: Flamininus's success in isolating the kingdom from Greek affairs, the transfer of vast quantities of silver to Italy in the form of booty and Philip V's huge indemnity, and the Greek cities' renewed commitment to monetary unity and immediate production of large issues of federal coin types (*argyria symmachika*).[8] The Romans did not directly interfere in the Macedonian economy until 167, and even then they merely closed the mines for a while; Delian inscriptions and hoard evidence prove that posthumous Alexanders and the coins of the defeated Perseus continued to circulate even then.[9] Though the Romans were ultrasensitive to the charge

6. So Giovannini 1978, demolished by Crawford 1985: 116–32.

7. Coins: Seyrig 1968; Price 1968: 9–10, pl. 4; Thompson 1973; Mørkholm 1991: 147, pl. 34. 498–99. Treaty and pro-Roman stance in Mithradatic Wars: Cic. *Prov. cons.* 4. 6; Tac. *Ann.* 12. 62; comments: Gruen 1984: 22 n. 50.

8. Crawford 1985: 123–27; cf. Mørkholm 1991: 150–51, 154; and Polyb. 2. 37. 10.

9. Mines: Livy 45. 18. 3; 45. 29. 11; Diod. 31. 8. 7. Delos: *Inscriptions de Délos* 1443 AI, line 148; 1449 AabII, line 22; 1450 A, lines 101 and 112.

that Alexander could easily have invaded Italy and taken Rome,[10] they were quite content to leave his ghost to preside over the ruins of Hellenistic finances in the East. Indeed the thought (if it ever occurred to them) might well have given them a certain wry satisfaction. What really sealed the fate of the posthumous Alexanders was not direct Roman intervention, but the indirect effect of their actions: an inexorable rise in the price of silver, which caused a rapid flight to lighter-weight coinages.[11]

In the case of Asia, the argument is even less compelling, for between the Romans' humiliation of Antiochos III at Apameia in 188 and their unexpected receipt of the Pergamene kingdom in Attalos III's will in 133, their involvement in the region's affairs was sporadic at best—and it is exactly in the middle of this period that the posthumous Alexanders disappear. Immediately after Apameia demand for them had blossomed, as the cities enthusiastically embraced them for their ideological neutrality and universal acceptability. Soon, though, Eumenes II of Pergamon did much to limit their utility in his greatly enlarged territories with the imposition of his own lightweight cistophoric coinage, attempting to convert his domain into a closed monetary system like the Ptolemaic, and as the cities outside Pergamene control started to make alliances and to form confederacies, they began converting to their own special "alliance" coinages. Though posthumous Alexanders were struck in Pamphylia into the 170s, providing the main currency of the silver-starved Seleukids for a good part of the period, by 166 they had passed into history.[12]

The last Alexander coinage of the Hellenistic world was struck not by Greeks, Macedonians, or Eastern monarchs, but by a Roman. Aesillas, quaestor of Macedonia sometime in the early first century, put his name on a huge series of tetradrachms and some rare drachms that bore Alexander's horned head on the obverse and a club between a quaestor's stool and a money chest on the reverse (fig. 123). No fewer than 80 obverse and 160 reverse dies have been recognized, enough to mint well over 500 talents' worth of coin, and perhaps as much as 1,600 talents.[13] Unfortunately Aesillas is otherwise unknown, but two other names also appear on the coins, PR CAE and SVVRA

10. Livy 9. 17–19; also Plut. *Mor.* 326A–C; cf. Chapter 1.1 and Gruen 1984: 327–28, 337–41 on anti-Roman pamphleteering during this period.

11. Silver shortage: Price 1991b: 79–80. Cf. Gruen 1984: 424–29; Crawford 1985: 128–32.

12. See Crawford 1985: 152–60; Mørkholm 1991: 171–73; Price 1991b: 79–80; and on Rome and Asia, Gruen 1984: 529–610; Green 1990: 414–52, 525–65.

13. For bibliography see Appendix 4. For the dies see Fisher 1985: 82–88; and for their longevity (variously estimated at between 10,000 and 30,000 strikings) see Kraay 1976: 16; Mørkholm 1991: 16; and Price 1991b: 66 n. 6. The exact figures are 4 drs. × 80 dies × 10,000 strikings = 3,200,000 drs., or 533.3 talents; the same × 30,000 strikings = 9,200,000 drs., or 1,599.9 talents.

LEG PRO Q. The first has often been identified with the L. Julius Caesar who was consul in 90 and who thus presumably served as praetor and governor of the province a few years earlier. The second could be Brettius Sura, legate of the governor C. Sentius in the war against Mithradates in 88.[14] For this and other reasons, the coins have traditionally been dated to 94–88 and connected with Roman attempts to mobilize either against the devastating barbarian invasions of those years or against Mithradates, whose armies actually occupied the province in 87 but were expelled the following year.[15]

Yet the normal abbreviation for Caesar is CAES, and the inscriptions naming a Caesar as Macedonia's governor are undated: CAE could be L. Caesar, consul of 64 (or someone else entirely), and SVVRA could be Lentulus Sura, his brother-in-law.[16] Furthermore, other numismatic evidence, including the appearance of Aesillas's tetradrachms in hoards, and one overstruck on an Athenian New Style coin that may belong in the 70s or even later, has suggested a radically lower chronology, from the early 70s to the early 60s.[17] Appeal to historical circumstance can do little to resolve the controversy, for although there was no military action in the early 60s to justify such a massive expenditure of funds, the year 84 brought a new barbarian invasion, and 77 inaugurated a series of successful Roman counteroffensives that ended in a triumph for M. Terentius Varro Lucullus in 71. Inscriptions show that throughout the period the Romans relentlessly exacted large cash contributions from the Greeks (Macedonians included?), and they used Macedonian

14. Plut. *Sull.* 11. 4; App. *Mith.* 29.

15. Barbarians: Livy, epitomes of books 74, 76, 81–83; Cic. *Pis.* 35 (84); Julius Obsequens 53; Oros. 5. 18. 30. Mithradates: App. *Mith.* 35, 41. Macedonian history under Rome: Papazoglu 1979: 316–18, who adheres to the traditional date of 94 for Caesar's governorship.

16. L. Caesar and Lentulus Sura: Mattingly 1979; cf. *IG* xii. 8. 232 and 241. Not Caesar: Grierson, note to Mørkholm 1991: 168.

17. The early 60s were first suggested by Lewis 1962: 296–99 and accepted by Mattingly 1979. Thompson 1973 and Bauslaugh 1987 defend the traditional date, while Burnett 1985 opts for the early 70s. Boehringer 1975, followed by Mørkholm 1991: 168, tries to have it both ways, returning to 94–88 but suggesting revivals "at intervals during the following decades"; Crawford 1985: 197 truncates this chronology, preferring the mid-80s to the mid-70s, "though it is not easy to see why the legend was immobilized in this way." Yet as Grierson indicates in his note to Mørkholm's text, the coins clearly form a compact group and should be dated as such. Dr. Yannis Akamatis informs me that no Aesillas coins appear in the destruction deposit at Pella, apparently caused by a catastrophic earthquake in the late 90s. The many datable objects include Athenian New Style tetradrachms of Xenokles and Harmoxenos, mint magistrates in 95/94 according to Lewis's low chronology—which this deposit strongly supports: I. M. Akamatis, "Νομισματικός θησαυρός από την αγορά της Πέλλας," ΤΟ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΕΡΓΟ ΣΤΗ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΑΚΗ 1 (Thessalonike, 1987), 125–36 and 515 (English summary); id., "Προσθέτα ανασκαφικά στοιχεία γιά τη χρονολογήση της καταστροφής της αγοράς της Πέλλας," *Egnatia* 1 (1989): 173–91, 192–93 (English summary).

troops not only to repel Mithradates and the barbarians, but even in Italy itself: a contingent accompanied Sulla there in 83, helping to establish him in Rome as dictator.[18]

While it would be nicely ironic to have a Roman quaestor using Alexander coins to pay Macedonians to fight a Pontic king of Iranian extraction who also cast himself in the guise of the great Macedonian (fig. 139), mobilization against northern barbarians, evoking Alexander's stunningly successful Thracian and Illyrian campaigns of 335, is equally likely. For, like Alexander, Varro Lucullus also reached the Danube; both men were the first generals of their respective nations to do so.

In contrast to the numismatic record, the literary, epigraphical, and monumental evidence is disappointingly slight. No new Alexander portraits appear in the texts between Ptolemy's Great Procession of 275/274 (S 5–6; T 96) and Caesar's encounter with one at Gades in 69 (S 21; T 129–30). As argued in Chapter 6.3, this statue may have been quite venerable by the time Caesar saw it, but another Alexander, dedicated by one of his colonists at Corinth, was certainly made in 44 or shortly thereafter (S 3; T 94). Epigraphy is even less helpful, though the Antigonid *progonoi* (ancestor) monument on Delos may have included an Alexander (S 28; T 145), and the *progonoi* monument of Antiochos I at Nemrud Dagh certainly did (S 22; T 131). Unfortunately, the first group was in bronze and has been melted down, and the limestone fragments found around the base of the Alexander at Nemrud Dagh are now lost. Roman contempt for most Hellenistic art and for much Hellenistic literature has surely deprived us of even more information, but it is also likely that with the passing of the Successors, Alexander's relevance to the day-to-day affairs of the Hellenistic world declined sharply.

The only partial exceptions to this rule, Egypt and Rome itself, do little to fill the lacuna. In Egypt, the numerous statuettes of the Aigiochos type (Appendix 4; cf. fig. 83) show that the dynastic cult thrived throughout the period; many of the small heads studied by Gebauer perhaps belong to other replicas of this type, now lost.[19] As to Rome, Metellus Macedonicus, eager to seize Macedon's icons of military supremacy and to erase her "places of memory," gave the city her first look at Alexander's image with his appro-

18. Invasions and counteroffensive: App. *Mith.* 35; *Ill.* 30; Eutropius 6. 10; Rufus 9; cf. Papazoglu 1979: 319. Sulla's Macedonians: App. *BCiv.* 1. 79. Roman exactions in Greece: J. A. O. Larsen, in Tenney Frank, ed., *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* 4 (Baltimore, 1938), 429–30.

19. Gebauer 1939: 33–51, K 1–42, pls. 6–13; cf. Bieber 1964: figs. 50–52, 54–55; Smith 1991: fig. 249.

priation of Lysippos's Granikos group from Dion in 146 (T 104–5). Though the Lanuvium marbles (fig. 24) may imitate this monument, Alexander's next documented appearance in Rome comes only under Augustus (P 4–5 and V 2; T 65–67, 155–56)—unless, as suggested in Chapter 5.2, the original of the Alexander Mosaic (color pl. 4) was also taken to Italy in 146.

For our purposes, the major large-scale Hellenistic Alexander portraits that survive can be assembled into three main groups. Unfortunately, disagreements on dating these portraits are legion, and the absence of even the most rudimentary external chronology makes any statements about them provisional at best. Bearing these reservations in mind, the groups are (1) two apparently late third-century originals and a copy of another, (2) several mid-second-century pieces from western Asia Minor and Egypt, and (3) a scattering of late Hellenistic marbles from the East.[20]

The third-century trio comprises a head from Alexandria, now in the British Museum; another from Tivoli, apparently a copy of a Pergamene original; and a third from Volantsa, near Olympia. The Alexandrian head (fig. 124) is perhaps the earliest of the three. Structurally, it follows the tradition of the Lysippic Schwarzenberg and Azara heads (figs. 40, 45) and cannot be far distant in time from the post-Lysippic Copenhagen head, itself from Alexandria (fig. 84). Some of the details, too, are Lysippic, like the low-set mouth with its thin, undulating lips. Yet the best *comparanda* for its simplified modeling, almost masklike repose, and level, undeviating gaze are the portraits of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (reigned, 282–246: fig. 125) and Ptolemy III Euergetes (reigned, 246–222).[21] With his impulsive, driving energy almost totally suppressed and his charisma fully institutionalized and conventionalized, this Alexander signals the triumph of "power over" over "power to," of *archē* over *dynamis*. Here, the dynamic, extroverted Alexander of Ptolemy I Soter has become a figurehead for the firm, clear-sighted, and almost depersonalized monarchical system of his successors, an icon of dynastic stability and continuity.

The Tivoli head seems to copy a Hellenistic version of the Schwarzenberg Alexander type (fig. 126; cf. fig. 40).[22] Over-life-size and fitted with fourteen holes for a metal crown, it was found in the sanctuary of Herakles at Tivoli and was originally identified as a Pergamene-type Celt. This designation, though clearly wrong, nevertheless points to the right locality: a comparison

20. For bibliographies see Appendix 4.

21. See, for example, Kyrieleis 1975: 21–22, pl. 15 (B10); and 31–32, pls. 18–19 (C 1–2); cf. pls. 21, 24.

22. So Hölscher 1971: 55; Himmelmann 1989: 219.

with the famous head of Attalos I of Pergamon (reigned, 241–197) shows that it presents a Pergamene-style reinterpretation of the great Macedonian, presumably created in the later third century.[23] This Alexander is cast in the mold of his great ancestor Herakles. With his features drawn tight and quivering in anticipation, he looks out defiantly towards the future, as his *pothos* always "to do something new and extraordinary" drives him to a life of heroic endeavor and unceasing *ponos* or toil.[24]

The Volantsa head is roughly datable by its ropelike locks—a Pergamene technique—to ca. 200 (fig. 127). Its *anastolē* is obscured by damage, and it has no diadem, but it has been plausibly interpreted as an Alexander ever since its discovery. Intense and highly charged, it somewhat recalls the Yannitsa Alexander (fig. 97), but the sculptor now concentrates the facial features, lengthens and straightens the lips (drilling out the mouth as a broad slash between them), widens the eyes, and deepens the brow furrow. This is a totally driven, almost maniacal character—royal *deinotēs* personified.[25] If Alexander, it could easily represent the alter ego of the implacable Philip V of Macedon (reigned, 221–179), the monarch whose ferocity was proverbial and whose challenge to Rome failed only by a hair's breadth at Kynoskephalai in 197. One recalls Alexander's own "last plans," foremost among which was the conquest of the West, and the wave of revanchist literature in early second-century Greece, which together seem to have stimulated Livy's revealing and almost hysterical polemic against those who claimed that he could have succeeded.[26]

With the mid-second-century Alexanders the tradition fragments still further. Most prominent among them is the well-known colossal head from Pergamon (figs. 128–29). The identification, suggested by the *anastolē* and the head's obvious derivation from the Schwarzenberg Alexander (fig. 40), is secured by the type's recurrence in mirror image on one of the Aboukir medallions (fig. 130). Usually dated to the time of the "Great Altar," this head has recently even been assigned to that monument. An unworked, lentoid-

23. Kleiner 1940. Attalos: Smith 1988: 79–81, who shows that it must have been carved ca. 240 and reworked very shortly afterwards, when he assumed the diadem after defeating the Celts by the Kaikos ca. 237. As will be evident, Kleiner's method (and mine) reverses that of Buschor 1971, who uses his sequence of Alexanders to date Hellenistic portraiture in general.

24. Arr. *Indica* 20. 1–2 (*FGH* 133 F 1). On Herakles and *ponos/pothos*, see Stewart 1990: 184–85, 190.

25. Cf. Chapter 5. 2.

26. Last plans: Diod. 18. 4. 4; cf. Hamilton 1973: 153–58; Bosworth 1988b: 185–211. For our purposes the point is not whether they were *actually* Alexander's own, but that they were *believed* to be his. Polemic: Livy 9. 17–19; also Plut. *Mor.* 326A–C; cf. Chapter 1.1 and Gruen 1984: 327–28, 337–41 for other apocalyptic and anti-Roman predictions of this period.

shaped area at the back of the skull shows (it is claimed) that it is from a relief, and the scale and style point to the Gigantomachy itself, specifically to its eastern frieze. To have Alexander join the gods against the Giants would be a startling anachronism, but not an unprecedented one, for the Athenians had woven portraits of Demetrios Poliorketes and Antigonos One-Eye into the Gigantomachy on the Panathenaic robe of 306. Yet the precedent was not altogether happy, for as the sacred ship was being hauled across the Kerameikos with the robe hoisted on its mast like a sail, a violent gust of wind struck it and rent the robe in two.[27]

Unfortunately for this thesis, not only are the backs of the heads of the frieze treated somewhat differently,[28] but there seems to be no room for Alexander on this side of it. Hephaistos, Hera, and Herakles must go in the only substantial gaps—unless the last of these was given Alexander's head. Whatever the truth (and the Aboukir medallion could hint that the Pergamene portrait was freestanding after all), there is no denying that while it continues the tradition of the Tivoli head, it is both more mature in age and construes the relationship between *pothos* and *ponos* in a radically different way. Frequently described as *pothos*-ridden by those who misinterpret Alexander's *pothos* as romantic, unfulfilled desire, it is actually more a study in *ponos*. Contemporaries would have interpreted his forehead, "neither too smooth nor too wrinkled" (ps.-Arist. *Phgn.* 812b23), as a sign of courage, of unbroken fortitude under extreme pressure. Like the Egyptian Middle Kingdom pharaohs and the Roman "barrack-room" emperors of the third century A.D., this Alexander seems to view his situation as intensely problematic. The portrait characterizes his power not as a new distribution of knowledge, but as a new *kind* of knowledge: the self-reflexive sagacity of the thinker, giving him the courage to meet all contingencies. Greeks were to find such a quasi-philosophical stance increasingly congenial as Rome's shadow lengthened over their decaying world, and lost no time in commissioning portraits to match.[29]

Two other pieces show that the "baroque" style of the Gigantomachy (but not the Pergamon Alexander's angst-ridden version of it) briefly found a welcome reception in Egypt, though exactly when remains open to doubt. If the Boston-Capitoline Alexander type (fig. 131) is not a Severan creation but Hellenistic in origin, then its archetype was surely made around 150–100: its hair finds so many parallels on the Gigantomachy that a much later date is hardly feasible. Basing their opinion on the rays once set into the Capitoline

27. Radt 1981; cf. Diod. 20. 46. 2; Plut. *Demetr.* 12.

28. E.g., Aphrodite: 116 *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm* (1962): figs. 1–2.

29. On the Pergamon head and signs of courage see Killerich 1988: 59; cf. Stewart 1990: 228, fig. 842.

replica, some prefer to identify it as a Helios, citing Pliny's mention of a colossal bronze Helios head on the Capitol, made by Lysippos's pupil Chares of Lindos.[30] Yet the style is too advanced to be Lysippic, the (marble) Capitoline copy says nothing about the location of the archetype, and the rolled headband (*strophion*) is quite appropriate to a deified mortal. As to the radiate crown, it will be recalled that after defeating Porus at the Hydaspes, Alexander sacrificed to Helios for giving him the East to conquer.[31] In the portrait coins of Ptolemy III Euergetes (reigned, 246–222), this notion develops into a fully fledged solar imagery, reflections of which appear in the Hellenistic poets (T 117), in Plutarch's account of his attack on the Malloi, and in the assertion that those lands that he did not conquer remained forever sunless.[32]

There is, in short, no particular reason why the Boston-Capitoline type should not be an Alexander. Interestingly, the Boston head was found at Ptolemais Hermiou, the find spot of no fewer than three replicas of the Alexander Aigiochos. Furthermore, the Cammin cameo of the Aigiochos (fig. 82) also carries a radiate crown, the Boston head was worked for insertion into a draped statue, and it turns to its left in the same way as the Aigiochos: could its postulated original have stood atop a cult statue of this type, either in Ptolemais or elsewhere? If the replicas are at all accurate, its message was apparently that Alexander's *pothos* was all-consuming: the *dynamis* of the sun-king, omniscient and omnipresent, generates limitless *archē*. Some second-century Ptolemaic ruler portraits, including a fine marble head of Ptolemy VI Philometor (reigned, 180–145) and another perhaps of Ptolemy VIII Physkon (reigned, 145–116), seem to proclaim the same message, even as the kingdom slid ever deeper into decline.[33]

A Ptolemaic alabaster statuette of Alexander in Brooklyn (fig. 132), securely identified by its diadem and seven holes for a radiate crown, also belongs in this vicinity, though it seems to have worn a himation (completed in wood or plaster) that was draped from right hip to left shoulder. Two other marbles, from Magnesia-by-Sipylos and Priene (figs. 133–35), share the same format, though their scales and styles are quite different.

30. E.g., Gebauer 1939: 106 (to K 81); cf. Pliny *HN* 34. 44.

31. Diod. 17. 89. 3; Curt. 9. 1. 1.

32. Blazing Alexander: Plut. *Alex.* 22. 9 and 63. 4–5; *Mor.* 330D. Euergetes' and later coins: Smith 1988: 42 and pls. 75. 9, 11, 17; 76. 16; cf. L'Orange (1947)1982: passim.

33. Smith 1988: pls. 38. 2 and 42. 4. Alexander has been recognized on the severely damaged frescoes of a late second-century(?) cult building at Kom Madi in the Fayyum: Bresciani 1980: 40, pls. 36 and 38. I see no reason to connect this figure with him (to me, it looks female) or to identify this building as his "cenotaph," and I can find no Egyptologist who wants to do so either.

The statue from Magnesia (fig. 133) is over-life-size and originally wore a metal wreath; it was found above the town with two other statues (one of them Roman), limb fragments, a block bearing the signature of Menas, son of Aias of Pergamon, and a dedication to Meter Sipylene.[34] The statuette from Priene (figs. 134–35) was originally less than a meter tall and comes from a cult room in a house identified as a *hieron* by two inscriptions. Suggestively, a late second-century text from the town's Sacred Stoa records a gift of a thousand drachmas by one Moschion towards the restoration of Alexander's cult (cf. Appendix 3). The statuette was made for insertion into a separately worked body but clearly also wore a himation slung over its left shoulder and was found with a left hand (now lost) carrying a sword. Unlike the Magnesia statue, however, its head is turned to the right, and its right arm is dropped. Both figures seem to belong around 160, contemporary with the Pergamene Great Altar. The drapery of the Magnesia statue is carved in the style of the Gigantomachy, and the head of the Priene statue in that of the Telephos frieze, though its profile aspect is clearly derived from Lysimachos's Alexanders or their Hellenistic imitations (color pl. 8; fig. 117). The head of the Magnesia statue, on the other hand, is so closely related to another from the Asklepieion at Pergamon that the same sculptor—Menas?—has been suggested.[35] Both are modeled on the so-called Heyl ruler (fig. 95), who is probably either Alexander or one of his Successors. All of these portraits completely shun the pathos of the Pergamene head (fig. 128): this is a supremely self-assured, confident individual, a ruler without a care in the world.

Yet though the identification of the Brooklyn piece as Alexander is secure, the Magnesia and Priene portraits have both been challenged. Magnes or Pelops has been suggested for the Magnesia statue,[36] and the Priene statuette was found with a very mixed group of sculptures, including a Hermes herm, a Kybele, and an Eros and a girl. Neither head has an *anastolē* or diadem, and the civilian himation is a strange costume for Alexander (cf. Appendix 1). The Stanford type (figs. 39, 59, 62–63) is the model, but now the cloak is draped in a mid-Hellenistic fashion, and the vertical gather between the legs of the Magnesia statue is frankly archaistic. Yet the heads, pose, and sword all point at or near Alexander, and it is tempting to posit a single mid-Hellenistic archetype, now lost, from which all three pieces were derived: a "civic"

34. Findspot and accompanying marbles: Mendel 1912–14: text to no. 536.

35. G. de Luca and H. Voegtli, *Altertümer von Pergamon,* vol. 11, *Das Asklepeion,* part 4, *Via Tecta und Hallenstrasse: Die Funde* (Berlin, 1984), 106–7. Like the Magnesia statue, this Alexander also wore a metal wreath.

36. Lauter 1988: 737.

Alexander, perhaps erected in Pergamon, protecting the *polis* from harm? The great Celtic revolt of 170–166 or the depredations of Prousias II of Bithynia in 156–154 would each furnish a suitable motive, but nothing can be proved.[37]

The final group of Hellenistic Alexanders seems to belong around or shortly after 100. An enigmatic group of fragments from Kyme in Aeolis, so badly excavated and published that today not even their find spot is discoverable, includes a youthful head encircled by a rolled headband (*strophion*) and a radiate crown. It is worked for insertion into a statue wearing armor and a cloak (figs. 137–38). Continuing the tradition of the Getty head (fig. 146), this too must be Alexander, though dates range throughout the Hellenistic period and opinions about the interpretation of the fragments vary widely.[38] The ensemble (which includes a head of Tiberius) has been construed as debris from a sanctuary to the Seleukids or miscellaneous statuary from an agora: the Getty fragments (Chapter 7.3; figs. 146–211) pose an identical problem.[39]

Yet though the Tiberius is certainly later, a third man (fig. 136) is surely a pendant to the Alexander; something of their original appearance is perhaps best conveyed by the Demetrio statuettes in Athens (figs. 144–45). A fourth head, of a woman wearing a crown or *stephanē*, closely resembles them in scale, technique, and even polychromy. If the pendant is Hephaistion, then she could be Roxane, Stateira, or a goddess, but a private individual has also been suggested. The right arm, originally holding a spear, and the booted feet (dated independently to the later Hellenistic period by their shoe type), seem too big to go with any of the preserved male heads: once again, the puzzle of the Getty fragments comes to mind.[40] The draped female statue is smaller in scale than the others, but probably still Hellenistic in date. Her

37. An over-life-size head in Kos, wearing a Corinthian helmet, was identified by Bieber 1925 and Bieber 1964: 59–60, figs. 57–60 as the Alexander seen on the island by Nikandros sometime during the second century B.C. (T 128); Pollitt 1986: 29 (fig. 16) and Nielsen 1988: 221 (figs. 1–2) agree. Yet Alexander never wore this kind of helmet (cf. T 28–29) and is never, so far as I am aware, securely portrayed in one. As Kraft 1965 shows, all such identifications ultimately go back to the Renaissance theory that the Athena of his gold staters, with its reverse legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (fig. 29), actually represented him. This head, found in the Asklepieion, looks like a somewhat mannish Athena, perhaps a version of the Rospigliosi type (cf. Robertson 1975: pl. 129c).

38. Early: Smith 1988: 67; middle: von Graeve 1970: 151; late: Lauter 1988: 738.

39. Seleukid: Rossbach 1901 (identifying the Tiberius as Laodikeia, mother of Seleukos II!); miscellany: Lauter 1988: 738; Smith 1988: 67.

40. In classical and Hellenistic sculpture, as in life, the length of the foot roughly equals the height of the head, but these feet are about 5 cm—or 20 percent—too big. Boots: Morrow 1985: 138–39.

nearest parallel is the statue of Saufeia from the monument of L. Valerius Flaccus at Magnesia, erected in 62.[41] Alexander's deeply drilled, writhing locks can hardly predate the second century, and the best *comparandum* for him lies in the first: the coins that Mithradates VI Eupator of Pontos struck during his struggle with Rome in 89–84 (fig. 139). Showing the sexagenarian king as a rejuvenated second Alexander, they brilliantly proclaim his self-appointed role as the Hellenistic world's champion against Rome. His features even infiltrated the posthumous Alexanders and posthumous Lysimachoi of several of the cities that he conquered or persuaded to join him.[42] If the Kyme group were erected during the heady days of his sweep through Asia, then the over-life-size feet and spear-holding arm, too big for Alexander and "Hephaistion," could just belong to a statue of him.

Moving east, we come to a colossal head from Tarsos (fig. 140). Often dated to the Roman period, this piece carries the stumps of two large horns at either side of the forehead, originally completed in stucco. Too far apart for goat's horns, they must be those of either a ram or a bull. The head's sheer size, prominent features, and massive, inert planes are clearly intended to make it look like a cult statue, and suggest that it may have performed that function, perhaps as part of a group in a temple featuring the reigning monarch. They are also largely responsible for the late date favored by most commentators. Yet recent discoveries across the Gulf of Issos at Iskenderun (Alexandria-ad-Issum) have yielded two late Seleukid heads of related style, one of them diademed and the other sprouting bull's horns (figs. 142–43). Comparisons with coins have shown that the diademed ruler should be Antiochos IX Kyzikenos (reigned, 115–95) and that the other is probably the founder of the dynasty, Seleukos.[43] The fact that all of them look to contemporary Ptolemaic style (fig. 141) is not unduly surprising, for Kyzikenos maintained his position in his endless struggle with his half brother, Antiochos VIII Grypos

41. Istanbul inv. 606; Mendel 1912–14: no. 822; Smith 1991: fig. 116. 2.

42. Mithradates' portraits: Smith 1988: 122–24, pls. 52–53; 77. 13–14; on the coins, Price 1968: 1–3, 9–10, pls. 1 and 4; Mørkholm 1991: 173, pl. 42. 625. N.B.: the radical "Alexandrizing" of his coinage took place *after* the beginning of the war, not in preparation for it; it presents him as Alexander's successor as king of Asia and cannot be construed as announcing a specifically anti-Roman crusade. This fits with App. *Mith.* 10–23 and ff.: until early 88 he did all he could to *avoid* war with Rome (avoiding Roman-controlled territory and handing back any Roman prisoners) until he was convinced that the Romans were implacable and massive retaliation was inevitable. Although he was certainly bent on self-aggrandizement at his neighbors' expense, he was gambling that the Senate would not stir itself to intervene. In this, as Gruen 1984 has shown, he had history on his side.

43. Now Antakya Museum 14318–19; Smith 1988: 100–101, cat. 93–94, pl. 56; Stewart 1990: 222–23, figs. 796–97; Smith 1991: figs. 261–62. First identified and published by Arthur Houghton in *Antike Kunst* 27 (1983–84): 123–28.

(Hook-nose), only through Ptolemaic support. Tarsos and Alexandria-ad-Issum oscillated between them as the pendulum of war swung back and forth.

The huge Tarsian head with its *anastolē* and strongly individualized features must be Alexander, for although the late Seleukids portrayed themselves as increasingly Alexander-like in the twilight of their rule, none of them looked like this, and neither did Seleukos. Grypos's five sons all flaunted the monstrous, curved proboscis that gave their father his nickname, while Kyzikenos's lone offspring stalwartly emphasized his father's straight nose, even making it a little retroussé.[44] Ram's horns would designate the subject as Alexander-Ammon, but what about bull's horns? Several possibilities come to mind: an assimilation either to Seleukos, whose bull-like strength was legendary and whose portrait bore bull's horns for that reason,[45] or to the conquering Dionysos Tauros (by now the royal paradigm par excellence, and soon to become Mithradates' personal exemplar) or to both. Without a proper context, the matter cannot be resolved further.[46]

There remain the two statuettes from Alexandria formerly in the Demetrio collection and now in Athens (figs. 144–45). Their open-toed boots with soles that are strongly indented at the front date them not earlier than the second century, and most prefer to put them in the first.[47] The only full-length marble portraits of Alexander and (presumably) Hephaistion to survive, they echo the pose of the nude Stanford and Fouquet types, respectively

44. Cf. Smith 1988: 122, pl. 77. 1–7.

45. T 149; App. *Syr.* 11. 57; *Souda,* s.v. "Seleukos"; on bulls' horns see Smith 1988: 40–41.

46. From its first publication by A. Rowe (*The Topography and History of Beth-Shan* [Philadelphia, 1930], 44–45, pl. 55) a fine marble head from Beth-She'an in Israel (ancient Skythopolis), now in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, has regularly been dated to the late Hellenistic period (so, for example, Smith 1988: 181, no. 16, with further bibliography; Smith 1991: 224, fig. 264) and called Alexander. Yet when one considers it in context, difficulties multiply. First, it was found near the Roman temple on the main tel, together with fragments of a colossal statue (of Dionysos?). Not only are proven Hellenistic remains on the tel restricted to a single Ptolemaic coin hoard, but recent excavations indicate that the Hellenistic city was on the northern tel, about 500 meters away. Second, like the Fouquet statuette, the head has a hole drilled above the *anastolē* for an attribute, perhaps a *hem-hem* crown or uraeus (cf. Chapter 6.2 and figs. 32, 53–54). This suggests a Ptolemaic commission, but if so, the head must belong in the third century, for Antiochos III took the city in 200 (Polyb. 5. 70); few would now put it this early. Yet a second- or early first-century date is equally problematic, for the Seleukids would have had no interest in showing Alexander with Egyptian attributes, and in the 140s the Maccabees annexed the city and expelled all its Greek inhabitants, whose descendants had to wait until 63 to return (Joseph. *BJ* 1. 66; *AJ* 13. 280, 397; 14. 88). The porcelainlike finish and drilled "bridges" in the hair, characteristic of Severan sculpture, perhaps offer a way out. The irises of the eyes (flattened for painting) are also rolled up high under their upper lids.

47. *Comparanda*: Morrow 1985: 91. The statuettes are 82 and 79 cm high, respectively.

(figs. 32 and 39), though what Alexander originally held in his left hand is anyone's guess.[48] Neither is diademed, and although the sources are unanimous that Alexander was shorter than Hephaistion (T 2, 4, 14, 23), here, not surprisingly, he is the taller of the two. As the principal, he would presumably have stood on the proper right (the spectator's left).

Otherwise, these two statuettes are most interesting for their costume: a long chlamys, a double-girded *chitōniskos*, and high-laced, open-toed boots with flaps or *piloi* at the top. As the ancient authors testify (T 28–48), the chlamys and *chitōniskos* had been standard items of Macedonian hunting and military garb since the fourth century. One or both are worn by several figures on the Hunt fresco at Vergina, by Alexander and his Companions on the Alexander Sarcophagus, and by Hephaistion on the "Hero Hephaistion" relief in Thessalonike (text fig. 10; figs. 72, 101–6).[49] Yet the boots are a later, Hellenistic fashion: in the fourth century, Macedonians wore net-laced sandals or *krēpides*.[50] So when in 34 Mark Antony presented Ptolemy Caesarion to the Alexandrians shod in *krēpides* (T 38), three full centuries after Alexander crossed the Hellespont and claimed Asia for his own, he was adhering to the style of the Macedonian kingdom at its height and rejecting the fashion of the present.

Since the Alexander that once graced the *progonoi* monument of Antiochos I of Kommagene at Nemrud Dagh (S 22; T 131) has already been mentioned, we return, finally, to Greece. When Julius Caesar refounded Corinth in 44, the colonists he planted there were a mixture of his own veterans and Greek freedmen (perhaps including some descendants of the former inhabitants).[51] Though Pausanias does not tell us the nationality of the man who dedicated the statue of Alexander-Zeus he saw on show at Olympia (S 3; T 94), he was surely a Greek, not an Italian. For his statue to be misunderstood as Zeus it must have carried the god's distinctive attribute, the thunderbolt: in the tradition of Apelles' painting (P 1) and the Neisos gem (color pl. 8; figs. 66–67), it was an Alexander Keraunophoros. Yet as was shown in Chapter 7.2, the thunderbolt probably characterized Alexander not only as the son of Zeus but as Invincible God (*anikētos theos*) in his own right. This statue, then, may have

48. Schreiber 1903: 116 was the first to suggest a sword.

49. Though the *chitōniskoi* of the Sarcophagus have sleeves, and Hephaistion's omits the second girdle, such variations are to be expected in a culture that never formally codified its dress.

50. Cf. Morrow 1985: 65, 87, pls. 43–50, 65–66 for boots with *piloi*, and 108–114, pls. 79–94 for Hellenistic *krēpides*. She does not discuss this kind of boot.

51. App. *Pun.* 1. 136; Plut. *Caes.* 57. 5; Dio Cass. 43. 50. 3–5; Strabo 8. 6. 23.

signaled that although Rome now ruled the Mediterranean and Caesar was honored in the capital itself as Invincible God,[52] at least one Greek refused to accept the new world order and resolutely clung to his own.

52. Dio Cass. 43. 45. 3; cf. Michel 1967: 84–85; Green 1989: 207. A bronze youth of the first century B.C.(?) from Agde in Provence has regularly been identified as an Alexander (e.g., Rolley 1986: 53–54, fig. 24, cat. 211; J. Charbonneaux, in O. Bérnard, *Musée d'Archéologie Sous-Marine* [Codève, 1987], 86–87, no. 839; Rolley 1988; and Wohlmayr 1988); though he has an *anastolē* and a *strophion*, I would prefer to see him as yet another example of Alexander imitation, not a portrait of the king himself. The statue was found in the river Hérault on September 13, 1964; presently exhibited with it are a left forearm and hand, found in 1965: the little and second fingers are curled, the middle finger and the index are open, and the thumb is extended along the index. Though the statue contains 22 percent lead (and is therefore late Hellenistic at the earliest), the hand contains only 1 percent; it therefore either does not belong or is a restoration.

APPENDIX 1

ALEXANDER'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE

A. PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

T 1. Chrysippos *apud* Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* 13, 565a (ca. 230 B.C.)

Ὑμεῖς δὲ ξυρουμένους τὰ γένεια περιφέρετε τοὺς ἐρωμένους· τοὺ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον εὑρημένου, ὥς φησιν ὑμῶν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἡδονῆς. οὐκ ἀκαίρως δ', ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μεμνήσομαι τῆς λέξεως· χαίρω γὰρ πάνυ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διά τε τὴν πολυμαθίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἤθους ἐπιείκειαν. λέγει δὲ οὕτως ὁ φιλόσοφος· Τὸ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον προῆκται, τῶν πρώτων οὐ χρωμένων αὐτῷ.

But you [Stoics] take your lovers out with their chins shaven; shaving the beard came into fashion under Alexander, as your Chrysippos says in the fourth volume of his book *On Pleasure and the Good*. It will not be out of place, I feel, for me to recall his exact words; for I like the man very much because of his wide learning and respectable character. The philosopher says this: "The custom of shaving the beard increased under Alexander, though leading men did not follow it."

(Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 180B; *Thes.* 5. 4.)

T 2. Diodoros *Bibliothēkē historikē* 17. 37. 5 (ca. 50 B.C.)

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ λαβὼν ἕνα τῶν φίλων τὸν μάλιστα τιμώμενων Ἡφαιστίωνα παρῆλθε πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας. ἐχόντων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐσθῆτας μὲν ὁμοίας, τῷ μεγέθει δὲ καὶ κάλλει προέχοντος τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἡ Σισύγγαμβρις τοῦτον ὑπολαβοῦσα εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα προσεκύνησεν·

So at daybreak the king took with him the most valued of his friends, Hephaistion, and visited the women. The two men were both dressed alike, but since Hephaistion

was taller and more handsome, Sisygambris took him for the king and prostrated herself before him.

T 3. Ibid. 17. 66. 3

Ἴδιον δέ τι συνέβη γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν παράληψιν τῶν χρημάτων. καθίσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον καὶ τούτου μείζονος ὄντος ἢ κατὰ τὴν συμμετρίαν τοῦ σώματος, τῶν παίδων τις ἰδὼν τοὺς πόδας ἀπολείποντας πολὺ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν θρόνον ὑποβάθρου βαστάσας τὴν Δαρείου τράπεζαν ὑπέθηκε τοῖς ποσὶν αἰωρουμένοις.

A strange thing happened to the king when he was shown the royal treasures [sc. in the palace at Susa]. When he sat down on the royal throne, which was larger than the proportions of his body, one of the pages noticed that his feet were a long way from reaching the throne's footstool, picked up Darius's table, and put it under his dangling legs.

T 4. Q. Curtius Rufus 3. 12. 16 (ca. A.D. 50)

Et sicut aetate par erat regi, ita corporis habitu praestabat.

Though [Hephaestion] was the same age as the king, he nevertheless excelled him in bodily stature.

T 5. Ibid. 5. 2. 13–15

Consedit deinde in regia sella multo excelsiore quam pro habitu corporis. itaque, cum pedes summum[1] gradum non contingerent, unus ex regis pueris mensam subdidit pedibus.

Then [Alexander] seated himself on the royal throne, which was far too high for his bodily stature. Therefore, since his feet did not reach the top step, one of the royal pages placed a table under them.

T 6. Ibid. 6. 5. 29

Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur habitum eius haudquaquam rerum famae parem oculis perlustrans: quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum maiestate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant quam quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est.

1. Summum Vogel, Müller; imum MSS.

Thalestris gazed at the king with a fearless expression, carefully surveying his person, which did not by any means correspond to the fame of his exploits; for all barbarians venerate a majestic presence and believe that only those are capable of great deeds whom nature has deigned to adorn with extraordinary physical attractiveness.

T 7. Ibid. 7. 8. 9

Admissi in tabernaculum iussique considere [Scythi] in vultu regis defixerant oculos; credo, quis magnitudine corporis animum aestimantibus modicus habitus haudquaquam famae par videbatur.

Admitted into the tent and ordered to sit down, [the Scythians] gazed at the king's face, because, I suppose, to those who estimate spirit by bodily stature his moderate size seemed by no means equal to his reputation.

T 8. Plutarch *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* 9 (*Moralia* 53D) (ca. A.D. 80)

Ὥς που καὶ Πλάτωνος ἀπομιμεῖσθαί φασι τοὺς συνήθεις τὸ ἐπίκυρτον, Ἀριστοτέλους δὲ τὸν τραυλισμόν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἔγκλισιν τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι τραχύτητα τῆς φωνῆς·

Similarly, it is said, close acquaintances used to copy Plato's stoop, Aristotle's lisp, and King Alexander's crooked neck and harsh voice in conversation.

T 9. Plutarch *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute* 2. 2 (*Moralia* 335A–B) (ca. A.D. 80)

Λυσίππου δὲ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀλέξανδρον πλάσαντος, ἄνω βλέποντα τῷ προσώπῳ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν (ὥσπερ αὐτὸς εἰώθει βλέπειν Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσυχῇ παρεγκλίνων τὸν τράχηλον) ἐπέγραψέ τις οὐκ ἀπιθάνως·

αὐδασοῦντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος εἰς Δία λεύσσων,
Γᾶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι· Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὄλυμπον ἔχε.

διὸ καὶ μόνον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέλευε Λύσιππον εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ δημιουργεῖν. μόνος γὰρ οὗτος, ὡς ἔοικε, κατεμήνυε τῷ χαλκῷ τὸ ἦθος αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεξέφερε τῇ μορφῇ τὴν ἀρετήν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν ἀποστροφὴν τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων τὴν διάχυσιν καὶ ὑγρότητα μιμεῖσθαι θέλοντες οὐ διεφύλαττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν καὶ λεοντῶδες.

When Lysippos had finished his first Alexander looking up with his face turned towards the sky (just as he was accustomed to look, tilting his head slightly to one side), someone not inappropriately inscribed the following epigram:

This statue seems to look at Zeus and say:
"Keep thou Olympos; me let earth obey!"

Wherefore Alexander gave orders that Lysippos alone should make his portrait. For only he, it seemed, brought out Alexander's real character in the bronze and gave form to his essential excellence. For the others, in their eagerness to represent his crooked neck and his melting and limpid eyes, were unable to preserve his virile and leonine demeanor.

T 10. Plutarch *Alexander* 4. 1–7 (ca. A.D. 110)

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἰδέαν τοῦ σώματος οἱ Λυσίππειοι μάλιστα τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἐμφαίνουσιν, ὑφ' οὗ μόνου καὶ αὐτὸς ἠξίου πλάττεσθαι. (2) *καὶ γὰρ ⟨οἱ⟩ μάλιστα πολλοὶ τῶν διαδόχων ὕστερον καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπεμιμοῦντο, τήν τε ἀνάτασιν τοῦ αὐχένος εἰς εὐώνυμον ἠσυχῇ κεκλιμένου καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα τῶν ὀμμάτων, διατετήρηκεν ἀκριβῶς ὁ τεχνίτης.* (3) *Ἀπελλῆς δὲ γράφων ⟨αὐ⟩τὸν κεραυνοφόρον οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο τὴν χρόαν, ἀλλὰ φαιότερον καὶ πεπινωμένον ἐποιήσεν. ἦν δὲ λευκός, ὥς φασιν· ἡ δὲ λευκότης ἐπεφοίνισσεν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ στῆθος μάλιστα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον.* (4) *ὅτι δὲ τοῦ χρωτὸς ἥδιστον ἀπέπνει καὶ τὸ στόμα κατεῖχεν εὐωδία καὶ τὴν σάρκα πᾶσαν, ὥστε πληροῦσθαι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους, ἀνέγνωμεν ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀριστοξενείοις·*[2] (5) *αἰτία δὲ ἴσως ἡ τοῦ σώματος κρᾶσις, πολύθερμος οὖσα καὶ πυρώδης· ἡ γὰρ εὐωδία γίνεται πέψει τῶν ὑγρῶν ὑπὸ θερμότητος, ὡς οἴεται Θεόφραστος.*[3] (6) *ὅθεν οἱ ξηροὶ καὶ διάπυροι τόποι τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν ἀρωμάτων φέρουσιν· ἐξαιρεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος τὸ ὑγρὸν ὥσπερ ὕλην σηπεδόνος ἐπιπολάζον τοῖς σώμασιν.* (7) *Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἡ θερμότης τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ποτικὸν καὶ θυμοειδῆ παρεῖχεν.*

[Alexander's] outward appearance is best conveyed by the portraits of Lysippos, the only sculptor whom the king thought was good enough to represent him. For those peculiarities that many of his Successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of his neck, which was tilted slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, the artist accurately observed. When Apelles painted his Thunderbolt-bearer, however, he did not reproduce the king's complexion but made it too dark and swarthy. For Alexander was fair, they say, and his fairness turned into ruddiness especially on his chest and face. His skin was sweet-smelling, and his mouth and all his flesh were so fragrant that his clothes were filled with it—this we have read in the *Memoirs* of Aristoxenos. The cause may have been the temperament of his body, which was very warm and fiery; for fragrance is generated, as Theophrastos thinks, where moist humors are acted upon by heat. This is why the dry and parched regions of the world produce the best and most numerous spices; for the sun draws away the moisture that abounds like a canker in vegetable bodies. In Alexander's case, it seems that this same body heat made him prone to drink, and spirited in nature.

2. Frag. 132 Wehrli.
3. Frag. 4. 6 Wehrli.

T 11. Plutarch *Pyrrhos* 8. 1 (ca. A.D. 110)

Καὶ γὰρ ὄψιν ᾤοντο καὶ τάχος ἐοίκεναι καὶ κίνημα τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τῆς φορὰς ἐκείνου καὶ βίας παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τούτῳ σκιάς τινας ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ μιμήματα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἐν πορφύραις καὶ δορυφόροις καὶ κλίσει τραχήλου καὶ τῷ μεῖζον διαλέγεσθαι, μόνου δὲ Πύρρου τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιδεικνυμένου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

For they thought that his appearance, his swiftness, and his vigorous movements resembled Alexander's, and imagined that they saw in him shades and reflections, as it were, of that king's impetuosity and might in conflicts. The other kings, they said, imitated Alexander's purple robes, bodyguards, crooked neck, and rough voice, but only Pyrrhos recalled him in arms and in action.

(Cf. also Plut. *Demetr.* 41. 3.)

T 12. Pseudo-Polemon *De physiognomonia* 14v (vol. 1, p. 144 Foerster) (original Greek text, ca. A.D. 120)

Oculum parvum micantem valde mobilem videns ei dolum tribuas et astutiam et pravam cupidinem. oculum videns lente trementem malum puta, nisi valde magnus sit. si magnus est, malum eius minues addesque bonum et strenuitatem et magnanimitatem et vini et mulierum amorem et parum fidei. cuius modi oculus Alexandri erat, sed idem simul ad colorem hyacinthium vergebat. itaque quem ita vides comparatum, ei tribuas audaciam et parum cunctationis, elatam ambitionem et ventris studium atque et mulierum et stabulorum et cantuum amorem.

If you see an eye that is small and darting, you should infer craftiness, slyness, and lustful depravity. If you see one that is slightly tremulous, consider it bad unless it is really big. If it is big, you should decrease the badness and add goodness, vivacity, magnanimity, love of wine and women, and a lack of trustworthiness. Alexander's eye was of this sort, but it inclined at the same time to blue. If you see one matched in this way, attribute to it audacity and a lack of caution, elevated ambition, gluttony, and love of women, taverns, and song.

(For the parallel Arabic version, see Foerster, p. 145.)

T 13. Appian *Romaika: Romaikon emphylion* 2. 151 (ca. A.D. 150)

Ἐγένοντο [sc. *Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Καῖσαρ*] *δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα εὐφυεῖς ἄμφω καὶ καλοί.*

Both of them [sc. Alexander and Caesar] were well formed and handsome in person.

T 14. Arrian *Alexandrou anabasis* 2. 12. 6 (ca. A.D. 150)

Λόγος δὲ ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλθεῖν εἴσω ξὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι μόνῳ τῶν ἑταίρων· καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δαρείου ἀμφιγνοήσασαν ὅστις ὁ βασιλεὺς

εἴη αὐτοῖν, ἐστάλθαι γὰρ ἄμφω τῷ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνι προσελθεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, ὅτι μείζων ἐφάνη ἐκεῖνος.

But there is a story that the next day Alexander himself visited the tent with Hephaistion and no other Companion; and Darius's mother, not knowing which of the two was the king, since both were dressed alike, approached Hephaistion and prostrated herself before him, since he appeared the taller.

T 15. Ibid. 7. 28. 1

Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη καὶ τοὺς ὀκτὼ τούτους μῆνας, τό τε σῶμα κάλλιστος καὶ φιλοπονώτατος καὶ ὀξύτατος γενόμενος.

His reign lasted twelve years and eight months; he excelled in physical beauty, in zest for exertion, in sharpness of mind.

T 16. Aelian *Varia historia* 12. 14 (third century A.D.)

Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Φιλίππου ἀπραγμόνως ὡραῖον λέγουσι γενέσθαι· τὴν μὲν γὰρ κόμην ἀνασεσύρθαι αὐτῷ, ξανθὴν δὲ εἶναι· ὑπαναφυέσθαι δέ τι ἐκ τοῦ εἴδους φοβερὸν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λέγουσιν.

They say that Alexander, son of Philip, was casually handsome; his hair swept up in a cowlick and was golden in color; they also say that something frightening emanated from his countenance.

T 17. Solinus *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 9. 20 (ca. A.D. 260)

Forma supra hominem augustiore, cervice celsa, laetis oculis [inlustribus], malis ad gratiam rubescentibus, reliquis corporis non sine maiestate quadam decoris. victor omnium vino et ira victus.

[Alexander was endowed with] a countenance of superhuman dignity, a lofty neck, joyous eyes, charmingly ruddy cheeks, and a body not lacking a certain majestic grace; yet the universal victor was vanquished by wine and anger.

T 18. Pseudo-Kallisthenes *Bios Alexandrou tou Makedonos* 1. 13. 3 Kroll (ca. A.D. 300)

Ἀνδρωθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν χαρακτῆρα οὐχ ὅμοιον εἶχε Φιλίππῳ οὐδὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ μητρὶ ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τῷ ὑπείραντι, ἄλλ' ἰδίῳ τύπῳ κεκοσμημένος, μορφὴν μὲν εἶχεν ἀνθρώπου, τὴν δὲ χαίτην λέοντος, τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑτερογλαύκους, τὸν μὲν δεξιὸν κυανοβλέφαρον, τὸν δὲ εὐώνυμον γλαυκόν· ὀξεῖς δὲ τοὺς ὀδόντας ὡς δράκοντος, ὁρμὴν δὲ ἀνέφηνε λέοντος ὀξεῖαν.

When he grew up, Alexander bore no resemblance to Philip, to his mother, Olympias, or to his real sire [Nectanebo] but was handsome in his own way; he had the body of a man but the hair of a lion, and eyes of different colors, the right one black, the left one grey; his teeth were sharp like a snake's, his gait swift like a lion's.

T 19. Julius Valerius *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* 1. 7 Kübler (fourth century A.D.)

Vultu formaque omni alienus a Philippo, ne matri quidem ad similitudinem congruus, ei quoque, cuius e semine credebatur, facie diversus, sed suo modo et filo pulcherrimus, subscripsa paululum et flavente caesarie, ut comae sunt leoninae, oculis egregii decoris, altero admodum nigra quasi pupilla est, laevo vero glauca atque coeli similis, profusus omni spiritu et impetu, quo leones, ut palam viseres, quid de illo puero natura promitteret. crescebat ergo ut corporis gratia ita studiorum quoque et prudentiae.

In his face and physique he was completely different from Philip, dissimilar even to his mother, and diverse in countenance from his reputed sire [Nectanebo]; he was most handsome in his own way and his own style, with hair like a lion's, slightly curling and tawny; his eyes were extraordinarily beautiful, the right with a pupil that was almost black, the left blue-grey like the sky, absolutely filled with life and energy, like lions have, so that you should plainly see what nature promised about this boy. As he grew in bodily grace, so did he in knowledge and sagacity too.

T 20. Adamantios *Physiognomonika* 1. 14 (vol. 1, p. 328 Foerster) (fourth century A.D.)

Ὀφθαλμοὶ μικροὶ παλλόμενοι κακομηχάνους καὶ δολίους, μεγάλοι δὲ ἀνοήτους καὶ μάργους ἐλέγχουσιν. ὅσοι δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκθρώσκοντες πάλλονται, κακοὶ οὗτοι, ἐὰν μὴ μεγέθους εὖ ἔχωσι καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ λαμπρὸν βλέπωσιν· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ὀφθαλμοὶ νοήματα ἀδρά, ὑψηλά, δραστήρια ἔργων μεγάλων παρέχονται, τόλμης καὶ μεγαλονοίας εἰς ἄκρον ἥκοντες, ὀργῆς δὲ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ μέθης μεγάλαυχοι, κουφόνους, οὐ πόρρω ἐπιληψίας, κλέος δὲ ἔχειν ὀρέγονται· μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ὥσπερ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος.

Small and tremulous eyes betray the scheming and crafty; big ones the stupid and greedy. Starting, tremulous eyes mark evil men, unless they are of moderate size, and look melting and limpid; eyes of this sort indicate grand, high-flown, and audacious designs for great deeds. They display the height of boldness and elevation but also susceptibility to anger and drink, boasting, mental instability, and near-epilepsy, and they yearn for superhuman glory, as in the case of Alexander the Macedonian.

(= Anonymi *De physiognomia* 33 [vol. 2, p. 50 Foerster])

T 21. Anonymous *Epitome de Caesaribus Sexti Aureli Victoris* 21. 4 (fourth century A.D.)

Hic [sc. Caracalla] corpore Alexandri Macedonis conspecto Magnum atque Alexandrum se iussit appellari, assentantium fallaciis eo perductus, uti truci fronte et ad laevum humerum conversa cervice, quod in ore Alexandri notaverat, incedens fidem vultus simillimi persuaderet sibi.

After he had inspected the body of Alexander of Macedon, he [sc. Caracalla] ordered that he himself should be called "Great" and "Alexander," for he was led on by the lies of his flatterers to the point where, adopting the ferocious brow and neck tilted towards the left shoulder that he had noted in Alexander's countenance, he persuaded himself that his features were truly very similar.

T 22. Anonymous *Itinerarium Alexandri* 13 (ca. A.D. 340)

Quippe ipse visu arguto naribusque subaquilinis fuit, fronte omni nuda plerumque, quamvis pinguius fimbriatur de exercitio ob vehementiam equitandi, cuius id arbitrio dabat, ex quo reclinam comam iacere sibi in contrarium fecerat: idque agebat decorius militi, quam si deflueret. (14) statura juvenis fuit mediocris, membris exsuccior, sed quae nullas ferventi moras adferret: quod plus usui quam contemptui lenocinaretur. crebrioribus quippe musculis tuberascens, miris nervorum coetibus intendebatur.

He had a lively countenance, something of an aquiline nose, a forehead entirely devoid of hair unless it was thickly fringed after a hard ride, which gave him the notion of making his swept-back hair part in opposite directions: he thought this more appropriate to a soldier than allowing it to hang down naturally. As a youth he was of medium height and rather dry in the limbs, but in his fervor this never gave him pause: it promoted discipline over disparagement. And as his muscles multiplied and grew, he developed a wonderful sinewy physique.

T 23. Ibid. 37

Ubi additur, Hephaestiona una cum vidissent [sc. Darei mater et uxor] indiscretius cultum, de auctu corporis melius opinatas, ipsum pro Alexandro salutasse. sed enim errrorem hunc matre Darii erubescente, dixisse regem, nihil eam erroris paenitere debere: in utroque enim se Alexandrum salutatum.

Here, people add that when they [sc. Darius's mother and wife] saw Hephaestion similarly attired, impressed with his greater height, they saluted him instead of Alexander. Yet when Darius's mother blushed with shame at her mistake, the king replied that she should not apologize for it: for to salute either of them was to salute Alexander.

T 24. Themistios *Logoi politikoi* 13, 175b Schenkl-Downey (215 Dindorf) (delivered in A.D. 364)

Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Μακεδόνος μιμεῖσθαι ἐπετήδευον οἱ σατράπαι ἀτρέμα ἐπινεύοντος τὸν αὐχένα ἐπὶ τὸν εὐώνυμον ὦμον, καὶ ἑτέρου κουράν, ἑτέρου δὲ ἀμπεχόνην, ἑτέρου τὴν βαρύτητα τῆς φωνῆς·

The satraps used to practice imitating Alexander the Macedonian slightly tilting his neck towards his left shoulder; one would mimic his haircut, another his dress, another his deep voice.

T 25. Ioannes Tzetzes *Epistulae* 76 ("To the most exalted John Kostomos") (twelfth century A.D.)

Ἐμετρίαζε γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν κατεσύρετο, τὸν ὄγκον ἀφεῖσα τοῦ ἀξιώματος, καὶ περὶ τῶν χαμαιζήλων καὶ πηχυαίων ἡμῶν γιγαντιῶντας λόγους ἀνέπλαττεν, οἵας ποτὲ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰκόνας ὁ Στασικράτης ἐκεῖνος ὁ Βιθυνός, οὐχ ἑτερόφθαλμον οὐδ' ἑτεροτράχηλον πλάττων ἐκεῖνον, ὥσπερ ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Λύσιππος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τοῦτον ἀνέπλαττεν.

Your writing was moderate and humble, relinquishing the importance of your position, yet it created speeches like giants about us pint-sized dwarfs, like the images that Bithynian Stasikrates once created of Alexander, not modeling him with different-colored eyes or tilted neck, like the man really was, in the way that Lysippos modeled him according to the truth.

T 26. Ioannes Tzetzes *Historiarum variarum: Chiliades* 8. 200, 416–27 (twelfth century A.D.)

ΠΕΡΙ ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΥ

Καὶ οὗτος πλάττων τὰ χαλκᾶ ὁ Λύσιππος ὑπῆρχεν.
Ἦν ἐκ τῆς Σικυῶνος δὲ τῆς ἔγχιστα Κορίνθου,
Τῷ τοῦ Φιλίππου σύγχρονος υἱῷ τῷ Αλεξάνδρῳ,
Πανεμφερῆ ἀγάλματα ποιῶν τοῖς πρωτοτύποις.
Ἐπέχαιρε δ' Αλέξανδρος ταῖς τούτου πλαστουργίαις.
Καὶ γὰρ καὶ παρατράχηλον ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνον,
Δοκοῦντα βλέπειν οὐρανὸν καὶ πᾶν ἠκριβωμένως,
Ὁποῖος ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐκεῖνος,
Ὥστε δοκεῖν τοὺς βλέποντας Ἀλέξανδρον, οὐ στήλην.
Ἡ στήλη τις ἐπέγραψεν ἐπιγραμματοφόρος·
Αὐδάσοντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος, ἐς Δία λεύσων,
Γᾶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ τίθεμαι, Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὄλυμπον ἔχε.

About Lysippos

And this Lysippos was a man who modeled bronze. He was from Sikyon, near Corinth, a contemporary of Alexander, son of Philip, and made statues absolutely like

their subjects. Alexander rejoiced in his sculpture; and so he made him also with his neck tilted to one side, seeming to look at the sky, with absolute accuracy, just as this Alexander the Macedonian was, so that onlookers seemed to see Alexander, not a statue. And on this statue some epigrammatist wrote:

This statue seems to look at Zeus and say:
"Take thou Olympos; me let earth obey!"

T 27. Ibid. 11. 368, 97

ΟΤΙ ΕΤΕΡΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΟΤΡΑΧΗΛΟΣ
ΗΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ

Ὁ *βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγιστος* Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου,
Γλαυκὸν *τὸν ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχειν θρυλλεῖται πᾶσι*,
Μέλανα *δὲ τὸν ἕτερον. τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοιοῦτος.*
Ἦν *δὲ καὶ σιμοτράχηλος καὶ παρατραχηλῶν δέ*,
Ὥστε *δοκεῖν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐνατενίζειν τοῦτον.*
Τοιοῦτον *καὶ ὁ Λύσιππος ἐκεῖνον ἐχαλκούργει.*
Καὶ *τούτου δὲ* Ἀλέξανδρος *ἐπέχαιρεν εἰκόσιν*,
Ἢ Στασικράτους *πλάσμασι ψευδέσι, τυφουμένοις.*
Ὅτι *δ' ἦν ὁ* Ἀλέξανδρος *τοιοῦτος τὴν ἰδέαν*,
Δηλοῖ *καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὅπερ τυγχάνει τόδε*,
Αὐδάσοντι *δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος, ἐς Δία λεύσων*,
Γᾶν *ὑπ' ἐμὲ τίθεμαι, Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὄλυμπον ἔχε.*

How Alexander the Great Had Different-Colored Eyes
and a Neck Tilted to One Side

The most great king Alexander, son of Philip, they all say, had one blue and one black eye. So much for his eyes. He also had a neck that was raised and tilted to one side, so that he seemed to gaze at the sky. And Lysippos cast him in bronze like this. And Alexander rejoiced in his portraits rather than in the false and crazy images of Stasikrates. And as it happens, the epigram also shows that Alexander was just like this in form:

This statue seems to look at Zeus and say:
"Take thou Olympos; me let earth obey!"

B. DRESS

(i) Macedonian

Ephippos *apud* Athenaios 12, 537e: see T 33, below.

Diodoros *Bibliothēkē historikē* 18. 26. 4: see T 74, below.

Plutarch *Antony* 54. 8: see T 38, below.

Anonymous *Epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni* 113: see T 47, below.

(ii) In battle

T 28. Plutarch, *Alexander* 16. 7 (ca. A.D. 110)

Ἦν δὲ τῇ πέλτῃ καὶ τοῦ κράνους τῇ χαίτῃ διαπρεπής, ἧς ἑκατέρωθεν εἱστήκει πτερὸν λευκότητι καὶ μεγέθει θαυμαστόν.

For [Alexander] was easily recognizable by his shield and by the crest of his helmet, which had wondefully tall white plumes fixed to either side of it.

T 29. Ibid. 32. 8–11

Ταῦτ' ἐπιστείλας Παρμενίωνι, τὸ κράνος περιέθετο, τὸν δ' ἄλλον ὁπλισμὸν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς εἶχεν, ὑπένδυμα τῶν Σικελίων ζωστόν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ θώρακα διπλοῦν λινοῦν ἐκ τῶν ληφθέντων ἐν Ἰσσῷ. τὸ δὲ κράνος ἦν μὲν σιδηροῦν, ἔστιλβε δ' ὥσπερ ἄργυρος καθαρός, ἔργον Θεοφίλου· συνήρμοστο δ' αὐτῷ περιτραχήλιον ὁμοίως σιδηροῦν, λιθοκόλλητον μάχαιραν δὲ θαυμαστὴν βαφῇ καὶ κουφότητι, δωρησαμένου τοῦ Κιτιέων βασιλέως, [ἣν] εἶχεν, ἠσκημένος τὰ πολλὰ χρῆσθαι μαχαίρᾳ παρὰ τὰς μάχας. ἐπιπόρπωμα δ' ἐφόρει τῇ μὲν ἐργασίᾳ σοβαρώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον ὁπλισμόν· ἦν γὰρ ἔργον Ἑλικῶνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ, τιμὴ δὲ τῆς Ῥοδίων πόλεως, ὑφ' ἧς ἐδόθη δῶρον· ἐχρῆτο δὲ καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας.

After he had sent this message to Parmenion, [Alexander, at Gaugamela] then put on his helmet. He was already wearing the rest of his armor as he left his tent, a Sicilian belted tunic, and over this a double linen corselet (*thōrax*) from the spoils of the Issos. His helmet, made by Theophilos, was of iron and gleamed like polished silver, and to it was fitted a gorget also of iron. His jewel-studded sword, which was a gift from the king of Kition, was wonderfully light and well tempered, and he had trained himself to use this weapon in close combat. He also wore a long cloak (*epiporpōma*) that was more elaborate than the rest of his armor. It was the work of Helikon, a craftsman of earlier times, and had been presented to him as a mark of honor by the city of Rhodes; he was in the habit of wearing this too in battle.

(iii) As pharaoh

T 30. Pseudo-Kallisthenes *Bios Alexandrou tou Makedonos* 1. 34. 2 (ca. A.D. 300)

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν Μέμφιν παρεγένετο, ἐνεθρόνιζον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἱερὸν θρονιστήριον καὶ ἐστόλιζον ὡς Αἰγύπτιον βασιλέα.

And when he came to Memphis, they enthroned him in the sacred throne room of Hephaistos and dressed him like an Egyptian king.

T 31. Julius Valerius *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* 1. 33 Kübler (fourth century A.D.)

Quare cum Memphin venisset, inductum eum in aedem templumque Vulcani Aegyptii regni veste dignitati sunt et sella ac sessibulo dei.

So when he came to Memphis, they brought him into the sanctuary and temple of the Egyptian Vulcan and deemed him worthy of the royal dress and the throne and seat of the god.

(iv) Imperial (Macedonian and oriental)

T 32. Douris of Samos *Makedonika (Historiai)* 22 *apud* Athenaios 12, 535f (*FGH* 76 F 14)(ca. 320 B.C.)

Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὡς τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκυρίευσεν Περσικαῖς ἐχρῆτο στολαῖς.

When Alexander conquered Asia he adopted Persian dress.

T 33. Ephippos *apud* Athenaios 12, 537e (*FGH* 126 F 5) (ca. 320 B.C.)

Ἔφιππος δέ φησιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, . . . [infra, T 48] τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σχεδὸν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν χλαμύδα τε πορφυρὰν καὶ χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον καὶ τὴν καυσίαν ἔχουσαν τὸ διάδημα τὸ βασιλικόν . . . [infra, T 48].

And Ephippos says that Alexander used even to wear sacred vestments at dinner parties, . . . [T 48, below] but on other occasions as a rule and for everyday use, he wore a purple cloak (*chlamys*) and the robe (*chitōn*) with the white stripe, and the Macedonian hat (*kausia*) with the royal diadem . . . [T 48, below].

T 34. Eratosthenes *apud* Plutarch *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute* 2. 2 (*Moralia* 329F–330A) (*FGH* 241 F 30)(ca. 230 B.C.)

Πρὸς τοῦτον ἀποβλέπων τὸν κόσμον Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ τὴν ἐσθῆτα προσήκατο τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Περσικὴν πολλῷ τῆς Μηδικῆς εὐτελεστέραν οὖσαν. τὰ γὰρ ἔξαλλα καὶ τραγικὰ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ κόσμου παραιτησάμενος, οἷον τιάραν καὶ κάνδυν καὶ ἀναξυρίδας, ἐκ τοῦ Περσικοῦ καὶ Μακεδονικοῦ τρόπου μεμιγμένην τινὰ στολὴν ἐφόρει, καθάπερ Ἐρατοσθένης ἱστόρηκεν, ὡς μὲν φιλόσοφος τοῖς ἀδιαφόροις χρώμενος, ὡς δὲ ἡγεμὼν κοινὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς φιλάνθρωπος τῇ περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τιμῇ τὴν τῶν κεκρατημμένων ἀνακτώμενος εὔνοιαν, ἵνα βεβαίως παραμένωσιν ἀγαπῶντες ὡς ἄρχοντας Μακεδόνας, μὴ μισοῦντες ὡς πολεμίους.

Considering this state of affairs carefully, Alexander did not favor Median dress but preferred the Persian, for it was much simpler than the Median. Since he disdained the outlandish and theatrical varieties of foreign dress, like the turban (*tiara*), sleeved jacket (*kandys*), and trousers (*anaxyrides*), he wore a mixed costume adapted from both the Persian and the Macedonian styles, as Eratosthenes has recorded. As a philosopher what he wore was a matter of indifference to him, but as a leader of both nations and a benevolent king he strove to gain the goodwill of the conquered by respecting their costume, so they might continue steadfastly loving the Macedonians as rulers, not hating them as enemies.

T 35. Diodoros *Bibliothēkē historikē* 17. 77. 5 (ca. 50 B.C.)

Εἶτα τό τε Περσικὸν διάδημα περιέθετο καὶ τὸν διάλευκον ἐνεδύσατο χιτῶνα καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν ζώνην καὶ τἆλλα πλὴν τῶν ἀναξυρίδων καὶ τοῦ κάνδυος.

And then [Alexander] bound the Persian diadem around his head and put on the robe (*chitōn*) with the central white stripe and the Persian belt and everything else except the trousers (*anaxyrides*) and sleeved jacket (*kandys*).

T 36. Q. Curtius Rufus 6. 6. 4–5 (ca. A.D. 50)

Itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo, quale Dareus habuerat, capiti circumdedit, vestemque Persicam sumpsit, ne omen quidem veritus, quod a victoris insignibus in devicti transiret habitum. et ille se quidem spolia Persarum gestare dicebat.

Accordingly, he encircled his head with a purple diadem spotted with white, such as Darius had worn, and adopted Persian costume, not even fearing the omen of changing from the insignia of the victor to the garb of the conquered. In fact, he used to say that he was wearing the spoils of the Persians.

(Cf. also Curt. 3. 3. 17–19.)

Plutarch *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute* 2. 2 (*Moralia* 329F–330A): see T 34, above.

T 37. Plutarch *Alexander* 45. 2 (ca. A.D. 110)

Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὴν Παρθικὴν ἀναζεύξας καὶ σχολάζων, πρῶτον ἐνεδύσατο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν στολήν. . . . οὐ μὴν τήν γε Μηδικὴν ἐκείνην προσήκατο, παντάπασιν βαρβαρικὴν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον οὖσαν, οὐδὲ ἀναξυρίδας οὐδὲ κάνδυν οὐδὲ τιάραν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Μηδικῆς μιξάμενος εὖ πως ἀτυφοτέραν μὲν ἐκείνης, ταύτης δὲ σοβαρώτεραν οὖσαν. ἐχρῆτο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις κατ' οἶκον, εἶτα τοῖς πολλοῖς οὕτως ἐξελαύνων καὶ χρηματίζων ἐωρᾶτο. καὶ λυπηρὸν μὲν ἦν τοῖς Μακεδόσι τὸ θέαμα.

From this point he advanced into Parthia, and it was here during a pause in the campaign that he first began to wear barbarian dress. . . . However, he did not go so far as to adopt the Median costume, which was altogether barbaric and outlandish, and wore neither trousers (*anaxyrides*) nor sleeved jacket (*kandys*) nor turban (*tiara*) but adopted a style that was a compromise between Persian and Median costume, more modest than the first and more stately than the second. At first he wore this only when he was in the company of barbarians or his intimate friends indoors, but later he put it on when he was riding or giving audience in public. The sight greatly displeased the Macedonians.

T 38. Plutarch *Antony* 54. 8 (ca. A.D. 110)

Ἅμα δὲ καὶ προήγαγε τῶν παίδων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐσθῆτι [τε] Μηδικῇ, τιάραν καὶ κίταριν ὀρθὴν ἐχούσῃ, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ κρηπῖσι καὶ χλαμύδι καὶ καυσίᾳ διαδηματοφόρῳ κεκοσμημένον· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν σκευὴ τῶν ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλέων, ἐκείνη δὲ Μήδων καὶ Ἀρμενίων.

At the same time he [sc. Antony] presented the children to the people, Alexander in Median costume, with the turban (*tiara*) and upright *kitaris* on his head, and Ptolemy in sandals (*krēpides*), a cloak (*chlamys*), and a Macedonian hat (*kausia*) encircled by a diadem; the latter wore Macedonian dress like the kings who succeeded Alexander the Great, and the former the dress of the Medes and Armenians.

T 39. Arrian *Alexandrou anabasis* 4. 7. 4 (ca. A.D. 150)

Ἐσθῆτά τε ὅτι Μηδικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς τε καὶ πατρίου Ἡρακλείδης ὢν μετέλαβεν, οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν κίταριν τὴν Περσικὴν τῶν νενικημένων ἀντὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὁ νικῶν πάλαι ἐφόρει ἀμεῖψαι οὐκ ἐπῃδέσθη, οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπαινῶ.

Nor do I approve of the fact that although he was a descendant of Herakles, he substituted Median dress for traditional Macedonian costume, and that he exchanged the Persian hat (*kitaris*) of the conquered for the headdress that he, the conqueror, had long worn—none of this do I praise.

T 40. Ibid. 4. 9. 9

Ἐπεὶ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον λόγος κατέχει, ὑπούσης μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πατρὸς μᾶλλόν τι ἢ Φιλίππου δόξης, θαυμάζοντα δὲ ἤδη τὰ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος τῇ ἀμείψει καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θεραπείας τῇ μετακοσμήσει.

The fact is that the report prevails that Alexander wanted people actually to prostrate themselves before him, from the underlying idea that his father was Ammon and not Philip, and as he was now expressing his admiration for the ways of the Persians and Medes, both in his change of dress and in addition by the alteration in his court etiquette.

T 41. Ibid. 7. 6. 2

Εἶναι γὰρ οὖν καὶ Μηδικὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου στολὴν ἄλγος οὐ σμικρὸν Μακεδόσιν ὁρωμένην.

In fact the Macedonians were most pained to see Alexander wearing Median dress.

T 42. Ibid. 7. 22. 2–5

Ὡς δὲ ἔπλει Ἀλέξανδρος κατὰ τὰ ἕλη, κυβερνᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν λόγος τὴν τριήρη, πνεύματος μεγάλου ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν καυσίαν καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῇ συνεχόμενον, τὴν μὲν δὴ οἷα βαρυτέραν πεσεῖν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ διάδημα δὲ ἀπενεχθὲν πρὸς τῆς πνοῆς σχεθῆναι ἐν καλάμῳ·

And as Alexander was sailing in the marshes (according to the story he was steering the trireme himself), a strong breeze struck his hat (*kausia*) and the diadem attached to it, and as the hat was heavy, it fell into the stream, while the diadem was carried off by the breeze and fell into the reeds.

T 43. Justin *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* 12. 3. 8 (ca. A.D. 150)

Post haec Alexander habitum regum Persarum et diadema insolitum antea regibus Macedonicis, velut in leges eorum, quos vicerat, transiret, adsumit.

After this [sc. the march into Hyrcania] Alexander adopted the dress of the Persian kings and the diadem, which was hitherto unknown to the Macedonian kings, just as if he were adopting also the laws of those whom he had conquered.

Athenaios 12, 535f and 537e: see T 32 and 33, above.

T 44. Pseudo-Kallisthenes *Bios Alexandrou tou Makedonos* 1. 34. 2 Kroll (ca. A.D. 300)

Ἀκοῦσας δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εὐθέως ἐγείρεται καὶ ἄκρας αὐτοῦ τὸ διάδημα ἔστεψε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν χλανίδα περιέβαλλεν αὐτῷ.

When he heard this, Alexander immediately got up and crowned Ptolemy with the diadem from his own head and threw his cloak (*chlamys*) around him.

T 45. Julius Valerius *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* 1. 33 Kübler (fourth century A.D.)

Surgit igitur e lectulo et diadema protinus suum in Ptolomaei caput transfert chlamydeque augustiore vel regia circumiectum egredi iubet.

[Alexander] then jumped from his couch, immediately put his diadem on Ptolemy's head, threw his majestic royal cloak (*chlamys*) around his shoulders, and ordered him to go.

(For Candace's parting gift of a magnificent crown, armor, and a cloak, see ps.-Kallisthenes 3. 23. 9 Kroll; Julius Valerius 3. 42.)

T 46. Anonymous *Epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni* 2 (fourth century A.D.)

Magnus Alexander rex Macedoniae postquam omne imperium Asiae ad se redegisse credidit, . . . ⟨circum⟩dedit sibi diadema et tunicam mesoleucum et caduceum zonam⟨que⟩ Persicam ceteraque ornamenta regia omnia, quae Darius habuerat.[4]

When Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, thought he had brought the entire empire of Asia under his control, . . . he adopted the diadem, the robe (*tunica*) with the central white stripe, the scepter, the Persian girdle, and all the royal regalia that Darius had used.

T 47. Ibid. 113

Interim Perdiccas cum his, qui in regia erant, regem mortuum in alveo collocant eique tunicam et chlamyden purpuream induunt caputque diadema vinciunt; et eodem multos odores melle commixtos addiderunt alveumque pallio purpureo et insuper Babylonico cooperuerunt.[5]

Then Perdiccas and those in the royal tent with him put the king in his casket, dressed him in his robe (*tunica*) and purple cloak (*chlamys*), and bound the diadem round his head; and they anointed him with many perfumes mixed with honey and draped the casket with a purple coverlet (*pallium*), and on top of this a Babylonian one.

(Cf. Diod. 18. 60. 6–61; Plut. *Eum.* 13. 3–4; Nep. *Eum.* 7. 2–3; Polyainos 4. 8. 2 on Eumenes' use of Alexander's royal regalia in 318.)

(v) "Olympian"

T 48. Ephippos *apud* Athenaios 12, 537e (*FGH* 126 F 5) (ca. 320 B.C.)

Ἔφιππος δέ φησιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, ὁτὲ μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πορφυρίδα καὶ περισχίδεις καὶ κέρατα καθάπερ ὁ θεός, ὁτὲ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐφόρει πολλάκις, ἔχων

4. The text is heavily corrupt; that printed by Neuffer 1929: 11 differs considerably from Thomas's edition, used here.

5. See n. 4, above.

τὴν Περσικὴν στολήν, ὑποφαίνων ἄνωθεν τῶν ὤμων τό τε τόξον καὶ τὴν σιβύνην, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· . . . [supra, T 33] *ἐν δὲ τῇ συνουσίᾳ τά τε πέδιλα καὶ τὸν πέτασον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸ κηρύκειον ἐν τῇ χειρί, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ λεοντῆν καὶ ῥόπαλον ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς.*

And Ephippos says that Alexander used even to wear sacred vestments at dinner parties, at one time putting on the purple raiment and slit sandals (*perischideis*) of Ammon, and horns just like the god's, at another the costume of Artemis, which he often wore in his chariot; having on Persian dress but showing above his shoulders the bow and hunting spear, and at still other times he dressed like Hermes; . . . [T 33, above] but on social occasions he wore [Hermes'] sandals (*pedila*) and broad-brimmed hat (*petasos*) on his head and carried a herald's staff (*kērykeion*) in his hand; and often too he bore a lion skin and club like Herakles.

(For the Bacchic revel in Karmania see Diod. 17. 106; Curt. 9. 10. 24; Plut. *Alex.* 67; and Arr. *Anab.* 6. 28, where, however, no details of Alexander's dress are given.)

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APPENDIX 2

THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN REPUBLICAN PORTRAITS: LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. GENERAL

T 49. Herillos of Carthage *apud* Diogenes Laertius 7. 165 (ca. 260 B.C.)

Ποτὲ δ' ἔλεγε μηδὲν εἶναι τέλος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἀλλάττεσθαι αὐτό, ὡς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χαλκὸν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου γινόμενον ἀνδριάντα ἢ Σωκράτους.

Sometimes [Herillos] used to say that there was no single end of action, but it shifted according to varying circumstances and objects, as the same bronze might become a statue of either Alexander or Sokrates.

T 50. Plutarch *Pompey* 2. 1 (ca. A.D. 110)

Ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἀναστολὴ τῆς κόμης ἀτρέμα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ὄμματα ῥυθμῶν ὑγρότης τοῦ προσώπου, ποιοῦσα μᾶλλον λεγομένην ἢ φαινομένην ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνας.

[Pompey's] hair swept up in a slight cowlick from his forehead, and this, together with the melting look about his eyes, produced a resemblance, more talked about than actually apparent, to the portraits of King Alexander.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 2. 1.

Apuleius *Florida* 7: see T 56, below.

B. THE "EDICT"

T 51. Cicero *Epistulae ad familiares* 5. 12. 7 (56 B.C.)

Neque enim Alexander ille gratiae causa ab Apelle potissimum pingi et a Lysippo fingi volebat, sed quod illorum artem cum ipsis, tum etiam sibi gloriae fore putabat. atque illi artifices corporis simulacra ignotis nota faciebant; quae vel si nulla sint, nihilo sint tamen obscuriores clari viri.

When Alexander himself wanted to have his portrait painted by Apelles and his statue made by Lysippus in preference to all others, it was not as a mark of favor to them, but because he thought that their art would glorify himself as much it would glorify them. Now those artists made images of his body familiar to strangers; but even if there were no such likenesses, illustrious men would be no less famous.

T 52. Horace *Epistulae* 2. 1, 232–44 (12 B.C.)

gratus Alexandro, regi magno, fuit ille
Choerilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis
rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.
sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt
atramenta, fere scriptores carmine foedo
splendida facta linunt. idem rex ille, poema
qui tam ridiculum tam care prodigus emit,
edicto vetuit ne quis se praeter Apellen
pingeret aut alius Lysippo duceret aera
fortis Alexandri voltum simulantia. quod si
iudicium subtile videndis artibus illud
ad libros et ad haec Musarum dona vocares,
Boeotum in crasso iurares aere natum.

Well pleasing to the great king Alexander was that poor Choerilus, who could thank his uncouth and misbegotten verses for the philips—good royal coin—that he received; but just as ink when handled leaves marks and stains, so often do poets put a blot on bright exploits with unseemly verse. That same king who paid so dearly for a poem so foolish by an edict forbade anyone save Apelles to paint him, or any other than Lysippus to cast bronze into a likeness of the features of brave Alexander. But direct that judgment, so subtle in viewing works of art, to books and to these gifts of the Muses, and you'd swear that he'd been born in Boeotia's brutish air.

T 53. Valerius Maximus *Factorum et dictorum memorabilia* 8. 1, ext. 2 (ca. A.D. 25)

Quantum porro dignitatis a rege Alexandro tributum arti existimamus, qui se et pingi ab uno Apelle et fingi a Lysippo tantummodo uoluit?

Besides, how much do we esteem the importance given to art by King Alexander, who wanted himself to be painted only by Apelles and modeled only by Lysippus?

T 54. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7. 125 (published, A.D. 77)

Idem hic imperator [sc. Alexander] edixit ne quis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles scalperet, quam Lysippus ex aere duceret. quae artes pluribus inclaruere exemplis.

This same ruler [sc. Alexander] issued an edict that only Apelles should paint him, only Pyrgoteles engrave him, and only Lysippus cast him in bronze: these arts are famous thanks to many examples.

T 55. Ibid. 35. 85

Fuit enim et comitas illi [sc. Apelli], propter quam gratior Alexandro Magno frequenter in officinam ventitanti—nam, ut diximus, ab alio se pingi vetuerat edicto.

In fact he [sc. Apelles] was also extremely well mannered, which made him more agreeable to Alexander the Great when he frequented his studio—for as we have said, Alexander had published an edict forbidding any other artist to paint his portrait.

Ibid. 37. 8: see T 154, below.

Plutarch *Alexander* 4. 1: see T 121, below.

Arrian *Alexandrou anabasis* 1. 16. 4–5: see T 106, below.

T 56. Apuleius *Florida* 7 (ca. A.D. 160)

Sed cum primis Alexandri illud praeclarum, quod imaginem suam, quo certior posteris proderetur, noluit a multis artificibus uulgo contaminari, sed edixit uniuerso orbi suo, ne quis effigiem regis temere adsimularet aere, colore, caelamine, quin saepe solus eam Polycletus aere duceret, solus Apelles coloribus deliniaret, solus Pyrgoteles caelamine excuderet; praeter hos tris multo nobilissimos in suis artificiis si quis uspiam reperiretur alius sanctissimae imagini regis manus admolitus, haud secus in eum quam in sacrilegum uindicaturum. eo igitur omnium metu factum, solus Alexander ut ubique imaginum simillimus esset, utique omnibus statuis et tabulis et toreumatis idem uigor acerrimi bellatoris, idem ingenium maximi honoris, eadem forma uiridis

iuuentae, eadem gratia relicinae frontis cerneretur. quod utinam pari exemplo philosophiae edictum ualeret.

But the most signal fact about Alexander is this: so that his image would come down to posterity as faithfully as possible, he refused to have it vulgarized by a mob of artists. So he published an edict throughout his empire—the whole world—that none of them should presume to make his likeness in bronze, paint, or engraving: only Polyclitus could cast it in bronze, only Apelles could delineate it in paint, only Pyrgoteles score it out with the graver; besides these three, by far the most illustrious in their fields, if anyone else at all was found putting his hand to the sacrosanct image of the king, he would be punished as if he had committed sacrilege. Thanks to the fear this inspired in everyone, only Alexander appears the same in all his images; so that in all his statues, pictures, and engraved gems he appears with the same energy of a most intrepid warrior, the same disposition of a mighty king, the same look of youthful freshness, the same noble expansion of forehead. If only such an edict could work in the parallel case of philosophy!

T 57. Scholia ad Horatii *Epistulas* 2. 1. 239–40 (ca. A.D. 200)

Pseudo-Akron et Porphyrion: Apelles pictor inclitus fuit, Lysippus aerarius. Alexander autem eius solas statuas admirabatur.

Porphyrion: Apelles pictor inclitus fuit, Lysippus aerarius signifex.

Apelles was a famous painter, Lysippus a bronze caster. And indeed Alexander admired his statues alone.
Apelles was a famous painter, Lysippos a bronze caster who made statues.

T 58. Himerios *Meletai kai logoi* 31. 5 (fourth century A.D.)

Γενέσθαι μὲν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον λόγος ταῖς πάλαι τέχναις ἀγώνισμα, ὥστε δὴ καὶ νειμάμενοι τὴν μορφὴν αὐτοῦ Λύσιππος καὶ Ἀπελλῆς, ὁ μὲν φαρμάκοις, ὁ δὲ χαλκῷ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡρμένευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑπερβὰς τὸ σῶμα ψυχῆς ὁμιλεῖ κάλλει καὶ χάρισιν, εἴη ἂν καὶ οὗτος ἀψευδὴς ζωγράφος.

And it is said that Alexander was an object of competition for the arts of old, so that Lysippos and Apelles shared his form, one interpreting the king's nature with pigments, the other with bronze. But since discourse transcends the body, it partakes of the beauty and graces of the soul, and so would be the painter that does not lie.

(Cf. Himer. *apud* Phot. *Bibl.* 243, p. 375a8 Bekker.)

Chorikios of Gaza *Dialexeis* 34. 1–3: see T 123, below.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 1 and 1. 2.

C. PAINTINGS

(i) With divine attributes

P 1. Alexander holding a thunderbolt, painting by Apelles, in the Artemision at Ephesos

T 59. Cicero *In Verrem* 4. 60. 135 (70 B.C.)

Quid arbitramini Reginos, qui iam cives Romani sunt, merere velle ut ab his marmorea Venus illa auferatur? . . . Quid Ephesios ut Alexandrum?

How much do you imagine the people of Regium, now Roman citizens, would demand before parting with their marble Venus? . . . How much the Ephesians for their Alexander?

T 60. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 92 (published, A.D. 77)

Pinxit et Alexandrum Magnum fulmen tenentem in templo Ephesiae Dianae viginti talentis auri. digiti eminere videntur et fulmen extra tabulam esse—legentes meminerint omnia ea quattuor coloribus facta—; manipretium eius tabulae in nummo aureo mensura accepit, non numero. pinxit et megabyzi, sacerdotis Dianae Ephesiae, pompam.

[Apelles] also painted Alexander the Great Holding a Thunderbolt, in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, for a fee of twenty talents in gold. The fingers appear to project and the thunderbolt seems to stand out from the picture (my readers will remember that all these effects were produced with only four colors); he received payment for this picture in gold coin that was measured out, not counted out. He also painted the procession of the Megabyzus, the high priest of Diana at Ephesos.

T 61. Plutarch *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute* 2. 2 (*Moralia* 335A) (ca. A.D. 70)

Ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀπελλῆς ὁ ζωγράφος καὶ Λύσιππος ὁ πλάστης κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον· ὧν ὁ μὲν ἔγραψε τὸν κεραυνοφόρον οὕτως ἐναργῶς καὶ κεκραμένως, ὥστε λέγειν ὅτι δυοῖν Ἀλεξάνδρων ὁ μὲν Φιλίππου γέγονεν ἀνίκητος, ὁ δ' Ἀπελλοῦ ἀμίμητος.

Apelles the painter and Lysippos the sculptor also lived in the time of Alexander. The former painted Alexander Wielding the Thunderbolt so vividly and with so natural an expression that men said that, of the two Alexanders, Philip's was invincible, but Apelles' was inimitable.

Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride* 24 (*Moralia* 360D): see T 120, below.

T 62. Plutarch *Alexander* 4. 1 (ca. A.D. 110)

Ἀπελλῆς δὲ γράφων ⟨αὐ⟩τὸν κεραυνοφόρον οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο τὴν χρόαν, ἀλλὰ φαιότερον καὶ πεπινωμένον ἐποιήσεν. ἦν δὲ λευκός, ὥς φασιν· ἡ δὲ λευκότης ἐπεφοίνισσεν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ στῆθος μάλιστα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον. ὅτι δὲ τοῦ χρωτὸς ἥδιστον ἀπέπνει καὶ τὸ στόμα κατεῖχεν εὐωδία καὶ τὴν σάρκα πᾶσαν, ὥστε πληροῦσθαι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους, ἀνέγνωμεν ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀριστοξενείοις· Αἰτία δὲ ἴσως ἡ τοῦ σώματος κρᾶσις, πολύθερμος οὖσα καὶ πυρώδης· ἡ γὰρ εὐωδία γίνεται πέψει τῶν ὑγρῶν ὑπὸ θερμότητος, ὡς οἴεται Θεόφραστος. ὅθεν οἱ ξηροὶ καὶ διάπυροι τόποι τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν ἀρωμάτων φέρουσιν· ἐξαιρεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος τὸ ὑγρὸν ὥσπερ ὕλην σηπεδόνος ἐπιπολάζον τοῖς σώμασιν. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἡ θερμότης τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ποτικὸν καὶ θυμοειδῆ παρεῖχεν.

When Apelles painted his Thunderbolt-bearer, he did not reproduce the king's complexion but made it too dark and swarthy. For Alexander was fair, they say, and his fairness turned into ruddiness especially on his chest and face. His skin was sweet-smelling, and his mouth and all his flesh were so fragrant that his clothes were filled with it—this we have read in the *Memoirs* of Aristoxenos. The cause may have been the temperament of his body, which was very warm and fiery; for fragrance is generated, as Theophrastos thinks, where moist humors are acted upon by heat. This is why the dry and parched regions of the world produce the best and most numerous spices; for the sun draws away the moisture that abounds like a canker in vegetable bodies. In Alexander's case, it seems that this same body heat made him prone to drink, and spirited in nature.

Select bibliography: Sogliano 1898; de Lorenzo 1900; Schreiber 1903: 93, 206–7; Schefold 1957: 142; Mingazzini 1961; Bieber 1964: 37–38; Michel 1967: 28–29; Robertson 1975: 492, 494, 514; Schwarzenberg 1976: 259–64; Pollitt 1986: 22–23; Moreno 1987b: 147–49; Kienast 1987: 320–22; Maderna 1988: 49–51.

Notes: see Chapters 1.1, 1.2, 3.2, and 7. 2.

(ii) In the company of gods and personifications

P 2. Alexander and Philip with Athena, painting by Antiphilos, later in Rome

T 63. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 114 (published, A.D. 77)

Antiphilus . . . et Hesionam nobilem pinxit et Alexandrum ac Philippum cum Minerva, qui sunt in schola in Octaviae porticibus, et in Philippi Liberum patrem, Alexandrum puerum. . . . ipse in Aegypto natus didicit a Ctesidemo.

Antiphilus . . . painted a noble picture of Hesione, also an Alexander and Philip with Athena, which are now in the school in the Porticoes of Octavia, and in Philippus's Portico a Father Liber, a Young Alexander. . . . Born in Egypt, he was a pupil of Ctesidemus.

Select bibliography: Kleiner 1951: 225–28; Michel 1967: 16; Hölscher 1971: 50; Pape 1975: 63, 66, 185; Goukowsky 1978: 333 n. 255.

Notes: Kleiner recognizes the "noble Hesione" and the Alexander in a mosaic showing Herakles, Hesione, and Telamon(?), now in Rome (1951: fig. 9). Yet Pliny clearly indicates by his use of *et . . . et . . .* that the Hesione and Alexander are separate pictures, and his description of the Hesione alone as "noble" shows that it—but not the Alexander—was included in Pasiteles' catalogue of "noble works" at Rome; finally, the mosaic includes neither Philip nor Athena.

P 3. Alexander and Pan, painting by Protogenes

T 64. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 106 (published, A.D. 77)

Fecit et . . . matrem Aristotelis philosophi, qui ei suadebat, ut Alexandri Magni opera pingeret proptem aeternitatem rerum—impetus animi et quaedam artis libido in haec potius eum tulere—; novissime pinxit Alexandrum ac Pana.

[Protogenes] also painted . . . the mother of Aristotle the philosopher, the man who suggested that he should paint the deeds of Alexander the Great, because they were immortal. Yet his instincts and a certain artistic capriciousness led him rather to the subjects just mentioned; at the end of his life he painted Alexander and Pan.

Select bibliography: Laubscher 1985: 339–40.

Notes: Protogenes' last work, so certainly painted after the siege of Rhodes in 305/304 (cf. Pliny *HN* 35. 104–5).

P 4 and 5. (1) Alexander accompanied by Nike and the Dioskouroi, and (2) Alexander in a chariot accompanied by Triumph (Pompa?), the bound figures of War (Polemos) and Fury (Lyssa?) seated on weapons; paintings by Apelles, dedicated as booty by Augustus in his Forum at Rome; Claudius later substituted Augustus's portrait for Alexander's in both pictures

T 65. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 27 (published, A.D. 77)

Super omnes divus Augustus in foro suo celeberrima in parte posuit tabulas duas, quae Belli faciem pictam habent et Triumphum, item Castores ac Victoriam.

The deified Augustus surpassed all others in placing two pictures in the most frequented part of his Forum, one with a likeness of War and Triumph, the other with the Dioscuri and Victory.

T 66. Ibid. 35. 93–94

Mirantur eius [sc. Apellis] Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alexandro Magno, item Belli imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante. quas utrasque tabulas divus Augustus in fori sui celeberrimis partibus dicaverat simplicitate moderata; divus Claudius pluris existimavit utrisque excisa Alexandri facie divi Augusti imagines addere.

At Rome [Apelles'] Castor and Pollux with Victory and Alexander the Great are much admired, and also his figure of War with the hands tied behind him, with Alexander riding in triumph in his chariot. The deified Augustus with restrained good taste had dedicated both pictures in the most frequented parts of his Forum; the deified Claudius, however, preferred to cut out the image of Alexander from both works and substitute portraits of Augustus.

T 67. Servius in Vergili *Aeneidem* 1. 294 (ca. A.D. 390)

Furor impius intus
saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aeneis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

Furor impius intus ut superius dictum est, propter bella civilia, quae gesta sunt contra Brutum et Cassium ab Augusto in Philippis, contra Sextum Pompeium ab Augusto in Sicilia. aut, sicut quidam tradunt, Furor impius intus non in aede Iani, sed in alia in foro Augusti introeuntibus ad sinistram fuit Bellum pictum et Furor sedens super arma, devinctus eo habitu quo poeta dixit.

Godless Fury safe within shall stay,
Seated on his cruel pile of arms, held fast by a hundred chains of bronze
Knotted behind his back, ghastly, still roaring from gory mouth.

"Godless Fury safe within" appears here for the reason stated above, because of the civil wars that Augustus fought against Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, and against Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. Or, as some relate, "godless Fury safe within" was not in the temple of Ianus, but elsewhere, in the Forum of Augustus, where visitors could see on the left a picture of War and of Fury sitting on weapons, tied up in the way that the poet described.

Select bibliography: Michel 1967: 16; Pape 1975: 63, 66, 163–64; Schwarzenberg 1976: 256–59; Daut 1984 (with previous bibliography); Simon 1986: 51.

Notes: probably brought from Alexandria. Schwarzenberg's assertion that in P 5 Alexander was represented "as Dionysos triumphant on his way home from India" is without basis in the texts. See Chapters 1. 2 and 6. 3.

P 6. Alexander with Roxane, Hephaistion, Erotes, and Hymenaios (?), painting by Aetion, shown at Olympia, later in Italy

T 68. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 78 (published, A.D. 77)

Clari et centesima septima Olympiade exstitere Aetion ac Therimachus. Aetionis sunt nobiles picturae Liber pater, item Tragoedia et Comoedia, Semiramis ex ancilla regnum apiscens, anus lampadas praeferens et nova nupta verecundia notabilis.

In the 107th Olympiad Aetion and Therimachus also attained outstanding distinction. Famous paintings by Aetion are Father Liber, Tragedy and Comedy, and Semiramis Rising from Slave to Queen; and an Old Woman Carrying Torches, with a Newly Married Bride, remarkable for her air of modesty.

T 69. Lucian *Herodotus sive Aetion* 4–7 (ca. A.D. 160–80)

Καὶ τί σοι τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐκείνους λέγω σοφιστὰς καὶ συγγραφέας καὶ λογογράφους ὅπου τὰ τελευταῖα ταῦτα καὶ Ἀετίωνά φασι τὸν ζωγράφον συγγράψαντα τὸν Ῥωξάνης καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμον εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντα τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπιδείξασθαι, ὥστε Προξενίδαν Ἑλλανοδίκην τότε ὄντα ἡσθέντα τῇ τέχνῃ γαμβρὸν ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἀετίωνα;

(5) Καὶ τί τὸ θαῦμα ἐνῆν τῇ γραφῇ αὐτοῦ, ἤρετό τις, ὡς τὸν Ἑλλανοδίκην δι' αὐτὸ οὐκ ἐπιχωρίῳ τῷ Ἀετίωνι συνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸν γάμον; ἔστιν ἡ εἰκὼν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, κἀγὼ εἶδον ὥστε καὶ σοὶ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι. θάλαμός ἐστι περικαλλὴς καὶ κλίνη νυμφικὴ καὶ ἡ Ῥωξάνη κάθηται πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα παρθένου ἐς γῆν ὁρῶσα, αἰδουμένη ἑστῶτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἔρωτες δέ τινες μειδιῶντες· ὁ μὲν κατόπιν ἐφεστὼς ἀπάγει τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν καλύπτραν καὶ δείκνυσι τῷ νυμφίῳ τὴν Ῥωξάνην, ὁ δέ τις μάλα δουλικῶς ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ σανδάλιον ἐκ τοῦ ποδὸς ὡς κατακλίνοιτο ἤδη, ἄλλος τῆς χλανίδος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπειλημμένος, Ἔρως καὶ οὗτος, ἕλκει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν Ῥωξάνην πάνυ βιαίως ἐπισπώμενος. ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν στέφανόν τινα ὀρέγει τῇ παιδί, πάροχος δὲ καὶ νυμφαγωγὸς Ἡφαιστίων συμπάρεστι δᾷδα καιομένην ἔχων, μειρακίῳ πάνυ ὡραίῳ ἐπερειδόμενος— Ὑμέναιος οἶμαί ἐστιν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπεγέγραπτο τοὔνομα). ἑτέρωθι δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος ἄλλοι Ἔρωτες παίζουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. δύο μὲν τὴν λόγχην αὐτοῦ φέροντες, μιμούμενοι τοὺς ἀχθοφόρους ὁπότε δοκὸν φέροντες βαροῖντο· ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἕνα τινὰ ἔτι τῆς ἀσπίδος κατακείμενον, βασιλέα δῆθεν καὶ αὐτόν, σύρουσιν τῶν ὀχάνων τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐπειλημμένοι· εἷς δὲ δὴ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐσελθὼν ὕπτιον κείμενον λοχῶντι ἔοικεν, ὡς φοβήσειν αὐτούς, ὁπότε κατ' αὐτὸν γένοιντο σύροντες.

(6) Οὐ παιδιὰ δὲ ἄλλως ταῦτά ἐστιν οὐδὲ περιείργασται ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀετίων, ἀλλὰ δηλοῖ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὸν ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἔρωτα, καὶ ὅτι ἅμα καὶ Ῥωξάνης ἦρα καὶ τῶν ὅπλων οὐκ ἐπελέληστο. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἥ γε εἰκὼν αὐτὴ καὶ ἄλλως γαμήλιόν τι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας διεφάνη ἔχουσα, προμνησαμένη τῷ Ἀετίωνι τὴν τοῦ Προξενίδου θυγατέρα. καὶ ἀπῆλθε γήμας καὶ αὐτός, πάρεργον τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμων, ὑπὸ νυμφαγωγῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, μισθὺν εἰκασμένου γάμου προσλαβὼν ἀληθῆ γάμον.

(7) *Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν (ἐπάνειμι γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον) ἱκανὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων τὴν πανήγυριν ἡγεῖτο καὶ συγγραφέα θαυμαστὸν δεῖξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς νίκας διεξιόντα, ὡς ἐκεῖνος διεξῆλθεν.*

But why need I mention those old Sophists, historians, and chroniclers when there is the recent story of Aetion the painter? They say that when he took his picture The Marriage of Roxane and Alexander to Olympia and exhibited it there, Proxenides, one of the Olympic judges there at that time, was delighted with his talent and made Aetion his son-in-law. And what was so wonderful about this painting of his, you may ask, that a judge of the games should give his daughter in marriage to an outsider like Aetion? The picture is actually in Italy; I've seen it myself and can describe it to you.

The scene is a very beautiful chamber, and in it there is a bridal couch with Roxane, a maiden of extraordinary beauty, sitting upon it; her eyes are cast down in modesty, for Alexander is standing there. There are also some smiling Erotes: one, standing behind Roxane, removes the veil from her head, showing her to her bridegroom; another takes the sandal off her foot like a true slave, already preparing her for bed; and a third has grabbed Alexander's cloak and is pulling him with all his might towards Roxane. The king himself holds out a garland to the girl and their best man and helper, Hephaistion, stands by with a blazing torch in his hand, leaning on a very handsome youth. His name is not inscribed, but I think he is Hymenaios. On the other side of the picture are more Erotes playing among Alexander's armor; two of them are carrying his spear, represented like laborers staggering under the weight of a beam; two more are dragging a third who reclines on his shield—their king, no doubt—holding it by the handgrips; and another has sneaked inside his breastplate, which is lying face up on the ground—he seems to be waiting in ambush, in order to scare the rest when they drag the shield past him.

All this is not needless triviality and a waste of labor. Aetion is calling attention to Alexander's other love—War—and implying that in his love for Roxane he did not forget his weapons. A further point about the picture is that it had a real matrimonial significance of quite a different sort—it courted Proxenides' daughter for Aetion! So as a by-product of Alexander's Wedding he came away with a wife for himself and the king for best man. His reward for his marriage of the imagination was a real-life marriage of his own. Herodotos then (to return to him) thought the Olympic festival a suitable shop window for showing the Greeks what a wonderful historian of Greek victories he was.

T 70. Lucian *Imagines* 7 (A.D. 162–69)

Τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα ὁ Ἀπελλῆς δειξάτω κατὰ τὴν Πακάτην μάλιστα, μὴ ἄγαν λευκὸν ἀλλὰ ἔναιμον ἁπλῶς· τὰ χείλη δὲ οἷα Ῥωξάνης ὁ Ἀετίων ποιησάτω.

And her body Apelles shall represent after the manner of his Pakate, not too white but just suffused with red; and her lips shall be done by Aetion like Roxane's.

Select bibliography: Hölscher 1973: 196–98; von Blanckenhagen and Green 1975: 92–94; Robertson 1975: 496, 573; Anderson 1976: 118–19; Bezerra de Meneses 1984: 79; Pollitt 1986: 141; Moreno 1987b: 160–62; Lagi de Caro 1988: 78–79.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 6. 4.

(iii) With Philip and/or other companions

P 7. Alexander seated in his chariot, holding a scepter, accompanied by Macedonian guards and Persian "Apple-bearers," painting on Alexander's hearse

T 71. Hieronymos of Kardia *apud* Athenaios 5, 206d–e (*FGH* 154 F 2) (ca. 300 B.C.)

Γράφει οὖν ὁ Μοσχίων οὕτως· . . . θαυμάζεται . . . Ἱερώνυμος ἐπὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῆς ἁρμαμάξης ᾗ συνέβαινε κατακομισθῆναι τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα.

Moschion, then, writes as follows: ". . . Hieronymos is renowned for his account of the carriage built to convey the body of Alexander."

T 72. *Marmor Parium* B 11 (*FGH* 239 B 11)(264/263 B.C.)

Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀντίγονος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς Μέμφιν ἐτέθη, καὶ Περδίκκας εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατεύσας ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ Κράτερος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτη FΓII, βίους ἔτη F, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Ἀρχίππου.

Since Antigonos crossed to Asia; Alexander was interred at Memphis; Perdikkas marched on Egypt and was killed; and Krateros and Aristotle the philosopher died; fifty-seven years, in the fiftieth year[1] of his [sc. Aristotle's] life, when Archippos was archon at Athens [321/320 B.C.].

T 73. Diodoros *Bibliothēkē historikē* 18. 4. 5 (ca. 50 B.C.)

Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν κατακομιδὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς ἁρμαμάξης τῆς μελλούσης κομίζειν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βασιλέως εἰς Ἄμμωνα ἔταξαν Ἀρριδαῖον.

The transportation of the body of the deceased king and the preparation of the hearse that was to carry it to Ammon they [sc. Perdikkas and the commanders] assigned to Arrhidaios.

1. Aristotle was actually 63 when he died.

T 74. Ibid. 18. 26. 1–28. 4

Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Φιλοκλέους ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Γάιος Σολπίκιος καὶ Γαίος Αἴλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρριδαῖος ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν κατακομιδὴν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σώματος, συντετελεκὼς τὴν ἁρμάμαξαν ἐφ' ἧς ἔδει κατακομισθῆναι τὸ βασιλικὸν σῶμα, παρεσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν κομιδήν. (2) ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κατεσκευασθὲν ἔργον, ἄξιον ὑπάρχον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν δαπάνην διήνεγκε τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν ταλάντων κατασκευασθέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην περιττότητι περιβόητον ὑπῆρξε, καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀναγράψαι περὶ αὐτοῦ.

(3) Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τῷ σώματι κατεσκευάσθη χρυσοῦν σφυρήλατον ἁρμόζον καὶ τοῦτ' ἀνὰ μέσον ἐπλήρωσαν ἀρωμάτων τῶν ἅμα δυναμένων τὴν εὐωδίαν καὶ τὴν διαμονὴν παρέχεσθαι τῷ σώματι. (4) ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς θήκης ἐπετέθειτο καλυπτὴρ χρυσοῦς, ἁρμόζων ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιλαμβάνων τὴν ἀνωτάτω περιφέρειαν. ταύτης δ' ἐπάνω περιέκειτο φοινικὶς διαπρεπὴς χρυσοποίκιλτος, παρ' ἣν ἔθεσαν τὰ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος ὅπλα, βουλόμενοι συνοικειοῦν τὴν ὅλην φαντασίαν ταῖς προκατειργασμέναις πράξεσι. (5) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρέστησαν τὴν τοῦτο κομιοῦσαν ἁρμάμαξαν, ἧς κατεσκευάστο κατὰ μὲν τὴν κορυφὴν καμάρα χρυσῆ, ἔχουσα φολίδα λιθοκόλλητον, ἧς ἦν τὸ μὲν πλάτος ὀκτὼ πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ μῆκος δώδεκα, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ὑπωροφίαν παρ' ὅλον τὸ ἔργον θράνος[2] χρυσοῦς, τῷ σχήματι τετράγωνος, ἔχων τραγελάφων προτομὰς ἐκτύπους, ἐξ ὧν ἤρτηντο κρίκοι χρυσοῖ διπάλαιστοι, δι' ὧν κατακεκρέμαστο στέμμα πομπικὸν χρώμασι παντοδαποῖς διαπρεπῶς κατηνθισμένον. (6) ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄκρων ὑπῆρχε θύσανος δικτυωτὸς ἔχων εὐμεγέθεις κώδωνας, ὥστ' ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος προσπίπτειν τὸν ψόφον τοῖς ἐγγίζουσι. κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῆς καμάρας γωνίας ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἦν πλευρᾶς Νίκη χρυσῆ τροπαιοφόρος. τὸ δ' ἐκδεχόμενον τὴν καμάραν περίστυλον χρυσοῦν ὑπῆρχεν, ἔχον Ἰωνικὰ κιονόκρανα. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ περιστύλου δίκτυον ἦν χρυσοῦν, τὸ πάχος τῇ πλοκῇ δακτυλιαῖον καὶ πίνακας παραλλήλους ζῳοφόρους τέσσαρας ἴσους τοῖς τοίχοις ἔχον.

27 (1) Τούτων δ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἦν ἔχων ἅρμα τορευτὸν καὶ καθήμενον ἐπὶ τούτου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα σκῆπτρον διαπρεπές· περὶ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα μία μὲν ὑπῆρχε θεραπεία καθωπλισμένη Μακεδόνων, ἄλλη δὲ Περσῶν μηλοφόρων καὶ πρὸ τούτων ὁπλοφόροι· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος εἶχε τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας τῇ θεραπείᾳ ἐλέφαντας κεκοσμημένους πολεμικῶς, ἀναβάτας ἔχοντας ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν Ἰνδούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὄπισθεν Μακεδόνας καθωπλισμένους τῇ συνήθει σκευῇ· ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἱππέων εἴλας μιμουμένας τὰς ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι συναγωγάς, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ναῦς κεκοσμημένας πρὸς ναυμαχίαν. καὶ παρὰ μὲν τὴν εἰς τὴν καμάραν εἴσοδον ὑπῆρχον λέοντες χρυσοῖ, δεδορκότες πρὸς τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους. (2) ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ ἑκάστου τῶν κιόνων ὑπῆρχε χρυσοῦς ἄκανθος ἀνατείνων ἐκ τοῦ κάτω κατ' ὀλίγον μέχρι τῶν κιονοκράνων. ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς καμάρας κατὰ μέσην τὴν κορυφὴν φοινικὶς ὑπῆρχεν ὑπαίθριος, ἔχουσα χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐλαίας εὐμεγέθη, πρὸς ὃν ὁ ἥλιος προσβάλλων τὰς ἀκτῖνας κατεσκεύαζε τὴν

2. *θρόνος* MSS; *θράνος* Wachsmuth; *θριγκός* Ussing.

αὐγὴν ἀποστίλβουσαν καὶ σειομένην, ὥστ' ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ὁρᾶσθαι τὴν πρόσοψιν ἀστραπῇ παραπλησίαν.

(3) Ἡ δ' ὑπὸ τὴν καμάραν καθέδρα δύο εἶχεν ἄξονας, οὓς περιεδίνευον τροχοὶ Περσικοὶ τέσσαρες, ὧν ὑπῆρχον αἱ μὲν πλῆμναι καὶ αἱ κνημίδες κατακεχρυσωμέναι, τὸ δὲ προσπῖπτον τοῖς ἐδάφεσι μέρος σιδηροῦν. τῶν δ' ἀξόνων τὰ προέχοντα χρυσᾶ κατεσκεύαστο προτομὰς ἔχοντα λεόντων σιβύνην ὀδὰξ κατεχούσας. (4) κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸ μῆκος εἶχον πόλον ἐνηρμοσμένον μηχανικῶς ἐν μέσηῳ τῇ καμάρᾳ, ὥστε δύνασθαι διὰ τούτο τὴν καμάραν ἀσάλευτον εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς σεισμοὺς καὶ ἀνωμάλους τόπους. (5) τεσσάρων δ' ὄντων ῥυμῶν ἑκάστῳ τετραστοιχία ζευγῶν ὑπέζευκτο, τεσσάρων ἡμιόνων ἑκάστῳ ζεύγει προσδεδεμένων, ὥστε τοὺς ἅπαντας ἡμιόνους εἶναι ἑξήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας, ἐπιλελεγμένους ταῖς τε ῥώμαις καὶ τοῖς ἀναστήμασιν. ἕκαστος δὲ τούτων ἐστεφάνωτο κεχρυσωμένῳ στεφάνῳ καὶ παρ' ἑκατέραν τῶν σιαγόνων εἶχεν ἐξηρτημένον κώδωνα χρυσοῦν, περὶ δὲ τοὺς τραχήλους χλιδῶνας λιθοκολλήτους.

28 (1) Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἁρμάμαξα, τοιαύτην ἔχουσα τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁράσεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας φαινομένη μεγαλοπρεπεστέρα, πολλοὺς ἐπεσπᾶτο θεωροὺς διὰ τὴν περιβόητον δόξαν· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καθ' ἃς αἰεὶ γίνοιτο πανδημεὶ συνήντων καὶ πάλιν προέπεμπον, οὐκ ἐμπιμπλάμενοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν τέρψεως. (2) ἀκολούθως δὲ ταύτηῳ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ παρηκολούθει πλῆθος ὁδοποιῶν καὶ τεχνιτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραπεμπόντων.

Ἀρριδαῖος μὲν οὖν σχεδὸν ἔτη δύο καταναλώσας περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἔργων ἀπεκόμισε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Αἴγυπτον· (3) Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τιμῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπήντησε μετὰ δυνάμεως μέχρι τῆς Συρίας καὶ παραλαβὼν τὸ σῶμα τῆς μεγίστης φροντίδος ἠξίωσεν. ἔκρινε γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰς μὲν Ἄμμωνα μὴ παρακομίζειν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκτισμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπιφανεστάτην οὖσαν σχεδόν τι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀποθέσθαι. (4) κατεσκεύασεν οὖν τέμενος κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης ἄξιον, ἐν ᾧ κηδεύσας αὐτὸν καὶ θυσίαις ἡρωικαῖς καὶ ἀγῶσι μεγαλοπρεπέσι τιμήσας οὐ παρ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἔλαβεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐχάριστον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον συνέτρεχον πάντοθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ προθύμως ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν στρατείαν παρείχοντο.

When Philokles was archon in Athens, Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Aelius were elected consuls in Rome. In this year Arrhidaios, who had been placed in charge of transporting the body of Alexander, having completed the hearse on which the king's body was to be carried, was making preparations for the journey. Since the completed vehicle, being worthy of the glory of Alexander, not only surpassed all others in cost—it had been constructed at the expense of many talents—but was also famous for the excellence of its workmanship, I believe that it is well to describe it.

First they made a hammered gold sarcophagus to fit the body, and the space between them they filled with spices to make the body fragrant and incorruptible. Upon this casket a gold cover was placed, matching it exactly and fitting about its upper rim. Over this was laid a magnificent purple robe embroidered with gold, beside which they placed the arms of the deceased, wanting the design of the whole

to be in harmony with his accomplishments. Then they placed it next to the hearse that was to carry it. The hearse was covered with a golden vault, eight cubits wide and twelve cubits long, embellished with overlapping scales set with jewels; beneath the roof and running around the whole work was a rectangular cornice of gold, from which projected heads of goat stags in high relief. Gold rings two palms broad were suspended from these, and through the rings there ran a festive garland beautifully decorated with brightly colored flowers of all kinds. At the ends there were openwork tassels that held large bells, so that any who were approaching could hear their sound from a great distance. At the corners of the vault on each side there stood a golden Nike carrying a trophy.

The colonnade that supported the vault was of gold and had Ionic capitals. Within the colonnade was a golden net, made of cords the thickness of a finger, which carried four long panel paintings, their ends adjoining, each equal in length to the wall [behind it]. On the first of these panels was a chariot ornamented with work in relief, and sitting in it was Alexander holding a splendid scepter in his hands. Around the king stood his bodyguards: on one side were armed Macedonians, on the other were Persian "Apple-bearers," and in front of these were armed infantry. The second panel showed the elephants arrayed for war who followed the bodyguard. They carried Indians in front and Macedonians behind, each armed in their customary equipment. The third panel showed troops of cavalry as if in formation for battle; and the fourth, ships fitted out for a sea battle. Beside the entrance to the chamber there were golden lions with eyes turned towards would-be visitors. Up the center of each column there was a golden acanthus that rose, little by little, from its base to its capital. Above the chamber in the middle of the top under the open sky there was an ornamental palm tree that carried a golden olive wreath of great size, and when the sun shone on it, it sent forth such a bright and vibrant gleam that from a great distance it appeared like a flash of lightning.

The body of the chariot beneath the vaulted chamber had two axles upon which turned four Persian wheels, the naves and spokes of which were gilded, but the rims were of iron. The hubs of the axles were of gold, and made in the form of lion's heads, each holding a spear in its teeth. Each axle had a central bearing mechanically fitted to the middle of the vaulted chamber in such a way that, thanks to it, the chamber would be cushioned against shocks and rough ground. There were four poles, and to each of them were harnessed four teams of animals with four mules in each team, so that in all there were sixty-four mules, selected for their strength and size. Each of them was crowned with a gilded crown and had a golden bell hanging by either cheek, and about their necks were collars studded with jewels.

This, then, was how the hearse was constructed and embellished, and the magnificence of its appearance exceeded all description. Because of its widespread fame it attracted many spectators; for the whole population of every city along its route always went out to meet it and again escorted it on its way out, unable to get enough of the pleasure of beholding it. As befitting its magnificence, it was accompanied by a crowd of road menders and mechanics and also by soldiers sent to escort it.

When Arrhidaios had spent nearly two years preparing this work, he brought the

body of the king from Babylon to Egypt. Ptolemy, moreover, doing honor to Alexander, went to meet it with an army as far as Syria and, receiving the body, deemed it worthy of the greatest consideration. He decided for the present not to send it to Ammon, but to entomb it in the city that had been founded by Alexander himself, which was little short of being the most renowned city in the world. There he prepared a precinct that was worthy of the glory of Alexander in its size and elaboration. Entombing him and honoring him with heroic sacrifices and magnificent games, Ptolemy won fair recompense, not only from men but also from the gods. For because of his graciousness and nobility men eagerly came from all sides to Alexandria and gladly enrolled in his army.

T 75. Strabo *Geōgraphikon* 17. 1. 8, 794 (A.D. 23)

Μέρος δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Σῆμα, ὅ περίβολος ἦν, ἐν ᾧ αἱ τῶν βασιλέων ταφαὶ καὶ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου· ἔφθη γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἀφελόμενος Περδίκκαν ὁ τοῦ Λάγου Πτολεμαῖος κατακομίζοντα ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἐκτρεπόμενον ταύτῃ κατὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἐξιδιασμὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπώλετο διαφθαρεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐπελθόντος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ κατακλείσαντος αὐτὸν ἐν νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ· ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἀπέθανεν ἐμπεριπαρεὶς ταῖς σαρίσσαις ἐπελθόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν· σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ . . . καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς Ἀρριδαῖός τε καὶ τὰ παιδία τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Ῥωξάνη ἀπῆραν εἰς Μακεδονίαν· τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κομίσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐκήδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὅπου νῦν ἔτι κεῖται·

The Sema, as it is called, is part of the royal palaces too. This was the enclosure that contained the tombs of the kings and that of Alexander; for Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, forestalled Perdikkas by taking the body away from him when he was bringing it down from Babylon and was making a detour with it towards Egypt, moved by greed and a desire to make that land his own. Furthermore, Perdikkas was killed by his own troops after Ptolemy attacked him and cooped him up in a desert island. So Perdikkas met his end, transfixed by his soldiers' *sarissai* when they attacked him; but the kings who were with him, both Arrhidaios and the children of Alexander, and also Roxane, Alexander's wife, left for Macedonia; and the body of Alexander was carried off by Ptolemy and entombed in Alexandria, where it still lies.

Pompeius Trogus: see Justin.

T 76. Q. Curtius Rufus 10. 10. 13 and 20 (ca. A.D. 50)

13. Itaque Aegyptii Chaldaeique, iussi corpus suo more curare . . . deinde . . . repletumque est odoribus aureum solium et capiti adiecta fortunae eius insignia. . . . 20. Ceterum corpus eius a Ptolomaeo, cui Aegyptus cesserat, Memphim et inde paucis post annis Alexandream translatum est, omnisque memoriae ac nomini honos habetur.

And so the Egyptians and Chaldeans were ordered to care for the body after their manner; . . . then . . . the golden coffin was filled with perfumes, and the emblem of his rank was placed upon the king's head. . . . But Ptolemy, under whose control Egypt had come, transported the king's body to Memphis, and from there a few years later to Alexandria, where every honor was paid to his memory and his name.

T 77. Arrian *Ta meta Alexandron* frag. 1. 25 Roos (*FGH* 156 F 9. 25) (ca. A.D. 150)

Καὶ Ἀρριδαῖος δὲ ὁ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα φυλάσσων, παρὰ γνώμην αὐτὸ Περδίκκου λαβών, πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον παραγίνεται τὸν Λάγου, ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος διὰ Δαμασκοῦ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνων· ὃς πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ Πολέμωνος τοῦ προσοικειουμένου Περδίκκᾳ κωλυθεὶς ἐνίκησεν ὅμως εἰς τὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην εἰς ἔργον ἐξενεγκεῖν.

And Arrhidaios, the man in charge of Alexander's body, took it against Perdikkas's wishes and came to Ptolemy, son of Lagos, proceeding from Babylon through Damascus to Egypt; Polemon, Perdikkas's kinsman, did all he could to stop him, but he succeeded nevertheless in accomplishing the task as his own judgment dictated.

T 78. Ibid. frag. 24. 1–8 Roos (*FGH* 156 F 10. 1)

[Ἀρριδαίου δὲ]
τὴν παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον αὐτομόλησιν καὶ τοῦ σώμ[ατος]
τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον κομιδὴν ἐπεὶ Πε[ρδίκκᾳ οἱ]
ἀμφὶ Ἀτταλόν τε καὶ Πολέμωνα οἱ ἐπὶ κωλύσει [τῆς αὐτοῦ]
ἀποχωρήσεως ἐσταλμένοι ἄπρακτοι [ἐπανελθόντες ἔφρα-]
σαν, ὁ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠ[θέλησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυ]πτον στρα[τεύ-]
ειν, ὡς Πτολεμαῖον μὲν ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν τῶν ἑαυτῷ τι-
να ἐπιτηδείων καταστῆσαι Αἰγύπτου ὕπαρχον, τοῦ σώμα-
τος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κρατῆσαι.

But when Attalos and Polemon, who had been sent by Perdikkas to prevent Arrhidaios's departure, came back empty-handed and told him of how Arrhidaios had deserted to Ptolemy and had taken Alexander's body to Egypt, he was even more anxious to march against Egypt, in order both to take Ptolemy's command away from him and make one of his own supporters satrap instead, and to regain control of Alexander's body.

T 79. Justin *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* 13. 4. 6 (ca. A.D. 150)

Iubeturque Arridaeus rex corpus Alexandri in Hammonis templum deducere.

And King Arridaeus was ordered to bring the body of Alexander to the temple of Ammon.

T 80. Pausanias *Periēgēsis tēs Hellados* 1. 6. 3 (ca. A.D. 170)

Αὐτὸς δὲ [sc. Πτολεμαῖος] . . . *καὶ Μακεδόνων τοὺς ταχθέντας τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν ἐς Αἰγὰς κομίζειν ἀνέπεισεν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν νόμῳ τῷ Μακεδόνων ἔθαπτεν ἐν Μέμφει, οἷα δὲ ἐπιστάμενος πολεμήσοντα Περδίκκαν Αἴγυπτον εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ.*

He [sc. Ptolemy] . . . persuaded the Macedonians who had been entrusted with the task of carrying Alexander's body to Aigai to hand it over to him. And he proceeded to bury it with Macedonian rites in Memphis, but, knowing that Perdikkas would make war, he kept Egypt garrisoned.

Aelian *Varia historia* 12. 64 (third century A.D.): see T 153.

T 81. Anonymous *Heidelberg Epitome* (*FGH* 155 F 2)(Roman period)

Ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ θάνατον κατήγαγον οἱ Μακεδόνες εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος, κοσμήσαντες αὐτὸ πάνυ πολυτελῶς καὶ πλείστου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου περιθέντες ἀναλώματα καὶ καλλωπισμόν· παρήγαγον δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς καὶ πεπληθυσμένης δορυφορίας.

So after his death, the Macedonians brought the body of Alexander down from Babylon to Alexandria, adorning it in a most extravagant way and surrounding it with lavish gold and silver ornamentation; and they conveyed him there with a great host of bodyguards.

Select bibliography: Müller 1905; Petersen 1905; Wilamowitz 1905; Bulle 1906; Miller 1986; Pollitt 1986: 19–20 (reconstructions and discussions); Badian 1967: 185–89; Errington 1970: 64–65, 75–77; Billows 1990: 58–67 (chronology and politics); Rehak 1990 (Nikai).

Notes: Perdikkas gave Arrhidaios his commission in the summer of 323, and the hearse arrived in Egypt late in 321; cf. Errington 1970 and see Chapters 1. 2, 7. 4, and 8. 1.

P 8. Alexander and Philip, numerous paintings by Apelles

T 82. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 93–94 (published, A.D. 77)

Alexandrum et Philippum quotiens pinxerit, enumerare supervacuum est.

How many times [Apelles] painted Alexander and Philip it would be superfluous to recount.

Notes: see also P 2, above.

(iv) In battle

P 9. Alexander fighting Darius, painting by Philoxenos of Eretria for Kassandros

T 83. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 110 (published, A.D. 77)

Discipulos habuit [sc. Nicomachus] Aristonem fratrem et Aristiden filium et Philoxenum Eretrium, cuius tabula nullis postferenda, Cassandro regi picta, continuit Alexandri proelium cum Dario. . . . hic celeritatem praeceptoris secutus breviores etiamnum quasdam picturae conpendiarias invenit.

Among [sc. Nichomachus's] pupils were his brother Ariston and his son Aristides, and Philoxenus of Eretria, who painted for King Cassander a picture that is second to none, containing a battle between Alexander and Darius. . . . Imitating the speed of his teacher, he introduced some even briefer shortcuts in painting.

Select bibliography: Fuhrmann 1931; Gebauer 1939: K 63; Rumpf 1962; Bieber 1964: 46–48; Metzger 1967; Hölscher 1971; Hölscher 1973: 122–69; Andreae 1977; Giuliani 1977; Nylander 1983; Pollitt 1986: 3–4; Lauter 1988; Smith 1988: 60.

Notes: see Chapters 1.2 and 5. 2.

P 10. Alexander at the Issos, painting by Helena of Egypt, later dedicated by Vespasian in the Forum Pacis in Rome

T 84. Ptolemaios Chennos *apud* Photios *Bibliotheca* 190, p. 149b29–33 Bekker (ca. A.D. 80–100)

Καὶ ἡ ζωγράφος Ἑλένη τοῦ καταλόγου ἐστὶ τούτου, Τίμωνος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου θυγάτηρ, ἥτις τὴν ἐν Ἰσσῷ μάχην, ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀκμάζουσα τοῖς χρόνοις, ἔγραψε· καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Εἰρήνης τεμένει ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀνέκειτο ἡ γραφή.

And Helen the painter, daughter of Timon the Egyptian, also belongs in this list [of Helens]; she flourished at the time of the battle of the Issos, which she painted. This painting was exhibited by Vespasian in the Temple of Peace.

Select bibliography: see P 9, above, with Hölscher 1973: 171–72; Pape 1975: 182.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 5. 2. The Templum Pacis was built between A.D. 71 and 74.

(v) Hunting

None

(vi) Various

P 11. Alexander as a youth, painting by Antiphilos, later in Rome

Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 114: see T 63, above.

Select bibliography: Michel 1967: 16; Pape 1975: 63, 66, 188.

Notes: see Chapters 1.2 and 4. 1.

P 12. Alexander on horseback, painting by Apelles, at Ephesos

T 85. Aelian *Varia historia* 2. 3 (third century A.D.)

Ἀλέξανδρος θεασάμενος τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀπελλοῦ γραφεῖσαν οὐκ ἐπῄνεσε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ γράμματος. εἰσαχθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ χρεμετίσαντος πρὸς τὸν ἵππον τὸν ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι ὡς πρὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνον· Ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπελλῆς, Ἀλλ' ὅ γε ἵππος ἔοικέ σου γραφικώτερος εἶναι κατὰ πολύ.

Alexander, beholding his own picture at Ephesos painted by Apelles, did not praise it according to the value of the painting. But when a horse was brought forward and neighed to the horse in the portrait as if it were a real one, Apelles said to him: "O King, this horse seemed to be much more able to understand paintings than you!"

Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 93: see T 60, above.

[Cf. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 95 (published, A.D. 77)

Est et equus eius, sive fuit, pictus in certamine, quo iudicium ad mutas quadripedes provocavit ab hominibus. namque ambitu praevalere aemulos sentiens singulorum picturas inductis equis ostendit: Apellis tantum equo adhinnivere, idque et postea semper evenit, ut experimentum artis illud ostentaretur.

There is, or was, a Horse by him [sc. Apelles], painted in a competition, by which he carried his appeal for judgment from mankind to the dumb quadrupeds; for perceiving that rivals were getting the better of him by intrigue, he had some horses brought and showed them their pictures one by one, and the horses neighed only at the horse of Apelles. This always happened subsequently, showing it to be a sound test of artistic skill.]

Select bibliography: Schwarzenberg 1976: 259 n. 3.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 6. 3.

P 13. Alexander, painting by Nikias, later in Rome

T 86. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 132 (published, A.D. 77)

Alexander quoque in Pompei porticibus praecellens et Calypso sedens huic eidem [sc. Nicia] adscribuntur.

A very fine Alexander in the Porticoes of Pompey and a seated Calypso are also attributed to him [sc. Nicias].

Select bibliography: Pape 1975: 65, 189.

Notes: see Chapter 1. 2.

(vii) Unfinished, conjectural, dubious, and fictitious portraits

P 14. Alexander(?) in battle with the Persians, painting by Aristeides of Thebes, sold to Mnason, tyrant of Elateia

T 87. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 99 (published, A.D. 77)

Idem [sc. Aristides] pinxit proelium cum Persis, centum homines tabula ea conplexus pactusque in singulos mnas denas a tyranno Elatensium Mnasone.

The same artist [sc. Aristides] painted a Battle with the Persians, a panel that contains a hundred human figures, which he sold to Mnason the tyrant of Elatea on the terms of ten minae per man.

Select bibliography: see P 9, above.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 5. 2.

P 15. Alexander (?), probable illustration in Varro's *Imagines*

T 88. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35. 11 (published, A.D. 77)

Imaginum amorem flagrasse quondam testes sunt . . . M. Varro benignissimo invento insertis voluminum suorum fecunditati etiam septingentorum inlustrium, aliquo modo imaginibus, non passus intercidere figuras aut vetustatem aevi contra homines valere, inventor muneris etiam dis invidiosi, quando immortalitatem non solum dedit, verum etiam in omnes terras misit, ut praesentes esse ubique ceu di possent. et hoc quidem alienis ille praestitit.

The existence of a strong passion for portraits in former days is evidenced by . . . the most benevolent invention of Marcus Varro, who actually by some means inserted in a prolific output of volumes portraits of seven hundred famous people, not allowing their likenesses to disappear or the lapse of ages to prevail against mankind. Herein he

was the inventor of a benefit that even the gods might envy, since he not only bestowed immortality but dispatched it all over the world, enabling his subjects to be ubiquitous, like the gods. This was the service he rendered to strangers.

Notes: see Chapter 1. 2.

P 16. Alexander, portrait allegedly painted for Queen Candace of Meroe in secret by "one of her artists"

T 89. Pseudo-Kallisthenes *Historia Alexandri Magni* 3. 19, 1–2 and 22. 10–11 Kroll (ca. A.D. 300)

Λαβὼν δε᾽ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ διελθὼν ἔπεμψε Κλεομένην Αἰγύπτου ἐπιμελητὴν ταῦτα παραληψόμενον· αὐτὸς δὲ ὥδευσε πρὸς αὐτήν. ἡ δὲ Κανδάκη ἀκούσασα περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου [καὶ] πῶς ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιβαίνει καὶ πῶς χειροῦται τοὺς τηλικούτους βασιλεῖς, ἕνα τῶν ἑαυτῆς ζωγράφων φωνήσασα Ἕλληνα ἐκέλευσε πορευθέντα αὐτὸν ὡς εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτῷ ἀγνωστὶ ζωγραφῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐπιστρέψαντα δοῦναι τῇ Κανδάκῃ. ἡ δὲ λαβοῦσα ἔθετο ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τόπῳ.

. . . . . .

παρωργίσθη Κανδάκη καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀληθῶς εἴρηκας, Ἀλέξανδρε· ὁ δὲ ἔκθαμβος γενόμενος τῷ ὀνόματι ἀπεστράφη. ἡ δὲ εἶπε· Τί ἀπεστράφης φωνηθεὶς Ἀλέξανδρος; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐγώ, κυρία, Ἀντίγονος καλοῦμαι ἄγγελος Ἀλεξάνδρου· —Κἂν Ἀντίγονος καλῇ, παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τυγχάνεις· ἄρτι δέ σοι δείξω. καὶ κατέχουσα αὐτὸν ⟨τῆς χειρὸς⟩ εἰσφέρει εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα αὐτῆς καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐπιγινώσκεις τὸν σεαυτοῦ χαρακτῆρα; τί τρέμεις; τί τετάραξαι;

When Alexander had received [Candace's letter] and read it, he sent Kleomenes, governor of Egypt, to receive her gifts; he himself set off to meet her. Candace, having heard about Alexander—how many cities he attacked, and how many great kings he subdued—spoke to one of her Greek artists, ordering him to go as if to meet Alexander, to paint him unawares, and then to return and give the painting to her. On receiving it, she put it in a hidden place.

[Alexander, in disguise, meets Candace.]

Candace became angry and said: "You have spoken the truth, Alexander." He, amazed by the name, turned away. She said: "Why do you turn away when your name is Alexander?" He said: "Lady, my name is Antigonos, and I am Alexander's messenger." "Even if your name is Antigonos, to me you are King Alexander; I will show you why right now." And taking him [by the hand], she led him to her bedroom and said: "Do you recognize your own portrait? Why do you tremble? Why are you troubled?"

T 90. Julius Valerius *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* 1. 30 Kübler (fourth century A.D.)

Ipse [sc. Alexander] vero paulo post videndae reginae studio illo profectus est. quod ubi Candace comperit, eiusmodi rem ex ingenio comminiscitur. unum e pictoribus

peritissimis ire clam obviam adventanti Alexandro iubet, eumque quam conliniatissime eficiat ac depingat atque ad sese properiter picturam, quam inleverit, deferat. id ubi factum est et pictor revenit, acceptam effigiem abdito quodam et secreto ponit in loco.

. . . . . .

Et intellegit Candace ingenium viri et probat sane, sed in respondendo sic ait: "Vera mihi dixisti haec, Alexander mi." tum audito nomine obstupescens, "Apage," inquit, "o regina, hoc a me nomen, quippe ipse Antigonus vocor, enimvero Alexander nobis rex cluit, cuius ego nunc internuntius huc adveni." et regina post haec, "Esto sane," inquit, "Antigonus apud ceteros, mihi tamen nunc Alexander rex eris. neque nesciens id habeo; haud differam probationem." et cum dicto adprehendens in penita perducit olimque provisam imaginem ostendit, "Agnoscisne," ait, "Alexandri illius, quem mentiri non potes, faciem? sed quidnam intremuisti tam trepide quidve turbaris ex vultu?"

A little later, [Alexander] set out with the intention to meet the queen. When Candace heard about this, she cleverly devised the following plan. She ordered one of her most talented artists to go secretly to intercept Alexander, to paint him as accurately as he could, and then to return and give the painting to her. When he had done this and returned, she took the picture and put it in a recondite and hidden place.

[Alexander, in disguise, meets Candace.]

And Candace recognized the intelligence of the man and approved of it but in reply said only this: "You have told me the truth, my dear Alexander." He, amazed at hearing his name, turned away and said: "Queen Candace, do not call me by that name, for I am Antigonus, and King Alexander has called me, so I am come here as his messenger." The queen replied: "To others you can be Antigonus, but to me you will be King Alexander; this is no mistake on my part; I will waste no time in showing you why." And taking him by the hand, she led him into her bedroom and showed him the picture that she had hidden in anticipation: "Do you not recognize Alexander's face? You cannot mistake him. Why do you tremble, and why are you looking so troubled?"

Select bibliography: for a translation of the Armenian version see Wolohojian 1969: 132–33, 137–38.

Notes: see Chapter 1. 1 and 2; fiction.

D. STATUES

(i) With divine attributes

S 1. Alexander as pharaoh of Upper and Lower Egypt, wearing the horns of Ammon and the crowns of Ma'at and Atef, reliefs of the "Shrine of the Bark" of the temple of Ammon at Luxor

T 91a. Text to scene E. 193 (fig. 54)(ca. 330–325 B.C.)

1. The Perfect God, the King of the Two Lands, Alexander.
2. The One who belongs to *Bhdt*.
3. To lead the king into the temple.
4. Month-Ra, the Lord of Thebes, says: "Your nose is like life and fortune."
5. Ammon-Ra, the Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, who is on the peak of *Ipt-swt*, the Lord of the Skies, the King of the Gods.
6. [Ammon] says: "I have given you the nine-bow people under your feet. I have granted you all life and fortune and all health."
7. He is the King, the Lord of the Two Lands, the Lord of the Ceremonies, *Stp-n-R^{a}-mrj-Imn* (the Power of Ra, the Beloved of Ammon), in which [lands] he made a fine monument of sandstone for his father Ammon-Ra, the Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. He acts for him, the Lifegiver, for ever.

T 91b. Text to scene E. 205 (fig. 53)(ca. 330–325 B.C.)

1. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, *Stp-n-R^{a}-mrj-Imn* (the Power of Ra, the Beloved of Ammon), the Son of Ra, the Lord of the Crowns, Alexander, endowed with life.
2. All protection, life, longevity, and luck be on him.
3. Pray to the god, four times.
4. [Ammon-Ra, the Lord] of the Thrones of the Two Lands, who is on the peak of *Ipt-swt*, the Lord of the Skies, the Ruler of Thebes.
5. [Ammon] says: "I have granted you all the life and fortune that is in my power. I have given you the nine-bow people altogether under your feet."
6. Khonsu in Thebes, fair in peace, Thot, who is in Heliopolis.
7. [Khonsu] speaks: "I have given you all the heart's delight that is in my power. I have bestowed Ra's kingdom on earth upon you. I have given you the crook and scourge, with which you will appear like Ra."

Select bibliography: Abd el-Raziq 1984; Bell 1985; Burstein 1991.

Notes: see Chapter 6. 3. Only a selection of the rich array of accompanying texts can be included here: for the rest, see Abd el-Raziq 1984.

S 2. Alexander as God Invincible, statue proposed (erected?) by the Athenians in the winter of 324/323

T 92. Hypereides *Kata Dēmosthenous* frag. 7, cols. 31–32 (early 323 B.C.)

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀναβάλοιτο τὸ ἀποφῆναι ἡ βουλή, οὔπω φάσκουσα εὑρηκέναι, τότ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ συγχωρῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος εἶ[ναι εἰ βούλ]οιτο, [κα]ὶ ἀφι[κομένου] . . . . . .

[desunt col. 31 versus fere decem.]

[32] . . . . . *οστους* . . . . . *ἐβούλετ[ο*
. . . . .] *στῆσαι εἰκό[να Ἀλεξάν]δρου βασι-*
λ[έως τοῦ ἀνι]κήτου θε[οῦ . . . . . .
. . . . . *καὶ* . . . . . .
[ἀγ]γελίαν . . . . . *[Ὀλυμ]πίας*. . . . . .
. . . . . *ἀπήγ[γειλε τῷ δή]μῳ.*

But when the Areopagus postponed its statement on the grounds that it had not yet discovered the truth, you conceded in the Assembly that Alexander might be the son of Zeus and Poseidon too if he wished, and when . . . came . . . [ca. 10 lines missing] . . . he wished . . . to set up a stat[ue of Alexan]der, the ki[ng and inv]incible go[d. .] . . . and . . . [annou]ncement . . . [Olym]pias . . . annou[nced to the peo]ple.

T 93. Hypereides *Epitaphios* col. 8. 21–22 (322 B.C.)

Φανερὸν δ' ἐξ ὧν ἀναγκαζόμεθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι· θυσίας μὲν ἀνθρώποις γ[ιγνο]μένας ἐφορᾶν, ἀγάλμ[ατα δὲ] καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ναοὺς τοῖ[ς μὲν] θεοῖς ἀμελῶς, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώ[ποις] ἐπιμελῶς συντελούμενα, καὶ τοὺς ⟨τού⟩των οἰκέτας ὥσπερ ἥρωας τι-μᾶν ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαζομένους. ὅπου δὲ τὰ πρὸς ⟨τοὺς⟩ θεοὺς ὅσια διὰ τὴν Μακεδόνων τόλμαν ἀνῄρηται, τί τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χρὴ νομίζειν;

The practices that even now we have to countenance are proof enough: sacrifices being made to men; images, altars, and temples carefully perfected in their honor, while those of the gods are neglected, and we ourselves are forced to honor as heroes the servants of these people. If reverence for the gods has been removed by Macedonian insolence, what fate must we conclude would have befallen the rules of conduct towards man?

Select bibliography: Tarn 1948: vol. 2: 338–46; Balsdon 1950; Bickerman 1963; Habicht 1970: 28–36, 246–52; Hamilton 1973: 138–41; Jaschinski 1981: 93–119; Badian 1981; Brunt 1983: 495–97; Levi 1984; Kienast 1987: 324.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2, 3. 5, 4. 4, and 7. 2.

S 3. Alexander-Zeus, statue dedicated at Olympia by one of the Roman colonists of Corinth in 44 or shortly thereafter

T 94. Pausanias *Periēgēsis tēs Hellados* 5. 25. 1 (ca. A.D. 170)

Τοσαῦτα ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως ἀγάλματα εἶναι Διὸς ἀνηριθμησάμεθα ἐς τὸ ἀκρι-βέστατον. τὸ ἀνάθημα γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Κορινθίου τεθέν, Κορινθίων δὲ οὐ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀλλ' οἳ παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν εἰληφότες τὴν πο-λιν, τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάθημα Ἀλεξάνδρός ἐστιν ὁ Φιλίππου, Διὶ εἰκασμένος δῆθεν.

I have listed the statues of Zeus within the Altis as accurately as I can. As for the votive offering near the great temple, dedicated by a Corinthian (not one of the Corinthians of old, but one of the settlers whom the emperor planted in the city)—this statue, though supposedly a likeness of Zeus, is really Alexander, son of Philip.

Notes: Corinth, sacked in 146, was refounded by Julius Caesar in 44. See the Epilogue.

(ii) In the company of gods and personifications

S 4. Alexander crowned by Ge, who is being crowned in turn by Tyche, who is flanked by Nikai, in the Tychaion at Alexandria

T 95. Pseudo-Libanios (Nikolaos Rhetor) *Progymnasmata* 25 (vol. 7, pp. 530–31 Foerster)(ca. A.D. 400)

Τοῦ Τυχαίου

1. Τύχαι δὲ ἄρα πάντα μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὅπῃ βούλονται φέρουσιν, ἐγκαθίδρυνται δὲ δικαίως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντα δικαίως κατορθοῦσι τιμώμεναι. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων ἱδρυμένας οἱ παρ' ἑκάστην θεώμενοι φράζουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἣν τεθέαμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι.

2. Τέμενος ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως ἵδρυται συγκείμενον μὲν ἐκ πλειόνων θεῶν, Τύχης δὲ ἅπαν ὠνόμασται. καί μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὴν κλῆσιν τῷ χώρῳ προσθέντες εἰς τὸ δέον ποιεῖν. οἷς γὰρ ἅπαντα Τύχῃ συγκρύπτεται, τούτοις ἡ θεῶν ἀπὸ Τύχης συνεκέκρυπτο κλῆσις. 3. κατεσκεύασται δὲ ὁ χῶρος ὧδέ πως. ἤσκηται μὲν ἅπας ἐξ ἐδάφους εἰς ὀροφὴν, διῄρηται δὲ ἡ κατασκευὴ κατὰ κύκλους ἡμίσεας, ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ παντοδαπαὶ προβέβληνται κίονες. 4. οἱ δ' αὖ κύκλοι εἰσὶ πρὸς ἀγαλμάτων ὑποδοχὰς ἀνιστάμενοι καὶ μετρεῖν ἔξεστι τοὺς κύκλους μὲν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων παρεστήκασι κίονες. 5. θεοὶ δέ εἰσιν ἀνεστηκότες οὐ[3] πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι δύο καὶ δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν. καὶ κορυφὴ μὲν ἔχει τὸν οἰκιστὴν ἐξ ἑτέρων ἄκρων καὶ μέσων, ἀνέστηκε δὲ φέρων μὲν αὐτὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὑπόμνημα, φερόμενος δὲ δι' ὧν ἡ πόλις εἴωθε τρέφεσθαι. καὶ σημαίνει τῆς γῆς τὴν φύσιν ἡ Χάρις, κυκλοῖ δὲ κατὰ μέσον ἥμισυ ὅσον ἀριθμὸς θεῶν ὀνομάζεται. 6. καὶ μέσον ἐκ μέσου Τύχης ἕστηκεν ἄγαλμα στεφάνῳ δηλοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰς νίκας. καὶ στέφεται μὲν ὑπὸ Τύχης ἡ Γῆ, στέφει δὲ αὐτὴ τὸν νικήσαντα. Νῖκαι δὲ τῆς Τύχης ἑκατέρωθεν ἀνεστήκασι καλῶς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῆς Τύχης δηλοῦντος τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς πάντα νικᾶν οἶδεν ἡ Τύχη. 7. τελευτᾷ δὲ ἡ τοῦ χώρου κατασκευὴ πρὸς ἡτοιμασμένον ἐξ ἀγάλματος δάφνινον[4] στέφανον. καὶ φιλοσοφεῖ εἷς ἐπὶ καθέδρας ἄκρου, γυμνὸς δὲ ἕτερος πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἄκρον ἀνέστηκεν οὐρανοῦ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς

3. οὐ Foerster; οἱ MSS.
4. δάφνινον Foerster; ἐλάφειον MSS.

λαιᾶς φερόμενος πρόσχημα, τὴν δ' αὖ δεξιὰν εἰς ἅπαντα πρόχειρον, γυμνὸς δὲ προκαλύμματος ἵσταται. 8. καὶ στῆλαι χαλκαῖ κατὰ μέσον ἑστήκασιν ἔδαφος ἐγκεκολαμμέναι τὰ τῆς πόλεως νόμιμα. καὶ κατὰ μέσον αἱ πύλαι παρὰ τὸ Μουσῶν ἄγουσαι τέμενος. χαλκοῖ δὲ βασιλεῖς κατὰ μέσον ἑστήκασιν οὐχ ὅσους ἐκόμισε χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν κομισθέντων ἦσαν σεμνότατοι.[5]

9. Ταῦτα θαῦμα μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἰδεῖν, κέρδος δὲ μαθεῖν, ἀδίκημα δὲ σιωπῇ κατακρύπτεσθαι.

The Tychaion

Fortunes take all human affairs wherever they wish, and rightly are set up in the cities, where they are honored and from which they direct everything justly. Beholding those established in each city, others have spoken of each of them, but I will describe her whom I have beheld.

There is a sanctuary in the city center, one dedicated to many divinities, though as a whole it is named after Fortune. And those who invoked her name for the place seem to me to have done so rightly. Those who hide away completely from Fortune, from them Fortune hides the invocation of the gods. The place is laid out as follows. It is completely embellished from floor to ceiling; the decor is subdivided into semicircular niches abutted by columns of all varieties. These niches are intended to display statues, and it is possible to count them by the statues they contain; between the statues project the columns. Not all the gods are included, only twelve of them by number. And one pedestal sustains the Colonizer above the others, which are of medium height; he stands high, and bears the tokens of a savior, carrying the means by which the city is nurtured. And Grace signifies the nature of the land; half the gods by number encircle her while she stands in their midst. And right in the center stands a statue of Fortune, advertising the victories of Alexander with a crown; she crowns Earth, and Earth crowns Alexander. Victories stand on either side of Fortune, by which the artist aptly indicates Fortune's power, in that she knows how to conquer all. The embellishment of the place culminates in a laurel crown created in sculptural form. One man philosophizes atop a throne, and another stands naked nearby it, carrying the image of the heavens in his left hand, but extending his other hand to all; unclothed in nudity he stands. And bronze *stēlai* stand in the center of the floor, engraved with the laws of the city. And in the middle are doors leading to the precinct of the Muses. Kings of bronze occupy their center, not every one whom Time brought here, but of those so brought, only the most worthy.

These things are a wonder to see, a boon to learn, and a crime to conceal in silence.

Select bibliography: Schweitzer 1931: 218–20; Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 241–42; vol. 2: 392 n. 417; Hebert 1983: 10–25.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 8. 3.

5. *σεμνότατοι* Foerster; *σεμνότεροι* MSS.

S 5 and 6. (1) Alexander, Ptolemy II Philadelphos (both wreathed with golden ivy crowns), Arete, Priapos, and Corinth; and (2) Alexander in gold, flanked by Athena and Nike, on a quadriga drawn by elephants; both displayed in Ptolemy II Philadelphos's Great Procession of 275/274 in Alexandria

T 96a. Kallixeinos of Rhodes *Peri Alexandreias* frag. 2. 198–214 (Athenaios 5, 201d–e = *FGH* 627 F 2)(ca. 200 B.C.)

(D) *Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαίου ἀγάλματα ἐστεφανωμένα στεφάνοις κισσίνοις ἐκ χρυσοῦ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρετῆς ἄγαλμα τὸ παρεστὸς τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ στέφανον εἶχεν ἐλαίας χρυσοῦν. καὶ Πρίαπος δ' αὐτοῖς συμπαρῆν ἔχων στέφανον κίσσινον ἐκ χρυσοῦ. Κόρινθος δ' ἡ πόλις παρεστῶσα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐστεφάνωτο διαδήματι χρυσῷ. παρέκειντο δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις κυλικεῖον μεστὸν χρυσωμάτων κρατήρ τε χρυσοῦς μετρητῶν πέντε. τῇ δὲ τετρακύκλῳ ταύτῃ ἠκολούθουν γυναῖκες ἔχουσαι ἱμάτια πολυτελῆ καὶ κόσμον·* (E) *προσηγορεύοντο δὲ πόλεις, αἵτε ἀπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ Ἑλληνίδες ὅσαι τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὰς νήσους κατοικοῦσαι ὑπὸ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐτάχθησαν· ἐφόρουν δὲ πᾶσαι στεφάνους χρυσοῦς. ἐφέρετο καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων τετρακύκλων θύρσος ἐνενηκοντάπηχυς χρυσοῦς καὶ λόγχη ἀργυρᾶ ἑξηκοντάπηχυς καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ φαλλὸς χρυσοῦς ρκ' διαγεγραμμένος καὶ διαδεδεμένος στέμμασι διαχρύσοις, ἔχων ἐπ' ἄκρου ἀστέρα χρυσοῦν, οὗ ἦν ἡ περίμετρος πηχῶν ς'.*

[Next came] statues of Alexander and Ptolemy, crowned with ivy crowns made of gold. The statue of Arete that stood beside Ptolemy had a gold olive crown. Priapos stood beside them also wearing an ivy crown made of gold. The city of Corinth, standing beside Ptolemy, was crowned with a golden diadem. Beside all these figures were placed a cup stand full of gold vessels and a gold krater of five measures capacity. Following this cart were women who wore very rich robes and jewelry; they bore the names of the cities of Ionia and the rest of the Greek colonies in Asia and the islands that had been subdued by the Persians; they all wore gold crowns. There were carried on other carts a Bacchic thyrsos of gold, 135 feet long, and a silver spear 90 feet long; in another was a golden phallos 180 feet long, painted all over and bound with fillets of gold; at the tip it had a golden star that measured 9 feet around.

T 96b. Ibid. 226–29 (Athenaios 5, 202a = *FGH* 627 F 2)

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Διὸς ἤγετο πομπὴ καὶ ἄλλων παμπόλλων θεῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃς ἐφ' ἅρματος ἐλεφάντων ἀληθινῶν ἐφέρετο χρυσοῦς, Νίκην καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἔχων.

And after these came the processions in honor of Zeus and all the gods, and after all of them, one devoted to Alexander, whose golden statue was carried in a chariot drawn by live elephants, flanked by Nike and Athena.

Select bibliography: Goukowsky 1981: 81–83; Rice 1983: 102–10, 115–16; Foertenmeyer 1988.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 8. 4.

(iii) With Philip and/or other companions

S 7. Alexander, Philip, Amyntas, Olympias, and Eurydike, gold and ivory group by Leochares; commissioned by Philip for the Philippeion at Olympia

T 97. Pausanias *Periēgēsis tēs Hellados* 5. 17. 4 (ca. A.D. 170)

Μετεκομίσθη δὲ αὐτόσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου Φιλιππείου, χρυσοῦ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Εὐρυδίκη τε ἡ[6] *Φιλίππου ⟨μήτηρ καὶ Ὀλυμπιὰς ἡ γύνη αὐτοῦ⟩.*

There were also brought hither [sc. to the Heraion] from what is called the Philippeion other images of gold and ivory, Eurydike, Philip's [mother, and Olympias, his wife].

T 98. Ibid. 5. 20. 9–10

Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως τό ⟨τε⟩ Μητρῷον καὶ οἴκημα περιφερὲς ὀνομαζόμενον Φιλιππεῖον· ἐπὶ κορυφῇ δέ ἐστι τοῦ Φιλιππείου μήκων χαλκῆ σύνδεσμος ταῖς δοκοῖς. τοῦτο τὸ οἴκημα ἔστι μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, πεποίηται δὲ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ ἑστήκασι· Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐποιήθη μετὰ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀλισθεῖν. κεῖνται δὲ αὐτόθι Φίλιππός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατήρ· ἔργα δέ ἐστι καὶ ταῦτα Λεωχάρους ἐλέφαντος καῖ χρυσοῦ, καθὰ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης εἰσὶν ⟨αἱ⟩ εἰκόνες.

The Metroon is within the Altis, and so is a round building called the Philippeion. On the roof of the Philippeion is a bronze poppy that binds the beams together. This building is on the left of the exit opposite the Prytaneion. It is made of burnt brick and is surrounded by columns. It was built by Philip after the fall of Greece at Chaironeia. Here are located statues of Philip and Alexander, and with them is Amyntas, Philip's father. These works too are by Leochares and are of ivory and gold, as are the statues of Olympias and Eurydike.

Select bibliography: Gebauer 1939: K 67; Ashmole 1951: 15–16; Bieber 1964: 24–25; Richter 1965: 105–7, 255; Buschor 1971: 13, 68 no. 8; Hölscher 1971; von Graeve

6. *Ἀριδαίου γυνὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιὰς ἡ* supp. Buttmann; *μήτηρ καὶ Ὀλυμπιὰς ἡ γύνη αὐτοῦ* supp. Rocha-Pereira.

1973: 244–45; Robertson 1975: 462; Fittschen 1977: no. 7; Frel 1981a: 44–45, no. 4; Smith 1988: 60–61; Borza 1990: 250–51.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2; 4. 1, 2, and 4. Begun after Chaironeia in 338.

S 8. Alexander and Philip, erected by the Athenians in the Agora

T 99. Pausanias *Periēgēsis tēs Hellados* 1. 9. 4 (ca. 170)

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους Φίλιππός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου κεῖνται· τούτοις μείζονα ὑπῆρχέ πως ἢ ἄλλου πάρεργα εἶναι λόγου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τιμῇ τε ἀληθεῖ καὶ εὐεργέταις οὖσι γεγόνασιν αἱ δωρεαί, Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κολακεία μᾶλλον ἐς αὐτοὺς τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λυσίμαχον οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τοσοῦτον ὡς ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρήσιμον νομίζοντες ἀνέθηκαν.

After the Egyptians come statues of Philip and of his son Alexander. The events of their lives were too important to form a mere digression in another story. Now, the Egyptians had their honors bestowed upon them out of genuine respect and because they were benefactors, but it was rather popular flattery that gave them to Philip and Alexander, since they also set up a statue to Lysimachos not so much out of goodwill but because they thought to serve their immediate ends.

Select bibliography: Ashmole 1951: 16; Bieber 1964: 19; Hamilton 1973: 37; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 373; Palagia 1980: 45.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 4. 1–4.

S 9. Alexander and Philip in chariots, bronze group by Euphranor

T 100. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 34. 78 (published, A.D. 77)

Fecit . . . item Alexandrum et Philippum in quadrigis.

[Euphranor] . . . also made Alexander and Philip in four-horse chariots.

Select bibliography: Gebauer 1939: K 68; Bieber 1964: 19; Hölscher 1971: 25, 29–30, 37; Schwarzenberg 1975; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: no. 33; Palagia 1980: 45–48.

Notes: identical with S 8? See Chapters 1. 2 and 4. 1–4.

S 10. Alexander and Philip, bronze group by "Chaereas"

T 101. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 34. 75 (published, A.D. 77)

Chaereas Alexandrum Magnum et Philippum patrem eius fecit.

Chaereas did Alexander the Great and his father, Philip.

Select bibliography: Schreiber 1903: 268–72.

Notes: by Chares of Lindos? See Chapters 1. 2 and 4. 1–3.

S 11. Alexander with Philip and Seleukos, all on horseback, and Antigonos Monopthalmos, on foot, group dedicated by the Eleans at Olympia

T 102. Pausanias *Periēgēsis tēs Hellados* 6. 11. 1 (ca. A.D. 170)

Ἐφεξῆς τούτων ἀναθήματά ἐστιν Ἠλείων, Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ Σέλευκός τε καὶ Ἀντίγονος· τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐφ' ἵππων, Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ ἀνὴρ πεζός ἐστιν ἡ εἰκών.

Next to these [statues of Olympic victors] are offerings of the Eleans, representing Philip, the son of Amyntas; Alexander, the son of Philip; Seleukos; and Antigonos. Antigonos is on foot; the rest are on horseback.

Select bibliography: *Olympia* 2: 156; von Roques de Maumont 1958: 22; Siedentopf 1968: 13–14.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 9. 4.

(iv) In battle

S 12. Alexander and the thirty-four Companions who perished at the Granikos, bronze equestrian group by Lysippos, at Dion in Macedonia, later in Rome

T 103. Aristoboulos *apud* Plutarch *Alexander* 16. 15–17 (*FGH* 139 F 5)(ca. 300 B.C.)

Λέγουνται δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχίλιοι πεντακόσιοι πεσεῖν. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀριστόβουλός φησι τέσσαρας καὶ τριάκοντα νεκροὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς πάντας, ὧν ἐννέα πεζοὺς εἶναι. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευσεν εἰκόνας ἀνασταθῆναι χαλκᾶς, ἃς Λύσιππος εἰργάσατο.

Of the barbarians, we are told, twenty thousand infantry fell, and twenty-five hundred cavalry. But on Alexander's side, Aristoboulos says there were thirty-four dead in all, of whom nine were infantry. Of these, then, Alexander ordered statues to be set up in bronze, and Lysippos made them.

Pompeius Trogus: see Justin.

T 104. Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana* 1. 11. 3–4 (ca. A.D. 30)

Hic est Metellus Macedonicus, qui porticus, quae fuerunt circumdatae duabus aedibus sine inscriptione positis, quae nunc Octaviae porticibus ambiuntur, fecerat, quique

hanc turmam statuarum equestrium, quae frontem aedium spectant, hodieque maximum ornamentum eius loci, ex Macedonia detulit. 4. Cuius turmae hanc causam referunt, Magnum Alexandrum impetrasse a Lysippo, singulari talium auctore operum, ut eorum equitum, qui ex ipsius turma apud Granicum flumen ceciderant, expressa similitudine figuram faceret statuas et ipsius quoque iis interponeret.

This is the Metellus Macedonicus who had previously built the portico around the two temples without inscriptions that are now surrounded by the Portico of Octavia, and who brought from Macedonia the group of equestrian statues that stand facing the temples and, even at the present time, are the chief ornament of the place. They say this about the origin of the group: that Alexander the Great prevailed upon Lysippus, a sculptor unexcelled in works of this sort, to make likenesses of the horsemen in his own squadron who had fallen at the river Granicus and to place his own statue among them.

T 105. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 34. 64 (published, A.D. 77)

Fecit . . . turmam Alexandri, in qua amicorum eius imagines summa omnium similitudine expressit; hanc Metellus Macedonia subacta transtulit Romam.

[Lysippus] made . . . Alexander's cavalry squadron, in which the sculptor created portraits of Alexander's friends that were consummate likenesses in every case. After the conquest of Macedonia Metellus removed this to Rome.

Plutarch *Alexander* 16. 15–17: see Aristoboulos (T 103).

T 106. Arrian *Alexandrou Anabasis* 1. 16. 4–5 (ca. A.D. 150)

Μακεδόνων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἑταίρων ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ ἀπέθανον· καὶ τούτων χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες ἐν Δίῳ ἑστᾶσιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου κελεύσαντος Λύσιππον ποιῆσαι, ὅσπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μόνος προκριθεὶς ἐποίει· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑξήκοντα, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τοὺς τριάκοντα. (5) *καὶ τούτους τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔθαψεν Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἄλλῳ κόσμῳ· γονεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἢ τῷ σώματι λειτουργίαι ἢ κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις ἑκάστων εἰσφοραί. καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων δὲ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔσχεν, ἐπελθών τε αὐτὸς ἑκάστους καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἰδὼν καὶ ὅπως τις ἐτρώθη ἐρόμενος καὶ ὅ τι πράττων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀλαζονεύσασθαί οἱ παρασχών.*

On the Macedonian side about twenty-five of the Companions fell in the first shock. There are bronze statues of them set up at Dion; Alexander gave the order to Lysippos, the only man he selected to portray him. Of the rest of the cavalry more than sixty perished, and about thirty infantry. Alexander buried them the next day with their arms and other gear; to their parents and children he gave remission of land taxes and of all other personal services and property taxes. He took great care of the

wounded, visiting each man himself, examining their wounds, asking how they got them, and allowing them to recount and boast of their exploits.

T 107. Justin *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* 11. 6. 12–13 (ca. A.D. 150)

De exercitu Alexandri novem pedites, centum XX equites cecidere, quos rex inpense ad ceterorum solacia humatos statuis equestribus donavit cognatisque eorum immunitates dedit.

In Alexander's army nine infantry and 120 cavalry were killed; after they were buried, the king (to comfort the rest) gave them equestrian statues at great cost and allowed their relatives freedom from taxes.

Select bibliography: Woodward 1914, 1929; Johnson (1927)1968: 224–26; Gebauer 1939: K 62; von Roques de Maumont 1958: 23–25; Bieber 1964: 36; Michel 1967: 16; Siedentopf 1968: 46–47, 72–75; Pape 1975: 15–16, 47, 54, 62, 64; Goukowsky 1978: 171–72; Andronikos et al. 1980, Chicago and Toronto Supplements: K and S-6; Gualandi 1980; Coarelli 1981; Moreno 1981: 185–88; Moreno 1983–84: 28–41; Pollitt 1986: 41–45; Moreno 1987a: 79–90; Calcani 1989; Ridgway 1990: 119–21, 129, 151; Stewart 1990: 290–91.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 5. 1. Commissioned in 334, taken to Rome in 146.

(v) Hunting

S 13. Alexander rescued by Krateros while hunting lions in "farthest Syria," bronze group by Lysippos and Leochares, at Delphi, commissioned by Krateros

T 108. *Fouilles de Delphes* 3. 4. 2, no. 137 (ed. Voutiras)(ca. 320–300 B.C.)

Υἱὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Κράτερος τάδε τὠπόλλων[ι]
ηὔξατο τιμάεις καὶ πολύδοξος ἀνήρ·
στᾶσε, δ' ὃν ἐμ μεγάροις ἐτεκνώσατο καὶ λίπε παῖδα,
πᾶσαν ὑποσχεσίαν πατρὶ τελῶν, Κράτερος,
ὄφρα οἱ ἀΐδιόν τε καὶ ἀρπαλέον κλέος ἄγρα,
ὦ ξένε, ταυροφόνου τοῦδε λέοντος ἔχοι·
ὅμ ποτε, Ἀλ[εξά]νδρωι τότε ὅθ' εἵπετο καὶ συνεπόρθει
τῶι πολυαιν[ήτωι τ]ῶιδε Ἀσίας βασιλεῖ,
ὧδε συνεξαλάπαξε καὶ εἰς χέρας ἀντιάσαντα
ἔκτανεν οἰονόμων ἐν περάτεσσι Σύρων.

Alexander's son, Krateros, offered these to Apollo,
A man exalted, honored, and far-famed.
But he who placed them here was Krateros his orphaned child
Fulfilling every promise for his sire,
To bring him glory, sweet and everlasting, O stranger,
As hunter of that bull-devouring lion.
Along with Alexander, Asia's much-praised monarch,
Companion to his king in victory,
He destroyed it as it grappled with them, killed it thus,
At sheep-rearing Syria's farthest bounds.

T 109. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 34. 64 (published, A.D. 77)

Idem [sc. Lysippus] fecit Hephaestionem, Alexandri Magni amicum, quem quidam Polyclito adscribant, cum is centum prope annis ante fuerit; item Alexandri venationem, quae Delphis sacrata est.

[Lysippus] also made a Hephaestion, Alexander the Great's friend, a statue that many attribute to Polyclitus, even though he lived a century earlier; and Alexander's Hunt, dedicated at Delphi.

T 110. Plutarch *Alexander* 40. 4–5 (ca. A.D. 110)

Ἐπέτεινεν οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις κακοπαθῶν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ὥστε καὶ Λάκωνα πρεσβευτὴν, παραγενόμενον αὐτῷ λέοντα καταβάλλοντι μέγαν, εἰπεῖν· Καλῶς γ' Ἀλέξανδρε πρὸς τὸν λέοντα ἠγώνισαι περὶ τᾶς βασιλείας. (5) *τοῦτο τὸ κυνήγιον Κρατερὸς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκεν, εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς ποιησάμενος τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τῶν κυνῶν, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ λέοντι συνεστῶτος, καὶ αὐτοῦ προσβοηθοῦντος, ὧν τὰ μὲν Λύσιππος ἔπλασε, τὰ δὲ Λεωχάρης.*

Accordingly, he exerted himself yet more strenuously, suffering wounds and risking his life in military and hunting expeditions, so that a Spartan ambassador who came up with him as he was bringing down a great lion said: "Nobly, indeed, Alexander, you have struggled with the lion to see which should be king." This hunting scene Krateros dedicated at Delphi, with bronze figures of the lion, the dogs, the king engaged with the lion, and himself coming to his assistance; some of the figures were made by Lysippos, and some by Leochares.

[T 111. Cf. Plutarch *Alexander* 74. 6

Τὸ δὲ ὅλον οὕτω φασὶ δεινὸν ἐνδῦναι καὶ δευσοποιὸν ἐγγενέσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ Κασάνδρου τὸ δέος, ὥσθ' ὕστερον χρόνοις πολλοῖς, ἤδη Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντα καὶ κρατοῦντα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐν Δελφοῖς περιπατοῦντα καῖ θεώμενον τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, εἰκόνος Ἀλεξάνδρου φανείσης ἄφνω πληγέντα φρῖξαι καὶ κραδανθῆναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ μόλις ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτόν, ἰλιγγιάσαντα πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν.

And in general, they say that Kassandros's spirit was deeply penetrated and imbued with a dreadful fear of Alexander, so that many years afterwards, when he was now king of Macedonia and master of Greece, as he was walking about and surveying the statues at Delphi, the sight of an image of Alexander smote him suddenly, with a shuddering and trembling of the body from which he could scarcely recover, and made his head swim.]

Select bibliography: Loeschke 1888; Bernoulli 1905: 123, 152–53; Johnson (1927)1968: 226–28; Fuhrmann 1931: 243–44, 246–49; Kleiner 1951: 222; von Roques de Maumont 1958: 26–29; Bieber 1964: 45–46; von Graeve 1970:136–39; Hölscher 1973: 181–85; Moreno 1974: 86–105 (with full bibliography); Vasic 1979; Willers 1979; Moreno 1981: 196–99; Moreno 1983–84: 46–53; Voutiras 1984; Moreno 1987a: 103–11; Nielsen 1987: 164–68; Donderer 1988: Stamatiou 1988.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 9. 3. Krateros senior was killed in the spring of 320.

S 14. Alexander hunting, bronze group by Euthykrates of Sikyon, at Thespiai

T 112. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 34. 66 (published, A.D. 77)

Filios . . . reliquit . . . ante omnes Euthycraten,[7] quamquam is constantiam potius imitatus patis quam elegantiam austero maluit genere quam iucundo placere. itaque optume expressit Herculem Delphis et Alexandrum Thespiis venatorem.

[Lysippus] . . . left behind [three] sons [who were his pupils] . . . of whom the foremost was Euthycrates, though he imitated his father's rigor rather than his elegance, preferring to find favor in the austere rather than in the graceful style. His masterpieces are a Hercules at Delphi and an Alexander Hunting at Thespiae.

Select bibliography: Siedentopf 1968: 15; Hölscher 1973: 185–86.

Notes: see Chapters 1.2 and 9.2.

(vi) Various

S 15. Alexander as a youth, bronze by Lysippos, later in Rome

T 113. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 34. 63 (published, A.D. 77)

Fecit et Alexandrum Magnum multis operibus, a pueritia eius orsus, quam statuam inaurari iussit Nero princeps delectatus admodum illa; dein, cum pretio perisset gratia artis, detractum est aurum, pretiosiorque talis existimabatur etiam cicatricibus operis atque concisuris, in quibus aurum haeserat, remanentibus.

7. Euthycraten. quamquam Mayhoff.

[Lysippus] also executed a series of statues of Alexander the Great, beginning with one in Alexander's boyhood. The emperor Nero was so delighted by this statue that he ordered it to be gilded; but this addition to its monetary value so diminished its artistic appeal that afterwards the gold was removed, and in that condition the statue was considered more valuable still, even though it retained the scars from the work done on it and the incisions for fastening the gold.

[T 114. Cf. *Anthologia Graeca* 16. 122 (ca. A.D. 100)

Τοῦτον Ἀλεξάνδρου, μεγαλήτορος υἷα Φιλίππου,
δέρκεαι ἀρτιλόχευτον, Ὀλυμπιὰς ὅν ποτε μήτηρ
καρτερόθυμον ἔτικτεν· ἀπ' ὠδίνων δέ μιν Ἄρης
ἔργα μόθων ἐδίδασκε, Τύχη δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀνάσσειν.

Here you see the newly born Alexander, the son of greathearted Philip, him the strong-hearted to whom Olympias gave birth, to whom Ares taught the labors of war from his cradle and whom Fortune called to the throne.]

Select bibliography: see S 16.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 4. 1.

S 16. Alexander (with the lance), bronzes by Lysippos

T 115. *Anthologia Graeca* 16. 119 (Poseidippos)(early third century B.C.)

Εἰς στήλην Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺ Μακεδόνος

Λύσιππε, πλάστα Σικυώνιε, θαρσαλέη χείρ,
δάϊε τεχνίτα, πῦρ τοι ὁ χαλκὸς ὁρῇ,
ὅν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μορφᾶς χέες. οὐκέτι μεμπτοὶ
Πέρσαι· συγγνώμη βουσὶ λέοντα φυγεῖν.

On a Statue of Alexander the Macedonian

Lysippos, sculptor of Sikyon, daring hand, cunning craftsman: its glance is of fire, that bronze you cast in the form of Alexander. No longer do we blame the Persians: cattle may be pardoned for flying before a lion.

T 116. *Anthologia Graeca* 16. 120 (Asklepiades) (early third century B.C.)

Εἰς τὸν αὐτόν

Τόλμαν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὅλαν ἀπεμάξατο μορφὰν
Λύσιππος· τίν' ὁδὶ χαλκὸς ἔχει δύναμιν;
αὐδασοῦντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος ἐς Δία λεύσσων·
Γᾶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι· Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὄλυμπον ἔχε.

On the Same

Both Alexander's daring and his looks
Lysippos caught. How great the bronze's power!
This statue seems to look at Zeus and say:
"Keep thou Olympos; me let earth obey!"

T 117. *Anthologia Graeca* 16. 121 (late Hellenistic or Roman)

Εἰς τὸν αὐτόν

Αὐτὸν Αλέξανδρον τεκμαίρεο· ὧδε τὰ κείνου
ὄμματα, καὶ ζωὸν θάρσος ὁ χαλκὸς ἔχει·
ὅς μόνος, ἣν ἐφορῶσιν ἀπ' αἰθέρος αἱ Διὸς αὐγαί,
πᾶσαν Πελλαίῳ γῆν ὑπέταξε θρόνῳ.

On the Same

Imagine you see Alexander himself: so are his eyes, and the bronze has living courage. He alone subjected to the throne of Pella all the earth that the rays of Zeus look on from heaven.

(Cf. also *Anthologia Graeca* 16. 345.)

T 118. Cicero *Academica priora* 2. 26, 85 (45 B.C.)

Sed si hominum similitudo tanta esse non potest, ne signorum quidem? dic mihi: Lysippus eodem aere, eadem temperatione, eodem caelo atque ceteris omnibus centum Alexandros eiusdem modi facere non posset? qua igitur notione discerneres?

But if so great a resemblance between human beings is impossible, is it also impossible between statues? Tell me, could not Lysippus, by means of the same bronze, the same blend of metals, the same graver, and all the other requisites, make a hundred Alexanders of the same type? Then by what mode of recognition would you tell them apart?

T 119. Plutarch *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute* 2. 2 (*Moralia* 335A–B)(ca. A.D. 70)

Λυσίππου δὲ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀλέξανδρον πλάσαντος, ἄνω βλέποντα τῷ προσώπῳ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν (ὥσπερ αὐτὸς εἰώθει βλέπειν Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσυχῇ παρεγκλίνων τὸν τράχηλον) ἐπέγραψέ τις οὐκ ἀπιθάνως·

αὐδασοῦντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος εἰς Δία λεύσσων,
Γᾶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι· Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὄλυμπον ἔχε.

διὸ καὶ μόνον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέλευε Λύσιππον εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ δημιουργεῖν. μόνος γὰρ οὗτος, ὡς ἔοικε, κατεμήνυε τῷ χαλκῷ τὸ ἦθος αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεξέφερε τῇ μορφῇ

τὴν ἀρετὴν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν ἀποστροφὴν τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων τὴν διάχυσιν καὶ ὑγρότητα μιμεῖσθαι θέλοντες οὐ διεφύλαττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν καὶ λεοντῶδες.

[Continuation of T 61, above] When Lysippos had finished his first Alexander looking up with his face turned towards the sky (just as he was accustomed to look, tilting his head slightly to one side), someone not inappropriately inscribed the following epigram:

This statue seems to look at Zeus and say:
"Keep thou Olympos; me let earth obey!"

Wherefore Alexander gave orders that Lysippos alone should make his portrait. For only he, it seemed, brought out Alexander's real character in the bronze and gave form to his essential excellence. For the others, in their eagerness to represent his crooked neck and his melting and limpid eyes, were unable to preserve his virile and leonine demeanor. [Continuation, T 134, below]

T 120. Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride* 24 (*Moralia* 360D)(ca. A.D. 80)

Εὖ δὲ καὶ Λύσιππος ὁ πλάστης Ἀπελλῆν ἐμέμψατο τὸν ζῳγράφον, ὅτι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου γράφων εἰκόνα κεραυνὸν ἐνεχείρισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ λόγχην, ἧς τὴν δόξαν οὐδὲ εἷς ἀφαιρήσεται χρόνος ἀληθινὴν καὶ ἰδίαν οὖσαν.

Moreover, Lysippos the sculptor was quite right in his disapproval of the painter Apelles, who when painting Alexander's portrait had put a thunderbolt in his hand; he himself had given the king a lance, his true and proper weapon whose glory Time could never take away.

T 121. Plutarch *Alexander* 4. 1 (ca. A.D. 110)

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἰδέαν τοῦ σώματος οἱ Λυσίππειοι μάλιστα τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἐμφαίνουσιν, ὑφ' οὗ μόνου καὶ αὐτὸς ἠξίου πλάττεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ⟨οἱ⟩ μάλιστα πολλοὶ τῶν διαδόχων ὕστερον καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπεμιμοῦντο, τήν τε ἀνάτασιν τοῦ αὐχένος εἰς εὐώνυμον ἠσυχῇ κεκλιμένου καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα τῶν ὀμμάτων, διατετήρηκεν ἀκριβῶς ὁ τεχνίτης.

Alexander's outward appearance is best conveyed by the portraits of Lysippos, the only sculptor whom the king thought was good enough to represent him. For those peculiarities that many of his Successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of his neck, which was tilted slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, the artist accurately observed.

T 122. Himerios *Orationes* 48. 14 (fourth century A.D.)

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ Λυσίππῳ ὄνομά τ' ἐδίδου καὶ δόξαν Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπ' ἐκείνου πλαττόμενος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ποίησιν σφόδρα θαυμάσαι τὸ φιλοτέχνημα; ἢ οὐκ ἀκούετε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ εἰκόνος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου λεγόμενον, τὸ

Λύσιππε πλάστα Σικυώνιε, δαιδαλέη χείρ, . . .

καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῷ ποιητῇ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς τὸν τεχνίτην πεποίηται;

Did not Alexander give Lysippos a name and a reputation when the latter made his portrait so well that even poetry herself wondered at his masterpiece? Or have you not heard about the epigram that is spoken about the image of Alexander:

Lysippos, artist from Sikyon, cunning hand, . . .

and all the rest besides that the poet did for the craftsman?

T 123. Chorikios of Gaza *Dialexeis* 34. 1–3 (Madrid codex fol. 174v)(sixth century A.D.)

Ἀλέξανδρον, τοῦ Φιλίππου μειράκιον—Φιλίππου γὰρ ἦν, εἰ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς δοκεῖν ἐβούλετο εἶναι—, πολλοὶ μὲν εἰργάζοντο πλάσται, πολλοὶ δὲ ἔγραφον ζωγράφοι. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἧττον ἐπῄνει τὰ ἔργα, εἴτε χρώματα ἦν εἴτε χαλκὸς ἡ ὕλη, ὅτι τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ μιμεῖσθαι ἐδόκουν, τὰ δὲ οὐ πάνυ. ἥδετο δὲ ὁρῶν τὴν Λυσίππου εἰκόνα Ἀλέξανδρος. τὸ γὰρ ὀξὺ καὶ ἀρρενωπὸν καὶ γαῦρον καὶ ἄοκνον εἶχε μὲν ὁ Φιλίππου, εἶχε δὲ ὁ Λυσίππου. ὥστε τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἄλλους δημιουργεῖν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἠξίου μόνῳ Λυσίππῳ πιστεύειν. οὕτω μὲν εὖ μάλα ἐποίει τὸν Μακεδόνα ὁ Σικυώνιος.

Many sculptors made and many painters painted Alexander, Philip's young son (he was indeed Philip's son even if he wanted to be thought son of Zeus), but he had little praise for the works of the majority, whether the material was paint or bronze, because they seemed to represent some of his characteristics, but not all together. But he enjoyed seeing his portrait by Lysippos. This was because Philip's Alexander was sharp, virile, proud, and resolute, and so was Lysippos's. Therefore others could work for other men, but he preferred to trust only Lysippos. So the Sikyonian certainly represented the Macedonian really well.

T 124. Ibid. 37. 3 (Madrid codex fol. 174v)(sixth century A.D.)

Εἶεν, εἰ δὲ Λύσιππος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπλασεν ἐοικότα Λυσίππῳ τὸ μῆκος, οἴει ἂν κεχαρισμένον εἶναι τὸν ἀνδριάντα τῷ Μακεδόνι ἐν ἅπασιν οἰομένῳ προέχειν;

Well then, if Lysippos had made Alexander similar to Lysippos in height, do you think the statue would have pleased the Macedonian, who thought he was first among all men?

Ioannes Tzeztes *Epistulae* 76: see T 25.

Ioannes Tzetzes *Historiarum variarum: Chiliades* 8. 200, 416–27: see T 26.

Ibid. 11. 368, 97: see T 27.

Select bibliography: Schreiber 1903: 100–110; Bernoulli 1905: 102–3; Johnson (1927)1968: 213–24; Gebauer 1939: G 32, K 46 and 61; Bieber 1964: 32–35; Schwarzenberg 1967; Hölscher 1971; Buschor 1971: 13, 69 no. 14; Buitron 1973; Schwarzenberg 1976: 248–56; Muscettola 1978: 87–88; Andronikos et al. 1980: 118, 120, nos. 38, 41; Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983: no. 973, 26–29 (another text of T 115); Moreno 1983–84: 41–43; Hundsalz 1985; Pollitt 1986: 20–22; Moreno 1987a: 92–96; Ameling 1988; Smith 1988: 60–62; Stewart 1990: 188–90, 293.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 1–2, 2. 3, and 6. 2.

S 17. Alexander on horseback, bronze by Lysippos, later in Rome, head replaced with Caesar's

T 125. Statius *Silvae* 1. 1. 84–90 (ca. A.D. 90)

> cedat equus Latiae qui contra templa Diones
> Caesarei stat sede fori quem traderis ausus
> Pellaeo, Lysippe, duci; mox Caesaris ora
> mirata cervice tulit: vix lumine fesso
> explores, quam longus in hunc despectus ab illo.
> quis rudis usque adeo, qui non, ut viderit ambos,
> tantum dicat equos quantum distare regentes?

Let that steed give place, whose statue stands in Caesar's Forum, over against Dione of Latium's shrine—thy daring work, Lysippus, for the Pellaean lord; thereafter on marveling back he bore Caesar's image—scarce could your straining sight discover how far the view downwards from this monarch to that. Who is so boorish as to deny, when he has seen both, that steed differs from steed as ruler from ruler?

Select bibliography: Johnson (1927)1968: 228; Michel 1967: 16; Moreno 1983–84: 53–55; Moreno 1987a: 111–14.

Notes: see Chapter 1. 2.

S 18. Alexander on horseback, represented as *ktistēs* of Alexandria, bronze statue in Alexandria

T 126. Ps.-Libanios (Nikolaos Rhetor) *Progymnasmata* 27 (vol. 8, pp. 533–55 Foerster)(ca. A.D. 400)

Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ κτίστου

1. *Κτίσται δὲ ἄρα περιφανεῖς πλεῖστοι μὲν καθεστᾶσι τῶν πόλεων, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων Ἀλέξανδρος, ὃς πόλιν ἀνέστησεν οἵαν οὐχ ἕτερος. δηλοῖ δὲ αὐτὸς παρὰ ταύτην ἀνεστηκὼς ὡς ἐπὶ γῆς ἐμφανοῦς οἰκιστὴς ἐμφανέστατος. τὴν γὰρ πόλιν θαλάσσῃ πρόσοικον ἤγειρεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν ἀνέστηκε θάλατταν.* 2.

καὶ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ[8] ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος δείκνυσι στάσις. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐποχούμενον ἵππος ἀνέσχεν, ἵππος δὲ οὐχ οἷον ἄν τις ῥᾳδίως μεταχειρίσειεν, ἀλλ' οἷος πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου κινδύνους ἀρκέσει. καὶ τὸ τάχος τῶν ἔργων ἡ τοῦ φέροντος ἐπιδείκνυται ῥύμη.[9] 3. ἔπειτα αὐτὸς κράνος μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐδεῖτο τοῦ προκαλύμματος ὁ γῆν ἅπασαν ἐννοῶν παραστήσασθαι καὶ περισκοπεῖν. δοκεῖ δέ μοι πάντα τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐνεῖναι,[10] ἃ προϊὼν κατεστρέψατο. σχῆμα πρὸς ὅλην ἀποβλέπει τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὡς εἰπεῖν συλλήβδην φαίνει τὸ πρόσωπον. 4. κόμη δὲ ἀνειμένη πρὸς αὔρας καὶ πρὸς ὁρμὴν τοῦ φέροντος κλίνουσα. καί μοι δοκοῦσιν οἷον ἀκτῖνες εἶναι πρὸς ἥλιον αἱ τρίχες αὐτῆς. 5. ἔπειτα δειρῇ τῷ προσώπῳ συναπονένευκε. καὶ ἡ δεξιὰ χεὶρ μετέωρος αἴρεται καὶ λαβεῖν[11] ἀεί τι δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ πρόσω ζητεῖν τὸ παρὸν καταστρέψασα. ἡ δὲ λαιὰ συνεσταλμένην ἔχει χλαμύδα καὶ ταῖς αὔραις αὐτὴν οὐ κατέλιπε φέρεσθαι καὶ δεσμὸς κατέστη τοῖς πνεύμασι. 6. στέρνον δὲ ἅπαν ἐξῳδημένον φαίνεται, θώρακι ⟨δὲ⟩ καὶ χλαμύδι συγκέκρυπται, καὶ διπλᾶ φέρει τῶν καιρῶν ὑπομνήματα, θώρακα μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τὸ σύμβολον, χλαμύδα δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης τὸ γνώρισμα. καί μοι δοκεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ δημιουργὸς παραστήσασθαι τὴν χλαμύδα προσθεὶς ἐπάνω τοῦ θώρακος. οἷς γὰρ εἰρήνης πόλεμον ἐτίθετο δεύτερον, τούτοις ὁ θώραξ τῇ χλαμύδι συγκέκρυπται, καὶ τὸ λανθάνον παρέσχε δοκεῖν ἀτιμότερον.[12] 7. ἔπειτα μηρὼ διηρμένω πρὸς ἵππον καὶ πόδες ἄμφω μετέωροι. καὶ ⟨ὁ⟩ δεξιὸς μὲν ἀντὶ κέντρου προσάπτεται, ὁ λοιπὸς δὲ αὐτόνομος φέρεται. Μακεδονικὰ δὲ φέρεται πέδιλα, ἃ καὶ κνήμην περιστέλλει οὐχ ὅλην, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῆς κνήμης ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μάχην[13] ὁπλίζεται. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφότερα πρὸς εἰρήνην διαιρεῖται καὶ πόλεμον, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα βλέπει πρὸς πόλεμον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πρὸς σπονδὰς ἀπονένευκε. κινδύνους γὰρ σπονδαὶ διαδέχονται.

8. καὶ ὧδε μὲν ἔσχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐποχεῖται δὲ καὶ μάλα ῥᾳδίως ἐφ' ἵππου καὶ τὸν ἔποχον ὁ κομίζων ἐνδείκνυται, μᾶλλον δὲ δι' ἑκατέρου κατιδεῖν ἑκάτερον πάρεστιν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν τὸν ἵππον οἷον δεικνύντος, τοῦ δ' ἵππου δηλοῦντος τὸν ἐποχούμενον. 9. κεφαλὴ μὲν γὰρ ὡς οἷα νομισθῆναι βοὸς καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἴληφεν ἐξ ὧν ἐνομίζετο, φύσιν ⟨δὲ⟩ ἑτέραν τὰ πρῶτα παρεδήλου τοῦ σώματος. μόνον οὐ κέρας ἀνεῖχε τὸ πρόσωπον. χαλινὰ κατέχειν οὐκ εἴα. οὐ γὰρ οἷος εὐθύνεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ χαλινοῦ τέχνην ἔδειξεν ἄπρακτον, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οἷος μὴ κατεσχῆσθαι, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ χαλινῶν εὐπειθέστερος. 10. ὄμμα δὲ φοβερὸν καὶ μόνον οὐ φοβοῦν πρὸ τοῦ βάλλοντος. ῥῖνες δέ οἱ διεγείρονται πνεύμασι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ὁ θυμὸς κατεμήνυεν, ἐδήλου δὲ τὸν θυμὸν τὸ προκάλυμμα. δειρὴ δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον οὐχ ἥκουσα, συνέστελλε γὰρ ἡ φύσις πρὸς τὴν ὁρμήν. 11. καὶ οἱ πόδες οἱ πρόσθεν ἠρμένοι καὶ πρὸς ἀέρα μετέωροι καὶ χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐπείγονται καὶ γῆς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καλῶς ἐκ τῆς γῆς

8. αὐτοῦ Foerster; αὐτῆς MSS.
9. ῥύμη Foerster; ῥώμη MSS.
10. ἐνεῖναι Foerster; εἶναι MSS.
11. λαβεῖν MSS; βαλεῖν Bergstedt.
12. ἀτιμότερον Foerster; ἑτοίμοτερον MSS.
13. μάχην Foerster; εἰρήνην MSS.

ἀπαρτήσαντος. πεφύκασι γὰρ ἰθύειν ἑτοιμότατοι καὶ γῆς ἐπιβαίνειν καὶ δοκεῖν τῆς γῆς μὴ[14] προσάπτεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι πρὸς τὸ βάθρον ἐρείδονται καὶ δοκοῦσιν ἰσχὺν διδόναι τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὃ πρὸς γῆν ὑπομένουσι παθεῖν τοὺς λοιποὺς οὐ παρέχουσιν. 12. οὐρὰ δὲ οὔτε ὅλη καθεῖται οὔτε ἀφῃρέθη τοῦ μέτρου, ἀλλ' ἔσχε μὲν ὅσον κοσμηθῆναι τὴν φύσιν, παρείλατο δὲ ὅσον ἐμποδὼν μὴ γενέσθαι ταῖς μάχαις.

13. Ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ[15] γῆς βάθρον τέτρασιν ἐπικείμενον κίοσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν βάθρον ἐπικείμενον σημαίνει τὴν γῆν, αἱ δὲ κίονες τῶν τμημάτων ἕκαστον φέρουσιν ἐφ' ὅσα προῆλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος. πρὸς γὰρ ἀνίσχοντα φέρουσιν ἥλιον[16] καὶ ἐν ἄρκτῳ δηλοῦται τεταμένη πρὸς νότον ὁπόσα τῆς γῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχει.

14. Καὶ λῆξαι τοῦ λέγειν περίεστιν, εἰ μή τις καὶ πλέον θαυμάσειεν.

Alexander the Founder

Most famous founders of cities have received statues, but Alexander's is special, for he founded a city such as no other man had done. Standing there, he shows that a renowned colonizer belongs in a renowned land. He built his city near the sea, which he himself stands near. And the form of the statue reveals his nature. First, he is carried riding high on a horse: not a horse that anyone could easily ride, but one suitable to the dangers he faced. And the animal's vehemence evidences the speed of his campaigns. Next, he has no helmet on his head. For he who intends to subdue and survey the whole earth has no need of helmets. To me, all he has seized in his onward rush seems to lie in his eyes. His posture takes in the whole earth, and everything seems as it were to be summed up in his face. His hair, unconfined, streams in the wind and the onward rush of his horse. Its locks seem to me like the rays of the sun. And as his face moves, so too moves his neck. And his right hand is raised to the sky and seems ever about to grasp something: having seized what is nearby, it seeks what is afar. His left arm holds his rolled-up cloak and prevents the wind from sweeping it away, keeping the breeze in check. His chest is out-thrust, covered with his breastplate and cloak; it thus carries two reminiscences of his deeds, the breastplate symbolizing war, the cloak betokening peace. And I think that the artist showed that he understood this by representing the cloak over the breastplate. For those who rank war second to peace hide their armor under their cloaks, and what is concealed appears less honored. His legs are astride his horse, and both feet are in the air. The right touches the horse in place of a goad, the other hangs free. He wears Macedonian footwear, which does not cover his whole lower leg; part of his shin is visible, while the other part is armored for war. And so these too are split between peace and war, on the one hand looking to war, on the other inclining towards peace. For ordeals are followed by treaties.

Thus does Alexander comport himself; he rides easily upon his horse, and the steed in turn shows off its rider. The one can size up the other, Alexander revealing

14. μή Foerster.
15. ὑπέρ Foerster; ὑπό MSS.
16. This passage is apparently corrupt (Foerster).

what sort of horse he rides, and the horse showing off his rider. The horse's head resembles—as closely as may be imagined—an ox, whence it was thought to name him thus; his forepart looks like one species, his body another. Only a horn raised on high is missing. He brooks no restraint with the bit. For this is no governable horse but shows the art of taming with the bit to be useless; ungovernable by others, he is more obedient to Alexander than to the bit. His eye is terrifying, almost as fearsome as the smiter's[?].[17] His nostrils flare with the force of his breath; his spirit makes manifest his temperament, and his flesh reveals his spirit. His neck is not outstretched to the fullest extent, for he naturally braces himself for the charge. And his forelegs are raised high in the air, straining ever forward, unwilling to touch the ground, aptly separated from the earth by the artist. For they were born ready for the gallop, ready to traverse the earth without ever seeming to touch it. The hind legs stand firmly on their plinth and seem to lend strength to those in front; by undertaking to carry this burden on the earth, they relieve their counterparts of the same. His tail is neither lowered completely nor immoderately raised on high, but he holds it as befits his nature and extends it so that it will not obstruct the fight.

A pedestal supported by four columns raises him aloft; the pedestal signifies the earth, while the columns each support one of its quarters, to which Alexander's advance took him. For they bear it towards the sunrise and in the north; one in the south shows how much of the earth Alexander ruled.

Now all that remains is to close my speech, unless one could maybe wonder more.

Select bibliography: Habicht 1970: 36, 252; Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 212, with n. 182; Schwarzenberg 1976: 233 n. 5; Goukowsky 1978: 213–14; Hebert 1983: 178–97; Moreno 1983–84: 53–55; Moreno 1987a: 111–14.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2, 6. 3, and 8. 3.

S 19. Alexander in gold and Porus in black bronze, statues in the temple of Helios at Taxila

T 127. Philostratos *Ta es ton Tyanea Apollonion* 2. 24 (ca. A.D. 220)

Ἱερὸν δὲ ἰδεῖν Ἡλίου φασίν, ᾧ ἀνεῖτο Αἴας ἐλέφας, καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀλεξάνδρου χρυσᾶ καὶ Πώρου ἕτερα, χαλκοῦ δ' ἦν ταῦτα μέλανος.

And they say that they saw a Temple of the Sun in which was kept loose an elephant called Ajax, and there were images of Alexander made of gold and others of Porus, though the latter were of black bronze.

Select bibliography: Meyer 1917: 378–79; Charpentier 1934: 51–52; Marshall 1951: 22–29; Tarn (1951)1985: 359–61; Marshall 1960: 85–89; Oikonomedes 1985.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 10. 1.

17. Apparently corrupt: Alexander?

S 20. Alexander, statue on Kos seen by Nikandros (second century B.C.) with ambrosia growing from its head

T 128. Nikandros *apud* Karystios of Pergamon, quoted in Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* 15. 684e (Nicander frag. 127, p. 204 Schneider)(second century B.C.)

Καὶ ἀμβρόσιαν δὲ ἄνθος τι ἀναγράφει ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι λέγων οὕτως· Νίκανδρός φησιν ἐξ ἀνδριάντος τῆς κεφαλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν καλουμένην ἀμβροσίαν φύεσθαι ἐν Κῷ.

A flower called ambrosia is recorded by Karystios in his *Historical Notes* as follows: "Nikandros says that the so-called ambrosia grows from the head of Alexander's statue on Kos."

Select bibliography: Bieber 1925; Gebauer 1939: 58–59 (K48); Bieber 1964: 59–60; Kraft 1965; Pollitt 1986: 29; Nielsen 1988: 221.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 2.1. Kraft 1965 shows that the marble head from Kos attributed by Bieber (and accepted by Pollitt and Nielsen) cannot be this (or any) Alexander.

S 21. Alexander, statue in the temple of Melkart at Gades (Cadiz), seen there by Caesar in 69

T 129. Suetonius *Divus Julius* 7 (ca. 160 A.D.)

Quaestori ulterior Hispania obuenit; ubi cum mandatu praetoris iure dicundo conuentus circumiret Gadisque uenisset, animaduersa apud Herculis templum Magni Alexandri imagine ingemuit et quasi pertaesus ignauiam suam, quod nihil dum a se memorabile actum esset in aetate, qua iam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset, missionem continuo efflagitauit ad captandas quam primum maiorum rerum occasiones in urbe.

It fell to his lot as quaestor to serve in Farther Spain. There, when he was making the court circuit as a judge appointed by the praetor, he came to Cadiz, and noticing a statue of Alexander the Great in the temple of Hercules, he heaved a sigh; and as if impatient with his own incapacity, since he had as yet done nothing noteworthy at an age when Alexander had already subjugated the world, he immediately asked to be discharged, so that he could grasp the first opportunity for greater things at Rome.

T 130. Dio Cassius 37. 52. 2 (ca. A.D. 220)

Καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Γαδείροις, ὅτε ἐταμίευε, τῇ μητρὶ συγγίγνεσθαι ὄναρ ἔδοξε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν μάντεων ἔμαθεν ὅτι ἐν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει ἔσται. ὅθενπερ καὶ εἰκόνα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλέους ἀνακειμένην ἰδὼν ἀνεστέναξε, καὶ κατωδύρατο ὅτι μηδέν πω μέγα ἔργον ἐπεποιήκει.

And at Cadiz, when he was quaestor, he dreamed that he had sex with his mother, and learned from the seers that he would enjoy great power. So when he saw a portrait of Alexander there, displayed in the temple of Herakles, he groaned aloud, lamenting that he had performed no great deed as yet.

Select bibliography: Gagé 1940; Green 1989: 195–96.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2, 6. 3, and the Epilogue. Cf. Dio Cass. 41. 24. 2; Plut. *Caes.* 11. 5–6.

S 22. Alexander, left-hand base of the *progonoi* monument of Antiochos I of Kommagene on the west terrace of his *hierothesion* at Nemrud Dagh

T 131. Inscription (ca. 40 B.C.)

ΒΑΣΙ[ΛΕΑ ΑΛΕ]Ξ[ΑΝΔΡΟ]Ν ΤΟΝ Ε[Κ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ]ΩΣ [ΦΙΛΙΠ]ΠΟΥ

Ki[ng Ale]x[ande]r, son o[f Kin]g [Phil]ip

Select bibliography: Humann and Puchstein 1890: 310–11; Dittenberger 1903: no. 398; Jalabert, Mouterde, and Mondésert 1929: 36, no. 24; Rostovtzeff 1935: 63; Dörner 1967: 206–8; Fischer 1972.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and the Epilogue. Humann and Puchstein suggest that a relief fragment of a bare right elbow and adjacent section of the torso (draped), then lying behind the fourth base in the series, may belong. Dörner adds a fragment reading [. . .] ΜΕΓΑΣ, though the cases do not match, and Antiochos's own title is ΜΕΓΑΣ. Ca. 50–35.

(vii) Unfinished, conjectural, dubious, and fictitious portraits

S 23. Alexander, proposal by [Stasi]krates to turn Mount Athos into a statue with a city in its left hand and a river flowing out of its right

T 132. Vitruvius *De architectura* 2, *praefatio* 1–4 (ca. 20 B.C.)

1. Dinocrates architectus cogitationibus et sollertia fretus, cum Alexander rerum potiretur, profectus est e Macedonia ad exercitum regiae cupidus commendationis. . . . 2. . . . [Alexander] admirans ei iussit locum dari, ut accederet, interrogavitque, quis esset. at ille: "Dinocrates," inquit, "architectus Macedo qui ad te cogitationes et formas adfero dignas tuae claritati. namque Athon montem formavi in statuae virilis figuram, cuius manu laeva designavi civitatis amplissimae moenia, dextera pateram, quae exciperet omnium fluminum, quae sunt in eo monte, aquam, ut inde in mare profunderetur." 3. delectatus Alexander ratione formae statim quaesiit, si essent agri circa, qui possint frumentaria ratione eam civitatem tueri. cum invenisset non posse nisi transmarinis subvectionibus: "Dinocrates," inquit, "attendo egregiam formae

compositionem et ea delector. sed animadverto, si qui deduxerit eo loco coloniam, fore ut iudicium eius vituperetur. ut enim natus infans sine nutricis lacte non potest ali neque ad vitae crescentis gradus perduci, sic civitas sine agris et eorum fructibus in moenibus affluentibus non potest crescere nec sine abundantia cibi frequentiam habere populumque sine copia tueri, itaque quemadmodum formationem puto probandam, sic iudicio locum improbandum; teque volo esse mecum, quod tua opera sum usurus." 4. Ex eo Dinocrates ab rege non discessit et in Aegyptum est eum persecutus.

When Alexander was master of the world, the architect Dinocrates, confident in his ideas and his skill, set out from Macedonia to the army, desiring the king's patronage.

[Finding difficulty in gaining access to Alexander, he dresses up as Herakles.]

Surprised, Alexander ordered room to be made for him to approach, and asked him who he was. He replied: "Dinocrates, a Macedonian architect, who brings you ideas and plans worthy of your fame. For I have turned Mount Athos into a statue of a man, in whose left hand I have sketched the walls of an enormous city, and in whose right I have put a bowl to catch the water of all the mountain's rivers, whence they will fall into the sea." Alexander, delighted with the nature of the plan, at once inquired if there were fields about, which could supply the city with corn. When he found out that this was impossible except by sea, he said: "Dinocrates, I recognize the extraordinary character of your plan and approve of it. But I see that if anyone leads a colony to the site, his judgment will be vilified. For just as a baby cannot be fed without its mother's milk, nor be led up the staircase of growing life, so a city cannot grow without fields and without their produce abounding within its ramparts, nor can it become populous without ample food, nor maintain its people without supplies. So while I think that your design commands approval, your choice of site does not; but I want you to join me, because I intend to make use of your services." From that time Dinocrates did not leave the king's side and accompanied him into Egypt.

T 133. Strabo *Geōgraphikon* 14. 1. 23, 641 (published, 7 B.C.)

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ νεὼ συντέλειαν, ὅν φησιν εἶναι Χειροκράτους[18] ἔργον (τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείας κτίσιν· τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ὑποσχέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸν Ἄθω διασκευάσειν εἰς αὐτόν, ὡσανεὶ ἐκ πρόχου τινὸς εἰς φιάλην καταχέοντα σπονδήν, ποιήσοντα πόλεις δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ ὄρους, τὴν δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ῥέοντα ποταμόν)—μετὰ δὲ . . .

After the completion of the temple [of Artemis at Ephesos], which [Artemidoros] says, was the work of Cheirokrates (the same man who built Alexandria[19] and who proposed to Alexander to fashion Mount Athos into his portrait, representing him as pouring a libation from a kind of jug into a bowl, and to make two cities, one on the

18. Χειροκράτους MSS; Δεινοκράτους Meineke.
19. Pliny *HN* 7. 125 has Dinochares; Solinus 32. 41 and 40. 5 Dinocrates.

right of the mountain and the other on the left, and a river flowing from one to the other)—after its completion . . .

T 134. Plutarch *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute* 2. 2–3. 1 (*Moralia* 335C–F)(ca. A.D. 70)

Ἐν δ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις τεχνίταις καὶ Στασικράτης ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων, οὐδὲν ἀνθηρὸν οὐδ' ἡδὺ καὶ πιθανὸν τῇ ὄψει διώκων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειρὶ μεγαλουργῷ καὶ διαθέσει χορηγίας βασιλικῆς οὐκ ἀποδεούσῃ χρώμενος. οὗτος ἀναβὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμέμφετο τὰς γραφομένας εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ καὶ γλυφομένας καὶ πλαττομένας, ὡς ἔργα δειλῶν καὶ ἀγεννῶν τεχνιτῶν· Ἐγὼ δ', εἶπεν, Εἰς ἄφθαρτον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ζῶσαν ὕλην καὶ ῥίζας ἔχουσαν ἀιδίους καὶ βάρος ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀσάλευτον ἔγνωκά σου τὴν ὁμοιότητα καταθέσθαι τοῦ σώματος. ὁ γὰρ Θρᾴκιος Ἄθως, ᾗ μέγιστος αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ καὶ περιφανέστατος ἐξανέστηκεν, ἔχων ἑαυτῷ σύμμετρα πλάτη καὶ ὕψη καὶ μέλη καὶ ἄρθρα καὶ διαστήματα μορφοειδῆ, δύναται κατεργασθεὶς καὶ σχηματισθεὶς εἰκὼν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλεῖσθαι καὶ εἶναι, ταῖς μὲν βάσεσιν ἁπτομένου τῆς θαλάσσης, τῶν δὲ χειρῶν τῇ μὲν ἐναγκαλιζομένου καὶ φέροντος πόλιν ἐνοικουμένην μυρίανδρον, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ ποταμὸν ἀέναον ἐκ φιάλης σπένδοντος εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐκχεόμενον. χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ ξύλα καὶ βαφάς, ἐκμαγεῖα μικρὰ καὶ ὠνητὰ καὶ κλεπτόμενα καὶ συγχεόμενα, καταβάλωμεν. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ μὲν φρόνημα τοῦ τεχνίτου καὶ τὸ θάρσος ἀγασθεὶς ἐπῄνεσεν, Ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώραν, ἔφη, Τὸν Ἄθω μένειν· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἑνὸς βασιλέως ἐνυβρίσαντος εἶναι μνημεῖον· ἐμὲ δ' ὁ Καύκασος δείξει καὶ τὰ Ἡμωδὰ καὶ Τάναϊς καὶ τὸ Κάσπιον πέλαγος. αὗται τῶν ἐμῶν ἐργῶν εἰκόνες.

3. Ἀλλὰ φέρε πρὸς θεῶν ἐκτελεσθῆναι καὶ φανῆναι τοιοῦτον ἔργον· ἔσθ' ὅστις ἂν ἰδὼν ὑπέλαβε κατὰ τὐχην γεγονέναι καὶ αὐτομάτως τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ τὸ εἶδος; οὐδεὶς ἄν οἶμαι. τί δὲ τὸν κεραυνοφόρον; τί δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰχμῆς προσαγορευόμενον; εἶτ' ἀνδριάντος μὲν μέγεθος οὐκ ἂν ἄνευ τέχνης ὑπὸ τύχης γένοιτο χρυσὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ πολλὴν καὶ πλουσίαν ὕλην καταχεαμένης καὶ παραβαλούσης· ἄνδρα δὲ μέγαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν γεγονότων ἁπάντων μέγιστον, ἐνδέχεται χωρὶς ἀρετῆς ἀποτελεσθῆναι διὰ τύχην, ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἵππους παρασκευάσασαν;

Among the other artists at Alexander's court was Stasikrates the architect. He did not seek to make anything that was flowery, pleasant, or lifelike to look upon but employed a magnificence in workmanship and design that was worthy of a king's munificence. He went to Asia to join Alexander and found fault with the painted, carved, and modeled portraits of him, on the ground that they were the works of timid and ignoble artists. "But I, your Majesty," he said, "have conceived the project of placing your likeness in living and imperishable material, with roots that are everlasting and weight that is immovable and unshakable. For Mount Athos in Thrace, in that part where is its highest and most conspicuous summit, has well-proportioned surfaces and heights, and limbs, joints, and dimensions that suggest the human form. When it has been carved and worked into shape, it can be called Alexander's statue, and it will

be so; with its base set in the sea, in its left hand it will encompass and hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and with its right it will pour an ever-flowing river from a bowl as a libation down into the sea. But as for gold, bronze, ivory, wood, and pigments, which make those paltry images that can be bought and sold, stolen, or melted down, let's throw them out!"

Alexander heard him out in wonder and praised the lofty designs and the boldness of the artist. "But," he said, "let Athos stay as it is. Enough that it is the memorial of one king's arrogance; but the Caucasus shall show my imprint, as will the Himalayas, the Tanaïs,[20] and the Caspian Sea; these will be the images of my deeds."

But imagine, pray, that such a work had been completed and put before men's eyes. Is there anyone who could look upon it and suppose that its form, arrangement, and appearance were created spontaneously, by Fortune? No one, I think. What of Apelles' Wielder of the Thunderbolt? What of the statue that takes its name from the Spear? Shall we admit, then, that greatness in a statue cannot, without the help of Art, be created by Fortune's profuse provision of gold and bronze and ivory and much rich material, but is it possible that a great man, or rather the greatest man of all who have ever lived, was perfected without the help of Virtue, through Fortune's supplying him with arms and money, cities and horses?

T 135. Plutarch *Alexander* 72. 5–8 (ca. A.D. 110)

Ἐπόθησε μάλιστα τῶν τεχνιτῶν Στασικράτην, μεγαλουργίαν τινὰ καὶ τόλμαν καὶ κόμπον ἐν ταῖς καινοτομίαις ἐπαγγελλόμενον. (6) *οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐντυχὼν ἔφη τῶν ὀρῶν μάλιστα τὸν Θρᾴκιον Ἄθων διατύπωσιν ἀνδρείκελον δέχεσθαι καὶ διαμόρφωσιν·* (7) *ἂν οὖν κελεύῃ, μονιμώτατον ἀγαλμάτων αὐτῷ καὶ περιφανέστατον ἐξεργάσεσθαι τὸν Ἄθων τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ περιλαμβάνοντα μυρίανδρον πόλιν οἰκουμένην, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ σπένδοντα ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα δαψιλὲς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρέοντος.* (8) *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρῃτήσατο, πολλῷ δὲ ἀτοπώτερα καὶ δαπανηρότερα τούτων σοφιζόμενος τότε καὶ συμμηχανώμενος τοῖς τεχνίταις διέτριβεν.*

[Preparing to build Hephaistion's tomb, Alexander] therefore longed for Stasikrates above all other arists, because in his innovative designs there was always promise of great magnificence, boldness, and ostentation. Indeed, at an earlier interview the man had proposed that of all mountains Thracian Athos could most readily be given human form and the shape; if therefore, Alexander should so order, he would make Athos into the most enduring and most conspicuous of the king's portraits. With its left hand it would hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and with its right it would pour forth a cascading river into the sea as a libation. This project, it is true, Alexander had declined; but now he was busy devising and contriving with his artists projects that were far more strange and expensive than this.

20. Ancient geographers habitually confused the Don and the Jaxartes, giving the name Tanais to both: cf. Brunt 1979: 524–25.

T 136. Lucian *Pro imaginibus* 9 (A.D. 162–69)

Ἠξίου δέ σε μηδὲ ἀξυνετωτέραν αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃς τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος ὑπισχουμένου τὸν Ἄθω ὅλον μετασχηματίσειν καὶ μορφώσειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς τὸ ὄρος ἅπαν εἰκόνα γενέσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔχοντα δύο πόλεις ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν, οὐ προσήκατο τὴν τερατείαν τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ἡγησάμενος τὸ τόλμημα ἔπαυσεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐ πιθανῶς κολοσσοὺς ἀναπλάττοντα καὶ τὸν Ἄθω κατὰ χώραν ἐᾶν ἐκέλευσεν μηδὲ κατασμικρύνειν ὄρος οὕτω μέγα πρὸς μικροῦ σώματος ὁμοιότητα. ἐπῄνει δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ ἀνδριάντα μείζω τοῦτον τοῦ Ἄθω ἔλεγεν αὐτοῦ ἀνεστάναι ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀεὶ μεμνησομένων διανοίαις· οὐ γὰρ μικρᾶς εἶναι γνώμης ὑπεριδεῖν οὕτω παραδόξου τιμῆς.

She didn't want you to think her less intelligent than Alexander. When his architect undertook to remodel the whole of Athos and shape it into his likeness, so that the entire mountain would become a portrait of the king, holding a city in either hand, he did not agree to the monstrous proposal. Thinking the project too bold for him, he stopped the man from modeling colossi on a scale that transcended credibility, telling him to let Athos alone and not to shrink so great a mountain to equality with a tiny body. She praised Alexander for his greatness of soul and observed that thereby he had erected a monument greater than Athos itself in the minds of those who should think of him for ever in time to come; for it took no little intelligence to distrust so marvelous an honor.

T 137. Lucian *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* 12 (ca. A.D. 165)

Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος . . . γε οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος τόλμαν ἠνέσχετο, ὑποσχομένου τὸν Ἄθων εἰκόνα ποιήσειν αὐτοῦ καὶ μετακοσμήσειν τὸ ὄρος ἐς ὁμοιότητα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ κόλακα εὐθὺς ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐκέτ' οὐδ' ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο.

Alexander . . . did not even put up with the presumption of the architect who promised to make Athos into his portrait and to shape the mountain into the king's likeness, but at once recognized the man as a flatterer and never employed him again.

T 138. Eustathios *ad* Homeri *Iliadem* 14. 229, p. 280. 47–49R (p. 624. 20–23 van der Valk)(twelfth century A.D.)

Διοκλῆ δέ φασι, τὸν Ῥηγῖνον ἀρχιτέκτονα, ἐπαγγείλασθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διαγλύψαι τὸν Ἄθω τοῦτον καὶ κατασκευάσαι ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ, θατέρᾳ μὲν χειρὶ μυρίανδρον πόλιν κατέχοντα, θατέρᾳ δὲ ποταμὸν προϊέμενον, ὡς δοκεῖν τοῖς παραπλέουσιν ὅτι σπένδει.

They say that Diokles, the architect from Rhegion, made an offer to Alexander to carve Athos into his portrait, which would hold in one hand a city of ten thousand

people, and in the other a running river, so that it would seem to those sailing by that it was making a libation.

Ioannes Tzetzes *Epistulae* 76 (twelfth century A.D.): see T 25, above.

T 139. Ioannes Tzetzes *Historiarum variarum: Chiliades* 8. 199, 408–15 (twelfth century A.D.)

ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΑΣΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

Ὁ Στασικράτης χαλκουργὸς ἦν, Βιθυνὸς τῷ γένει·
Τοῖς χρόνοις Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ὑπῆρχε τοῦ μεγάλου.
Ὠφρυωμένα δ' ἔπλαττε καὶ τύφου πεπλησμένα.
Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρὸς ἐξείκασμα μορφῆς τῶν πλαττομένων.
Καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔλεγε, Πλάσσω σε ἀνδρίαντι,
Κινοῦντα γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ τὸ πρὶν ὁ Ξέρξης.
Ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδαμῶς ἤθελεν ἀνδριάντα,
Ἀλλὰ μορφῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐμφέρειαν τυποῦντα.

About Stasikrates

Stasikrates was a bronze smith, a native of Bithynia, who lived at the time of Alexander the Great. He created portraits that were haughty and vain, but not likenesses of the features of those he portrayed. And he said to Alexander: "I will model a statue of you, moving the earth and the sea, like Xerxes before you." No way did Alexander want such a statue, but one that struck a likeness of his own features.

Notes: see Chapter 1. 2.

S 24. Alexander with Harpalos, planned additions by Harpalos to his bronze portrait of Glykera at Rhossos in Syria in 325

T 140. Theopompos *Epistula ad Alexandrum apud* Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* 13, 586c (*FGH* 115 F 254a)(325/324 B.C.)

Περὶ ἧς [sc. Γλυκέρας] φησιν Θεόπομπος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Χίας Ἐπιστολῆς, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν τῆς Πυθιονίκης θάνατον ὁ Ἅρπαλος μετεπέμψατο τὴν Γλυκέραν Ἀθήνηθεν· ἣν καὶ ἐλθοῦσαν οἰκεῖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους βασίλισσαν προσαγορευομένην· ἀπειρῆσθαί τε πᾶσι μὴ στεφανοῦν Ἅρπαλον, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ Γλυκέραν στεφανῶσιν. ἐν Ῥωσσῷ δὲ καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν αὐτῆς ἱστάναι τολμῆσαι παρὰ [τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὴν][21] ἑαυτοῦ. τὰ ὅμοια δ' εἴρηκε καὶ Κλείταρχος ἐν ταῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστορίαις.

Theopompos says, in his pamphlet *On the Chian Letter*, that after the death of Pythionike Harpalos summoned Glykera from Athens; when she arrived she moved into

21. τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τήν supp. Jacoby.

the palace at Tarsos, was hailed as queen, and had the locals prostrate themselves before her; further, all persons were forbidden to honor Harpalos with a crown unless they also gave one to Glykera. In Rhossos they even went so far as to set up an image of her in bronze beside [Alexander's and] his own. The same story is recorded also by Kleitarchos[22] in his *Histories of Alexander*.

T 141. Ibid. *apud* Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* 13, 595d–e (*FGH* 115 F 254b)

Ὡς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ . . . Ἑστησέν τε εἰκόνα χαλκῆν τῆς Γλυκέρας ἐν Ῥωσσῷ τῆς Συρίας, οὗπερ καὶ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνατιθέναι μέλλει. παρέδωκέν τε αὐτῇ κατοικεῖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ περιορᾷ ὑπὸ τοὺ λαοῦ προσκυνουμένην καὶ βασίλισσαν προσαγορευομένην καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δωρεαῖς τιμωμένην, αἷς πρέπον ἦν τὴν σὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν σοὶ συνοικοῦσαν. συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ τὸν Ἀγῆνα τὸ σατυρικὸν δραμάτιον γεγραφώς.

As Theopompos records, . . . "Furthermore, he has set up a bronze portrait of Glykera in Rhossos, Syria, where he intends to dedicate a monument to you and to himself. More, he has given her the privilege of residing in the royal palace at Tarsos and permits the locals to prostrate themselves before her, to hail her as queen, and to give her other honors that it would be more fitting to bestow upon your mother and your consort." All this is confirmed by the testimony of the author of the little satyr play *Agen*.

Select bibliography: RE, s.v. "Harpalos" (2), col. 2398.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 6. 3. The *Agen* was performed before midsummer of 324, but exactly when is much disputed: see Goukowsky 1981: 65–77; Jaschinski 1981: 35–37; Bosworth 1988a: 149.

S 25. Alexander(?), base of a dedication found in the Letoon at Xanthos

T 142. Inscription (334/333 B.C.?)

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Α[ΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ]

King Alexander de[dicated this].

Select bibliography: Le Roy 1980: 51–62; L. Robert and J. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," *REG* 93 (1980): 458, no. 487; *SEG* 30 (1980), no. 1533; Goukowsky 1981: 113–17; Vidal-Naquet 1984: 353–55.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 6. 1.

22. *FGH* 137 F 30.

S 26. Alexander(?), base of a dedication by the son of Aristonax at Kandahar (Alexandria-in-Arachosia)

T 143. Inscription (ed. Fraser)(third century B.C.)

[. . . . . vacat . . . . . .]
ΘΗΡΟΣ Α . . . . . ΣΤΗΣΑ ΤΟΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΜΕ[Ν]ΟΣ
ΥΙΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ ΑΛΕΞ . . . . . ΕΙΝ ΑΣΤΟΙΣ
ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΜΟΥ Τ . . . . . Ο[Α?]Σ
. . . . . [nomen artificis? . . . *ἐποίησ*]EN? vacat.

[. . . . missing . . . . . .]
Of the beast, A[. . . . . .] I set this up in the sanctuary,
I, the son of Aristonax, Alex[. . . . .] among the citizens,
And of my savior .[. .
. . . . . [artist's name? . . . . mad]e it?

Select bibliography: *SEG* 30 (1980), no. 1664; 34 (1984), no. 2434 (statue, ca. 300–250). Fraser 1979; Oikonomedes 1984, 1985; Peek 1985.

Notes: see Chapter 1. 2 and Appendix 3. Because of the damage, the subject and recipient of the dedication are not clear; Fraser restores Alex[. . .] as the name of the dedicant (e.g., Alexikrates, Aleximachos, Alexander); Oikonomedes refers it to a sanctuary of Alexander; and Peek prefers a statue of Apollo Alex[ikakos].

S 27. Alexander(?), presumably included among the "portraits of the kings" (sc. of Macedon) at Dion destroyed by Skopas and the Aitolians in 220

T 144. Polybios *Historiai* 4. 62. 1–2 (published, ca. 150 B.C.)

Σκόπας δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς πανδημεί, . . . ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τόν τε σῖτον ἐπιπορευόμενος . . . ἐπανῆγε, ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Δῖον. (2) *ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τῶν κατοικούντων τὸν τόπον, εἰσελθὼν τὰ τείχη κατέσκαψε καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐνέπρησε τὰς στοὰς τὰς περὶ τὸ τέμενος, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διέφθειρε τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ὅσα πρὸς κόσμον ἢ χρείαν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις συμπορευομένοις· ἀνέτρεψε δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν βασιλέων ἁπάσας.*

But at that time, Skopas mobilized the Aitolians, . . . invaded Macedonia, and after collecting grain, . . . turned back and marched towards Dion. Its inhabitants had deserted the place, so he entered it and demolished the walls, houses, and gymnasium and in addition burnt the stoas around the sanctuary and destroyed all the other dedications that served for adornment or for the convenience of those who frequented the festival. He also threw down all the portraits of the kings.

Notes: see Chapter 1. 2.

S 28. Alexander(?), presumably included in the bronze group of the Antigonid *progonoi* (Ancestors) on Delos

T 145. Inscription (mid- to late third century B.C.)

[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟ]Σ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΜΑ[ΚΕΔΩΝ]
[ΤΟΥΣ ΕΑΥ]ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΥΣ, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ

[King Antigono]s son of King Demetrios, Ma[cedonian,]
[dedicated these, his] ancestors, to Apollo.

Select bibliography: *EAD* 5 (1912): 74–83; Rostovtzeff 1935; *contra*, Errington 1976: 153.

Notes: see Chapter 1. 2 and the Epilogue. The dedicator was either Antigonos Gonatas (283–239) or Antigonos Doson (229–221).

S 29. Alexander in an eight-horse chariot "as at the battle of the Issos" (!), statue over a gate on the battlefield of the Hydaspes

See S 30, below.

S 30. Alexander greeting the prostrate Porus, statues on two gateposts at the battlefield of the Hydaspes

T 146. Philostratos *Ta es ton Tyanea Apollonion* 2. 42 (ca. A.D. 220)

Ἐξελάσαντες δὲ τῶν Ταξίλων καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διελθόντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ πεδίον, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγωνίσασθαι Πῶρος, καὶ πύλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν φασι ξυγκλειούσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τροπαίων ἕνεκα ᾠκοδομημένας. ἀνακεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐφεστηκότα τετραρρύμοις ἅρμασιν, οἷος ἐπὶ τοῖς Δαρείου σατράπαις ἐν Ἰσσοῖς ἔστηκε. διαλείπουσαι δ' οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων δύο ἐξωκοδομῆσθαι λέγονται πύλαι, καὶ φέρειν ἡ μὲν Πῶρον, ἡ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον, ξυμβεβηκότε, οἶμαι, μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀσπαζομένῳ ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ προσκυνοῦντι.

And they rode out of Taxila and after a journey of two days reached the plain where Porus is said to have engaged Alexander; and they say they saw gates there that enclosed nothing but had been erected to carry trophies. For on them was set up a statue of Alexander standing in a four-poled chariot, as he looked when at the Issos he confronted the satraps of Darius. And the two gates are said to have been built quite close to each other; one carried a statue of Porus, and the other a statue of Alexander, showing them reconciled to one another (I imagine) after the battle; for one seems to be greeting the other, who is prostrating himself before him.

Select bibliography: Meyer 1917: 376–79; Charpentier 1934: 57–58.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2, 6. 3, and 10. 1.

S 31. Alexander with Ammon's horns, statues allegedly commissioned by himself

T 147. Clement of Alexandria *Protreptikos pros Hellēnas* 4. 48 (ca. A.D. 200)

Ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἄμμωνος υἱὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ κερασφόρος ἀναπλάττεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν, τὸ καλὸν ἀνθρώπου πρόσωπον ὑβρίσαι σπεύδων κέρατι.

Alexander wished to be thought the son of Ammon and to be modeled with horns by the sculptors, so eager was he to outrage the beautiful face of a man by a horn.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2, 2. 1, and (for horned Alexanders on coins) 8. 2 and 10. 3. No such studies of Alexander in the round are extant; Clement may be inferring their existence from the coins of the Successors.

S 32. Alexander, Philip, Perdikkas, Kassandros, and "other kings"; portraits allegedly seen by Pyrrhos in Larissa

T 148. Lucian *Adversus indoctum et libros multos ementem* 21 (ca. A.D. 160–80)

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὕτω διέκειτο ὁ Πύρρος καὶ ταῦτα [sc. *ἐκμεμάχθαι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν μορφήν*] *ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέπειστο, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ συνετίθετο καὶ συνέπασχεν αὐτῷ, ἄχρι δή τις ἐν Λαρίσῃ πρεσβῦτις ξένη αὐτῷ τἀληθὲς εἰποῦσα ἔπαυσεν αὐτὸν τῆς κορύζης. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πύρρος ἐπιδείξας αὐτῇ εἰκόνα Φιλίππου καὶ Περδίκκου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Κασσάνδρου καὶ ἀλλῶν βασιλέων ἤρετο τίνι ὅμοιος εἴη, πάνυ πεπεισμένος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἥξειν αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ πολὺν χρόνου ἐπισχοῦσα, Βατραχίωνι, ἔφη, Τῷ μαγείρῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἦν τις ἐν Λαρίσῃ Βατραχίων μάγειρος τῷ Πύρρῳ ὅμοιος.*

When Pyrrhos was in this state of mind [sc. that he physically resembled Alexander] and had this conviction about himself, everyone without exception concurred with him and humored him until an old foreign woman in Larissa told him the truth and cured him of his driveling. Pyrrhos showed her the portraits of Philip, Perdikkas, Alexander, Kassandros, and the other kings and asked her whom he resembled, quite certain that she would fix upon Alexander; but after a long delay, she replied, "Batrachion the cook." And as a matter of fact there was in Larissa a cook who looked like Pyrrhos.

Notes: the incident is certainly fictitious, but the portraits may not be; the Perdikkas is presumably the founder of the Argead line, not Alexander's chiliarch (who was

never a king). Yet Lucian cheerfully invented works of art when it suited him (cf. Stewart 1990: 275), so until some form of corroboration appears, it is best to play safe.

S 33. Alexander, Seleukos, Antiochos, and Philip the doctor; statues allegedly erected by Alexander at the eastern gate of Alexandria

T 149. Pseudo-Kallisthenes *Bios Alexandrou tou Makedonos* 2. 28 Kroll (ca. A.D. 300)

Ἀλέξανδρος . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ κατὰ ἀνατολὴν πύλῃ μεταρσιώτατον πάντων ἕνα πύργον οἰκοδομήσας, ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στήλην ποίησας ἵδρυσε, περὶ αὐτὸν δὲ Σελεύκου καὶ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ ἰατροῦ· καὶ τὴν μὲν Σελεύκου κέρας ἔχουσαν γνωρίζεσθαι πεποίηκε, διὰ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ δυσμάχητον αὐτὸν εἶναι, Φιλίππου δὲ ἔχειν σχῆμα ἰατρικὸν καὶ πολεμικόν, Ἀντίοχον δὲ δορυφόρῳ ἐμφέρεσθαι.

Alexander . . . built a tower at the east gate [sc. of Alexandria], more conspicuous than all the others, and on this he erected his own statue, and around it he placed statues of Seleukos, Antiochos, and Philip the doctor; he made the Seleukos identifiable by the horn he bore, because of his bravery and invincibility, the Philip like a physician and a warrior, and the Antiochos like a spear-bearer.

Notes: the personalities involved show that this group is clearly fictitious.

S 34. Alexander, Ammon, Athena, Herakles, Olympias, and Philip, in gilded bronze; four groups supposedly decreed in Alexander's will, to be erected at Olympia (by Holkias, governor of Illyria), at Delphi and Athens (by the leading commanders), and at Alexandria (by Ptolemy).

T 150. Pseudo-Kallisthenes *Bios Alexandrou tou Makedonos* 3. 133, 23–24 Kroll (ca. A.D. 300)

Ἀποδεικνύει βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλέα τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος Ὀλκίαν· δίδωσι καὶ ἵππους ἄγεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας φ', τάλαντα ,γ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων κατασκευασάτω ἱερὸν καὶ ἀναθέτω ἀνδριάντας Ἄμμωνος Ἡρακλέους Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀλυμπιάδος Φιλίππου. (24) ἀναθέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιμεληταὶ εἰκόνας ★ Ὀλκίου περίμετρον ἐν★[23] *ἀγγυίραο καὶ ἀνδριάντας κεχρυσωμένους ἐν Δελφοῖς. ἀναθέτω δὲ καὶ Περδίκκας εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἄμμωνος Ἡρακλέους Ὀλυμπιάδος Φιλίππου.*

King Alexander appoints Olkias king of Illyria and grants him five hundred cavalry to be brought from Asia and three thousand talents. From this let him prepare a shrine

23. *ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ τεμένει ἀργυρᾶς* sugg. Kroll.

and set up statues of Ammon, Herakles, Athena, Olympias, and Philip. And let the regents of the kingdom erect * . . . * silver(?), and gilded statues at Delphi. And let Perdikkas dedicate bronze likenesses of Alexander, Ammon, Herakles, Olympias, Philip.

T 151. Julius Valerius *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* 3. 59 Kübler (fourth century A.D.)

Omnes etiam curatores imperii imagines consecrent et signa constituant, aurea quidem apud Delphos, ceteris vero in locis materiae diversae. constitui autem effigies oportebit Perdiccae, Alexandri, Ammonis, Minervae, Olympiadis, Herculis, Philippi, quae omnes divinis honoribus consecrabuntur.

And in addition, all the governors are to dedicate images and erect statues, in gold at Delphi, in other places of different materials. Perdiccas must set up statues of Alexander, Ammon, Minerva, Olympias, Hercules, and Philip, which will all be dedicated with divine honors.

T 152. Anonymous *Liber de morte testamentumque Alexandri* 122 Thomas (fourth century A.D., translating a Greek original of ca. 320 B.C.?)

Illyriis omnibus imperatorem do Holciam, eique equorum quingentorum evectionem et argenti signati talenta MMM do. ex ea pecunia Holcias faciat statuas Alexandri, Ammonis, Minervae, Herculis, Olympiadis, Philippi patris. eas in fano Olympico ponat. imperatores summos quos feci, statuas inauratas Alexandri dent Delphis, Athenis *hiolce*. Ptolemaeus ponat in Aegypto statuas inauratas Alexandri, Ammonis, Minervae, Herculis, Olympiadis, Philippi patris.

Over all the Illyrians I appoint Holcias as governor, and I grant him a detachment of five hundred requisitioned horses and three thousand talents of silver coin, which he is to use for the making of statues of Alexander, Ammon, Minerva, Hercules, Olympias, and my father, Philip. These he is to set up in the shrine at Olympia. The men to whom I have given supreme commands are to set up gilded statues of Alexander in Delphi, in Athens, * . . . *. Ptolemy is to set up in Egypt gilded statues of Alexander, Ammon, Minerva, Hercules, Olympias, and my father, Philip.

Select bibliography: Heckel 1988; for the Armenian version see Wolohojian 1969: 155.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 1 and 1. 2. The will is a forgery, presumably of the years just after Alexander's death (Heckel argues for 321 or 315).

S 35. Alexander, dummy allegedly fabricated by Ptolemy and placed in his hearse to fool Perdikkas

T 153. Aelian *Varia historia* 12. 64 (third century A.D.)

Πτολεμαῖος δέ, εἴ τι χρὴ πιστεύειν, τὸ σῶμα ἐξέκλεψε καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν τὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐκόμισε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες τὴν

ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, Περδίκκας δὲ αὐτὸν διώκειν ἐπεχείρησεν. . . . ἀνέστειλε δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ Περδίκκα ὁ Πτολεμαῖος· εἴδωλον γὰρ ποιησάμενος ὅμοιον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατεκόσμησεν ἐσθῆτι βασιλικῇ καὶ ἐνταφίοις ἀξιοζήλοις. εἶτα τοῦτο ἀναπαῦσας ἐπὶ μίαν τῶν Περσικῶν ἁμαξῶν, τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῆς κατεσκεύασε φέρτον μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ ἐλέφαντι· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄντως Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα λιτῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε προὔπεμψε κρυπταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἀτρίπτοις. ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας καταλαβὼν τὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ φάσμα καὶ τὴν διασκευασθεῖσαν ἁρμάμαξαν ἀνεστάλη τοῦ δρόμου, οἰόμενος ἔχειν τὸ ἆθλον· ὀψὲ δὲ ἔμαθεν ἀπατηθείς, ἡνίκα διώκειν οὐκ εἶχε.

Ptolemy, if you can believe this, stole the body [sc. of Alexander] and quickly carried it away to Alexander's city in Egypt. And the rest of the Macedonians kept quiet, but Perdikkas attempted to pursue him. . . . [A great battle took place] . . . , but Ptolemy repulsed Perdikkas's attack. For he had made a dummy of Alexander, dressed it in the king's clothes, and adorned it with enviable offerings. Then he laid it out on one of the Persian carriages, which he equipped with a magnificent bier of silver, gold, and ivory; but he left Alexander's real body unadorned and sent it on ahead just as it was, by hidden and unknown ways. Perdikkas, on his part, seized the dummy and the elaborately equipped hearse and then gave up, thinking that he had got the prize; when he discovered that he had been cheated, it was too late to resume the chase.

Notes: see Chapter 1. 2 and T 71–81, above. Fiction, conflating Perdikkas's attempt to stop Arrhidaios in 321 and his invasion of Egypt in 320.

E. VARIOUS MEDIA

V 1. Gemstones with portraits of Alexander, engraved by Pyrgoteles

Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7. 125 (published, A.D. 77): see T 54, above.

T 154. Ibid. 37. 8

Ismeniae aetate multos post annos apparet scalpi etiam smaragdos solitos. confirmat hanc eandem opinionem edictum Alexandri Magni, quo vetuit in hac gemma ab alio se scalpi quam ab Pyrgotele, non dubie clarissimo artis eius.

In the time of Ismenias, many years later, it seems evident that even emeralds could be engraved. This conclusion is confirmed by an edict of Alexander the Great forbidding his likeness to be engraved on this stone by anyone except Pyrgoteles, who was undoubtedly the most brilliant artist in this field.

Apuleius *Florida* 7: see T 56, above.

Select bibliography: Schwarzenberg 1976: 264–66; Hafner 1977; Zazoff 1983: 208, 269–70, 315–16.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 2. 1.

V 2. Gem engraved with a portrait of Alexander, used by Augustus

T 155. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 37. 10 (published, A.D. 77)

Divus Augustus inter initia sphinge signavit. . . . Augustus postea ad devitanda convicia sphingis Alexandri Magni imagine signavit.

At the beginning of his career, the deified Augustus used a signet ring engraved with a sphinx. . . . In later years Augustus, wanting to avoid insulting comments about the sphinx, signed his documents with a likeness of Alexander the Great.

T 156. Suetonius *Divus Augustus* 50 (ca. A.D. 160)

In diplomatibus libellisque et epistulis signandis initio sphinge usus est, mox imagine Magni Alexandri, nouissime sua, Dioscuridis manu scalpta, qua signare insecuti quoque principes perseuerarunt.

In passports, dispatches, and private letters, [Augustus] first chose a sphinx as his seal but soon changed to an image of Alexander the Great and finally to his own portrait, engraved by the hand of Dioscurides; and his successors used this to seal their correspondence also.

Select bibliography: H. U. Instinsky, *Die Siegel des Kaisers Augustus* (Baden-Baden, 1962); Hafner 1977; Zazoff 1983: 315–16.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 3. 1.

V 3. Alexander reinstating the wounded Porus and presenting him with India, one of several inlaid bronze tablets dedicated by Porus in a temple outside the walls of Taxila

T 157. Philostratos *Ta es ton Tyanea Apollonion* 2. 20 (ca. A.D. 220)

Τὰ δὲ Τάξιλα μέγεθος μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Νῖνον, . . . νεὼν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἰδεῖν φασιν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἑκατομπόδων λίθου κογχυλιατοῦ, καὶ κατεσκευάσθαι τι ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἧττον μὲν ἢ κατὰ τὸν νεὼν τοσοῦτόν τε ὄντα καὶ περικίονα, θαυμάσαι δὲ ἄξιον· χαλκοῖ γὰρ πίνακες ἐγκεκρότηνται τοίχῳ ἑκάστῳ, γεγραμμένοι τὰ Πώρου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα· γεγράφαται δὲ ὀρειχάλκῳ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ χαλκῷ μέλανι ἐλέφαντες ἵπποι στρατιῶται κράνη ἀσπίδες, λόγχαι δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ξίφη σιδήρου πάντα, καὶ ὥσπερ λόγος εὐδοκίμου γραφῆς, οἷον εἰ Ζεύξιδος εἴη τι ἢ Πολυγνώτου τε καὶ Εὐφράνορος, οἳ τὸ εὔσκιον ἠσπάσαντο καὶ τὸ ἔμπνουν καὶ τὸ ἐσέχον τε καὶ ἐξέχον, κἀκεῖ διαφαίνεται, καὶ ξυντετήκασιν αἱ

ὕλαι καθάπερ χρώματα. ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἦθος τῆς γραφῆς· ἀναθεὶς γὰρ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Μακεδόνος *τελευτὴν ὁ* Πῶρος *νικᾷ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ* Μακεδὼν *καὶ τὸν* Πῶρον *ἀνακτᾶται τετρωμένον καὶ δωρεῖται τὴν* Ἰνδικὴν *ἑαυτοῦ λοιπὸν οὖσαν.*

Taxila, they tell us, is about as big as Nineveh, . . . and they saw a temple, they say, in front of the wall, which was not far short of a hundred feet in size, made of porphyry, and within it was built a shrine, somewhat small as compared with the great size of the temple that is also surrounded with columns, but deserving of notice. For bronze tablets were nailed into each of its walls on which were engraved the exploits of Porus and Alexander. The design was wrought with copper, silver, gold, and black bronze, showing elephants, horses, soldiers, helmets, and shields, but their spears, missiles, and swords were all made of iron. Like the subject of a distinguished painting such as Zeuxis, Polygnotos, or Euphranor would produce, who delighted in light and shade and infused life into their pictures, as well as a sense of depth and relief—this is how they looked, they say, and the metals were blended together like so many colors. And the character of the images was also pleasing in itself, for Porus dedicated them after the death of the Macedonian, who is depicted in them in the hour of victory, reinstating the wounded Porus and presenting him with India, which was now in his gift.

Select bibliography: Meyer 1917: 376–79; Charpentier 1934: 49; Oikonomedes 1985; cf. Marshall 1951: 222–29; Tarn (1951)1985: 359–61; Marshall 1960: 85–89; Anderson 1986: 128.

Notes: see Chapters 1. 2 and 10. 1. If not fictional, dedicated between Alexander's death in 323 and Porus's around 318.

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APPENDIX 3

CULTS OF ALEXANDER

[Alexandria-in-Arachosia? (Kandahar): cult of Alexander? T 143; S 26 (statue, ca. 300–250 B.C.). Fraser 1979; Oikonomedes 1984, 1985; Peek 1985.]

Alexandria (Egypt): cult of Alexander *ktistēs*. See T 126; S 18.

Alexandria (Egypt): cult of Alexander as *progonos* of the Ptolemies. Fraser 1972: vol. 1: 215–26.

Apollonia Mordiaion (Pisidia): cult of Alexander *ktistes*. Bronze units of Caracalla (emperor, A.D. 198–217), with legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΟΣ (*sic*) ΚΤΙΣΤ[ης] ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤ[ων] OR ΑΛΕΞΑ[νδρος] ΚΤΙΣΤ[ης] ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ, around head of Alexander in lion-skin cap. *BMC Lycia, Pamphylia* 202 no. 1, 204 nos. 9–10, pl. 33. 1 and 5; Bellinger 1963: 15; Bieber 1964: 81, fig. 117; von Aulock 1979: 20–23, 52–55, nos. 9–53; here fig. 110.

[Athens: cult of Alexander *anikētos*? See T 92–93; S 2.]

Bargylia (Karia): cult of Alexander. Dittenberger 1903: 8, no. 3 (statue and cult renovated, early third century A.D.); Habicht 1970: 20, 245–46.

[Bubon (Kibyratis, S. Turkey): cult of Alexander (?) in *sebasteion* of Antonine/Severan emperors. Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 9 (bronze head, maybe from Bubon, ca. A.D. 200); Price 1984: 162, 263–64.]

[Delos: see T 145; S 28.]

Ephesos: cult of Alexander *basileus*. *SEG* 4, no. 521 (priest, A.D. 102–16); Habicht 1970: 18–19, 245–46.

Erythrai: cult of Alexander *basileus*. Dittenberger 1915–24, nos. 104, 111 (festival and priest, from ca. 270 B.C.), etc.; Habicht 1970: 19–20, 245–46.

Gerasa (Jordan): cult of Alexander *ktistēs*. Bronze units of Elagabalus (emperor, A.D. 218–22), with legend ΑΛΕ[ξανδρος] ΜΑΚ[εδων] ΚΤΙ[στης] ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ ("Alexander of Macedon founder of Gerasa"), beneath the diademed bust of Alexander. Seyrig 1965: 25–28; here fig. 111.

Ilion: cult of Alexander. *CIG* 3615; Habicht 1970: 21, 245–46.

Ionian *koinon:* cult of Alexander. Dittenberger 1903: no. 222, line 24 (festival, 268/262 B.C.); Strabo 14. 644; Habicht 1970: 17, 245–46.

Kommagene: cult of Alexander *megas* as *progonos* of Antiochos I of Kommagene. See T 131; S 22.

Macedon: cult of Alexander as *progonos* of the Antigonid kings. See T 145; S 28.

Macedonian *koinon*: cult of Alexander. J. Robert and L. Robert, *L'année épigraphique* 1971: nos. 430–31 (A.D. 229, 240); Gagé 1975; Rizakes and Touratsoglou 1985: no. 148; cf. Bieber 1964: 77–78, figs. 109–13 (coins, Alexander Severus through Philip the Arab: A.D. 231–49).

Magnesia on the Maeander: cult of Alexander. *Inschriften von Magnesia* no. 16 (festival, 206 B.C.); Habicht 1970: 21, 245–46.

Priene: cult of Alexander. *Inschriften von Priene* no. 108, line 75 (sanctuary, renovated privately ca. 150 B.C.); Habicht 1970: 17–18, 245–46.

Rhodes: cult of Alexander. Habicht 1970: 26–28 (festival: numerous inscriptions, from ca. 220 B.C.).

Skopos (Macedonia): cult of Alexander *theos*. Rizakes and Touratsoglou 1985: no. 148 (third century A.D.); *SEG* 34, no. 636.

[Smyrna?: cult of Alexander *ktistēs*? Paus. 7. 5. 1; cf. fig. 109.]

[Teos?: cult of Alexander *theos*? Dittenberger 1903: no. 12; Rostovtzeff 1935: 62; Habicht 1970: 20.]

Thasos: cult of Alexander. Salviat 1958: 244–48 (festival, ca. 325–300 B.C.); Habicht 1970: 251–52; cf. fig. 96.

Thessalonike (Macedonia): cult of Alexander *basileus* and son of Zeus, Philip II, and Thessalonike (Alexander's sister). *IG* x. 2.1, nos. 275–78, 933 (statues, third century A.D.); Rizakes and Touratsoglou 1985: no. 148.

APPENDIX 4

PRESERVED ALEXANDER PORTRAITS DISCUSSED IN THE TEXT

A. SCULPTURE

Akropolis/Erbach Alexander

1. Akropolis 1331, from near the Erechtheion (color pl. 1; fig. 5).
2. Berlin K203, bought in Madytos in the Thracian Chersonnese.
3. Schloss Erbach 642, from Tivoli (fig. 6).

Select bibliography: Ujfalvÿ 1902: 88–90, fig. 27 (3); Schreiber 1903: 88–90; Bernoulli 1905: 39–42, fig. 9 (2), pls. 2–3 (1, 3); Blümel 1938: 7, K203, pl. 17 (2); Gebauer 1939: 70–72, 98, 101–2, K67; Ashmole 1951: 15–16, pls. 11–12 (1); Kleiner 1951: 212, fig. 3 (1); Bieber 1964: 25, fig. 5 (1); Richter 1965: vol. 3: 255, fig. 1727 (1); Michel 1967: 22, no. 2a, pls. 2–3 (3); Hölscher 1971: 10, pl. 1 (1); von Graeve 1973: 246–50, figs. 5–6 (1), 13–14 (2); Robertson 1975: 462, 513, pl. 144d (1); Fittschen 1977: 21–25, no. 7, pl. 8 (3), Beil. 2–3 (1, 2); Lauter 1988: 735–36; Smith 1988: 60–61, 155–56, cat. no. 2, pl. 2 (1–3); Himmelmann 1989: 88, 92, fig. 28 (1); Ridgway 1990: 135, pl. 69a–b (1); Stewart 1990: 189, 284, fig. 560 (1); Smith 1991: 21–22, fig. 8 (1, but misleadingly identified as "Erbach Alexander").

Alexander Aigiochos

Stone statues and statuettes

1. Alexandria 3903 (marble torso).
2. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR 69.1970, from Ptolemais (marble statuette with head preserved).
3. Hamburg 1963.74, from Ptolemais (marble statue, headless).

4. Paris, Louvre, from Egypt (marble statuette, headless). Ex-Lambros-Dattari 330, bought in Cairo.
5. Paris, Rodin (marble torso).
6. Paris, Rodin (alabaster torso).
7. Alexandria 3874 (limestone torso).
8. Alexandria 3891 (limestone torso).
9. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 7842, cat. 540 (limestone torso fragment).
10. Paris, Louvre 3167 (2525), from Egypt (limestone statuette with head preserved). Ex-Fouquet, bought in Cairo.
11. Luxor, excavation storeroom 79, found in front of the Luxor temple (limestone torso).

Bronze statuettes

12. BM 1924.7–11.1, from Ptolemais (fig. 83). Ex-Fouquet.
13. Baltimore, Walters 54.1075, reportedly from Alexandria.
14. Berlin 8632, from Egypt.

Others

15. Moscow, once Golenischev collection (ivory torso fragment).
16. Cammin (Kamien Pomorski), cathedral treasury (cameo)(fig. 82). Destroyed or stolen in 1945.
17. Lucerne, private collection (material unknown).
18. Swiss (?) antiquities market, from Ptolemais (headless statuette).

Select bibliography: Schreiber 1903: 142–45, 228–29, pl. 12 (14); Bernoulli 1905: 112, fig. 38 (14); Perdrizet 1913: figs. 1–7, pls. 4–5 (1, 4, 7–8, 10, 12, 14); Johnson (1927)1968: 229; Neuffer 1929: 15, 44–45; Gebauer 1939: 77–78, 104, K77; Bruns 1948: 16–17, fig. 11 (16); Kleiner 1951: 215, fig. 12 (14); Bieber 1964: 62, figs. 69–70 (4, 12); Michel 1967: 30, pl. 6. 2 (10); Schwarzenberg 1967: 92, 117 n. 195; *Archaeological Reports* 1970–71: 71, no. 5, fig. 5 (2); Schwarzenberg 1976: 233–35, figs. 6–8 (4, 12, 16); Grimm 1978: 103–4, figs. 76–77 (3, 11); Andronikos et al. 1980, Boston Supplement: no. 9 (13); Megow 1987: 244, no. A 156, pl. 49. 1 (16); Reeder 1988: no. 49 (13); Himmelmann 1989: 87; Ridgway 1990: 116–17 (12); Stewart 1990: 189, fig. 563 (12).

Alexander Sarcophagus

Marble sarcophagus, Istanbul inv. 370, from the royal nekropolis at Sidon (figs. 101–6).

Select bibliography: Hamdy Bey and Reinach 1892; Studniczka 1894; Schreiber 1903: 120–23; Bernoulli 1905: 118–22, fig. 40; Winter 1912; Mendel 1912–14: no. 68 (with full description); Fuhrmann 1931: 271–76; Gebauer 1939: 51–53, K43; Kleiner 1951: 224–25, fig. 9; Bieber 1964: 50–52, figs. 34–36; Schefold and Seidel 1968

(color photographs); von Graeve 1970 (best photographs); Hölscher 1973: 189–96, pl. 16; Giuliani 1977; Borchhardt 1983: 120–21, pl. 24; Pollitt 1986: 38–45, figs. 32–33, 37–38; Smith 1988: 63–64; Stamatiou 1988: 211–12; Calcani 1989: 47, 48, 55, 62, 64, 66, 100–101, 114, 121, 138–39, 147, figs. 12–13, 80, 83, 86; Messerschmidt 1989; Ridgway 1990: 37–45, pls. 10–16; Stewart 1990: 193–95, figs. 588–94; Smith 1991: 190–92, fig. 226.

Azara Alexander

Marble copies

1. The Azara herm, Paris, Louvre Ma 436, from Tivoli (figs. 45–46). Inscribed ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΜΑΚΕ[ΔΩΝ].
2. Marble herm, Paris, Louvre Ma 234. Face entirely restored.
3. Marble head, Museo Nazionale Romano 125 722, displayed since 1991 in the Palazzo San Michele, from Genzano (figs. 47–48). Face battered.

Versions

a. Tondo bust, Aphrodisias.
b. Ivory bust (furniture appliqué), Baltimore, Walters 71.493, supposedly from Alexandria (fig. 49). Reversed.

Select bibliography: Koepp 1892: 8–11, figs., pl. 1 (1); Ujfalvÿ 1902: 77–84, fig. 16, pls. 2, 8–9 (1, 2); Schreiber 1903: 17–40, pl. 1 (1); Bernoulli 1905: 21–27, figs. 1, 2, pl. 1 (1, 2); Johnson (1927)1968: 213–15, pls. 43–44 (1); Gebauer 1939: 61–62, 96–97, K53–54; Kleiner 1951: 218, fig. 6 (1); Bieber 1964: 32–34, figs. 13–17 (1); Richter 1965: vol. 3: 255, figs. 1730–35 (1, 2); Schwarzenberg 1967: 92–94; Hölscher 1971: 10, 30, 54, pls. 3–4 (1); Schwarzenberg 1976: 254–55; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 3 (1); Buitron and Oliver 1985: no. 60, color pl. 22 (b); Pollitt 1986: 21, fig. 7 (1); Nielsen 1987: 162; Killerich 1988: 54–55, figs. 1–2 (1); Lauter 1988: 723–34, pls. 1–3 (1); Reeder 1988: no. 110 (b); Smith 1988: 60–61, 155, no. 1, pl. 1 (1, 2); Himmelmann 1989: 32, fig. 30 (1), 94, 99 (3), 100, 102, 118, 228; Ridgway 1990: 123, 135; Smith, *JRS* 80 (1990): 135–38, pls. 8–9 (a); Stewart 1990: 189, fig. 562 (1); Smith 1991: 21, fig. 6 (1).

Begram Alexander

Bronze statuette, Kabul (fig. 52). Equestrian portrait, horse and spear missing.

Select bibliography: Bieber 1949: 383, figs. 22–24; Hackin 1954: 148, 287, no. 237, fig. 335; von Roques de Maumont 1958: 25–26, fig. 12; Bieber 1964: 37, fig. 23; Siedentopf 1968: 80; Goukowsky 1978: 213–14 (copies the Alexander *ktistēs* of Alexandria, S18); Muscettola 1978: 87, fig. 35. 7; Hebert 1983: 192–93, fig. 21; Rolley 1986: 166, 214, cat. 278.

Boston-Capitoline Alexander

1. Colossal marble head, Boston 95. 68, from Ptolemais (fig. 131).
2. Colossal marble head (drilled for solar rays), Rome, Capitoline Museum inv. 732.

The colossal marble head in Holkham Hall, M60a, is usually considered a neoclassic copy of (2): cf., for example, Bernoulli 1905: 74; Vermeule, *AJA* 63 (1959): 156.

Select bibliography: Koepp 1892: 21, fig. (2); Helbig 1895: figs. 1–2, pls. 1–2 (1, 2); Arndt and Bruckmann 1900: nos. 186–87 (2), 481–82 (1); Ujfalvÿ 1902: pls. 3–4 (2, 1); Schreiber 1903: 68–79, fig. 10 (Holkham head), pl. 5 (2); Bernoulli 1905: 65–75, figs. 16–17 (1), pl. 7 (2); Johnson (1927)1968: 222; Gebauer 1939: 106 (to K81); L'Orange (1947)1982: 24, 34–37, fig. 16 (2); Bieber 1949: 418, 425–26, figs. 76–77 (1); Bieber 1964: 70–71, 74, 76, figs. 90–91 (2), 107–8 (1); Comstock and Vermeule 1976: no. 127 (1, with full bibliography); Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 8 (1); Pollitt 1986: 29, fig. 17 (2); Smith 1988: 62.

British Museum Alexander

Head, BM 1857, from Alexandria (fig. 124).

Select bibliography: Koepp 1892: 19–20, fig.; Schreiber 1903: 45–46, 51–52, pl. 2; Bernoulli 1905: 62–65, pl. 6; Johnson (1927)1968: 220; Gebauer 1939: 38–39, 86, K9; Bieber 1964: 58–59, fig. 53; Pollitt 1986: 30, fig. 18; Smith 1988: 62; Smith 1991: 22, fig. 9.

Brooklyn Alexander: see Magnesia Alexander.

Copenhagen Alexander

Head, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 441, bought in Paris, said to be from Egypt (fig. 84).
A terracotta head in Alexandria, inv. 23168, could be a small-scale version: see E. Breccia, *Monuments de l'Egypte greco-romaine*, vol. 2. 2 (Bergamo, 1934), 41, no. 222, pl. 79.

Select bibliography: Arndt and Bruckmann 1900: nos. 471–72; Schreiber 1903: 96–97; Bernoulli 1905: 79–81, figs. 21–22; Poulsen 1954: no. 31; Bieber 1964: 59, fig. 56; Moreno 1987a: 94, fig. 45; Nielsen 1987: 156, fig. 2; Smith 1988: 62.

Demetrio Alexander and "Hephaistion"

1. Marble statuette of Alexander, Athens NM inv. 45 (fig. 144).
2. Marble statuette of "Hephaistion," Athens NM inv. 44 (fig. 145). Both ex-Demetrio collection, Alexandria.

Select bibliography: O. Puchstein, *AM* 7 (1882): 16; Schreiber 1903: 115–23, pls. 9–10; Neuffer 1929: 7, 22, 24, 27; Gebauer 1939: 67–68, K65, pl. 16, 1–2; von Graeve 1970: 151; Habicht 1970: 33; I. Jucker, *Antike Kunst* 18 (1975): 20–21, pl. 8. 4–5; Goukowsky 1978: 205, 353–54; Smith 1988: 153, no. 7.

Dresden Alexander

1. Marble head, Dresden, Skulpturensammlung inv. ZV-476 (H 174)(fig. 9). Ex-Dressel, Rome.
2. Marble head, Fulda, Schloss Fasanerie FAS. ARP 1.

Select bibliography: Bernoulli 1905: 42–44, pl. 4 (1); Gebauer 1939: 63, 98, K59, pl. 15 (1); Bieber 1964: 27, fig. 12 (1); Richter 1965: vol. 3: 255, no. 5b, fig. 1725 (1); Schwarzenberg 1967: 94, figs. 15–16 (2); von Heintze 1968: no. 1, pl. 1 (2); Lauter 1988: 739–40; Smith 1988: 60–61, 156, no. 3, pl. 3 (1, 2); Himmelmann 1989: 99, 102–5, 216; Smith 1991: 21, fig. 7 (1).

Fouquet Alexander (replicas and reversals)

1. Bronze statuette, Paris, Louvre B 370 (MN 1576, inv. 616, ex-Fouquet), from Lower Egypt (fig. 32). Hole just above *anastolē*.
2. Bronze statuette, Paris, Louvre B 369, from Alexandria.
3. Bronze statuette, Parma 20, from Veleia. Reversed.
4. Bronze statuette, London BM Br. 799, from Orange. Reversed.
5. Bronze statuette, Jerusalem, Israel Museum 1618. Preserved from waist up; reversed. Apparently unpublished.
6. Marble statuette, Malibu 73.AA.17, allegedly from Pergamon. Reversed.

Adaptations: see, for instance, the cameo: Gebauer 1939: pl. 4. 12 (thunderbolt in left hand); late Ptolemy/Mark Antony in Cairo: Smith 1988: pl. 41; Smith 1991: fig. 246 (*aigiochos*); Dioskouros in Cyrene: Bieber 1964: figs. 99–100; Claudius from Herculaneum: Niemeyer 1968: pl. 39; Osiris-Antinous on a painted tondo from Antinoupolis in Cairo, fig. 33: K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1966), 70–71, no. 7, pl. 19. 1; in color, R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire* (London, 1971), 284, fig. 260.

Select bibliography: (1) first identified by Winter in *AA* 1895: 162; Ujfalvÿ 1902: 65, 121, figs. 22, 35 (1, 3); Schreiber 1903: 100–110, 124–26, pls. 6 (1, 2) and 11. 1 (4); Bernoulli 1905: 101–11, figs. 31, 35, 36 (1, 3, 2); Johnson (1927)1968: 216–17, pl. 47 (1); Gebauer 1939: 64–66, 99, K61; Kleiner 1951: 218–19; Bieber 1964: 34–35, fig. 18 (1); Schwarzenberg 1967: 94–96; Hölscher 1971: 10, 33, 55, pl. 5 (1); Hafner 1978–80: 133; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 41 (1); Pollitt 1986: 21–22, fig. 8 (1); Rolley 1986: 165, fig. 146 (1); Frel 1987: pls. 9–11 (1, 6); Moreno 1987a: 94, fig. 44 (3); Killerich 1988: 56–58, fig. 6 (1); Nielsen 1988: 155–56, fig. 1 (1); Rolley 1988: 88–91, figs. 1–7 (1—including top of head—tondo, Cairo Ptolemy); Smith 1988: 153, no. 8, pl. 70. 3–4 (1); Himmelmann 1989: 94–95, 108, 228, no. 16, color pl. 16 (1); Ridgway 1990: 115, 139 n. 14; Stewart 1990: 189, fig. 564 (1).

Geneva Alexander

Marble head, Geneva (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire).

Select bibliography: Johnson (1927)1968: 214, frontispiece, and pl. 45; Bieber 1964: 27, figs. 26–27; Smith 1988: 61.

Getty Alexander: see Appendix 5.

Guimet Alexander

Marble head, Paris, Louvre Ma 3499, from Egypt (fig. 85). Ex-Musée Guimet.

Select bibliography: Arndt and Bruckmann 1900: nos. 922–23; Schreiber 1903: 98 n. 57; Bernoulli 1905: 87; Gebauer 1939: 44, K22; Bieber 1964: 27, fig. 11; Richter 1965: vol. 3: fig. 1738; Robertson 1975: 514, pl. 162c; Smith 1988: 62.

Herculaneum Alexander

Bronze statuette, Naples (fig. 21). No inventory number: A. Ruesch, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, no. 1487. Found with a riderless horse (inv. 4894: fig. 22) in 1761 and often associated with a statuette of an Amazon (inv. 4999: fig. 23) found in 1745.

Select bibliography: Koepp 1892: 15–16, fig. 29; Arndt and Bruckmann 1900: nos. 479–80 (Amazon, Alexander); Brunn-Bruckmann nos. 335a–b (Am., Al.); Ujfalvÿ 1902: pl. 17 (Al.); Schreiber 1903: 95–96, 282; Bernoulli 1905: 98–101, figs. 29–30 (Al., details); Johnson (1927)1968: 225–26, pl. 48A (Al.); Gebauer 1939: 65–66, K62; von Roques de Maumont 1958: 23–25, fig. 11 (Al.); Bieber 1964: 35–36, figs. 19–21 (Al.); Siedentopf 1968: 15; Goukowsky 1978: 170–71 (Al.); Pollitt 1986: 43, fig. 36 (Al.); Moreno 1987a: 80–81, figs. 35 (Al.), 36–37 (horse); Nielsen 1987: 160–61, fig. 5 (Al.); Smith 1988: 153, no. 2, pl. 70. 1 (Al.); Calcani 1989: 34–36, 45, 55, 101–9, 121, figs. 6, 8, 61, 67 (Al.), 56–58, 62 (horse); Ridgway 1990: 119–21, cf. 142 n. 26 for notes on the find circumstances, and pl. 65 (Am., back view).

Kyme Alexander Group

1. Head of Alexander (drilled for solar rays), Istanbul inv. 388 (figs. 137–38).
2. Head of "Hephaistion," Istanbul inv. 387 (fig. 136).
3. Head of a woman ("Artemis"), Istanbul inv. 386.
4. Head of Tiberius, Istanbul inv. 385.
5. Marble statue of a woman, Istanbul inv. 397. Slightly under life-size.
6. Two legs and feet shod in boots; right forearm and hand holding a lance; left arm; left foot, fragment of a right leg; Istanbul inv. 389, 391, 392, 394, 395.

Select bibliography: S. Reinach, *RA* 11 (1888): 84–85 and pl. 15; Rossbach 1901: 99–100; Mendel 1912–14: nos. 333, 382, 597–600, 803–6; Gebauer 1939: 67,100, K64;

Picard 1944: 26–30, fig. 6 (1); von Graeve 1970: 151–52 and pls. 52 (2) and 54 (1); Morrow 1985: 125, 134, 138–39, fig. 121 (6); Lauter 1988: 738; Smith 1988: 47, 67, 158, no. 15, and pl. 12. 1–4 (1, 2).

Luxor Alexanders (Shrine of the Bark): see the definitive publication by Abd el-Raziq 1984; figs. 53–54.

Magnesia Alexander (himation type)

a. Marble statue, Istanbul inv. 709, from the sanctuary of Meter Sipylene at Magnesia-by-Sipylos (fig. 133). Found with a block (inv. 744) inscribed ΜΗΝΑΣ ΑΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ.
b. Marble head, Bergama 771 (inv. VTS 65/603), from Pergamon.
c. Marble statuette, Antikenmuseum Berlin SK 1500, from House 22 at Priene (figs. 134–35).
d. Alabaster statuette (drilled for solar rays), Brooklyn Museum 54.162, from Egypt (fig. 132).

Select bibliography: T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene* (Berlin, 1904), 172–82, figs. 176–77 (c); Reinach 1896 (a); Ujfalvÿ 1902: 97, fig. 28, pls. 7, 12–13 (a, c); Schreiber 1903: 84; Bernoulli 1905: 53–61, figs. 12–15 (a, c); Mendel 1912–14: nos. 536–37 (a; inscription); Johnson (1927)1968: 220; Gebauer 1939: 53–54, 59–60, K44 and 49 (c, a); Bieber 1964: 54–55, 65–67, figs. 47–49 (c), 78–79 (a), 80–85 (d); Richter 1965: vol. 3: fig. 1740 (d); J. Raeder, *Priene* (Berlin, 1983), 33, no. 1, 63, fig. 1 (c); G. de Luca and H. Voegtli, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, vol. 11: *Das Asklepeion*, part 4: *Via Tecta und Hallenstrasse: Die Funde* (Berlin, 1984), 106, S28, pl. 47 (b); Pollitt 1986: 30, fig. 19 (a); Lauter 1988: 736–38; Ridgway 1990: 122–23.

Messene Relief

Curved marble relief (from a statue base?), Louvre Ma 858, from Messene (fig. 89).

Select bibliography: Loeschke 1888: fig. (drawing), pl. 7; Bernoulli 1905: 123, 152–53; Johnson (1927)1968: 227; Fuhrmann 1931: 243–44, 246–49; Kleiner 1951: 222, fig. 15 (drawing); von Roques de Maumont 1958: 26–29, fig. 13; Bieber 1964: 46 n. 29; Michel 1967: 27; Hölscher 1973: 183–84, pl. 15. 3; Moreno 1974: 101, figs. 35–36; Vasic 1979; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 44; Moreno 1987a: 106, fig. 55; Nielsen 1988: 165, fig. 8; Stamatiou 1988: 213–14, pl. 39. 3.

Nelidow Alexander (replicas and reversals)

1. Bronze statuette, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum 1956.20 (fig. 35). Ex-Nelidow collection, from Macedonia via Istanbul.
2. Bronze statuette, Philadelphia market, supposedly from Turkey: ancient? Reversed.

3. Bronze statuette, once de Clerq, from Tyre. Reversed.
4. Bronze statuette, Athens, Kanellopoulos 119. Head, legs reversed.
5. Relief on the Luni Throne, Turin 589 (fig. 38). Head, legs reversed; cloak; sword slung on left side.

Adaptations: numerous statues of rulers and heroes from the late fourth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., many collected by Oliver-Smith 1975; for the chronological range see, among others, *AM* 97 (1982): pl. 44. 1 (early Hellenistic rock relief, Alyzia: Athena with Nelidow-like figure: Ares, Zeus, or Alexander?); Moreno 1988: fig. 8 (Dioskouros, palace of Galerius at Thessalonike).

Select bibliography: (1) first identified by Wulff in 1898; Ujfalvÿ 1902: 109–16, pls. 15–16 (1); Schreiber 1903: 104 n. 8; Bernoulli 1905: 106–8, figs. 33–34 (1); Johnson (1927)1968: 217–18; Gebauer 1939: 54–56, 93, K46; Kleiner 1951: 219–21; Manino 1956–57: figs. 10, 12 (1, 5); Schwarzenberg 1967: 96; Hölscher 1971: 55–56 (1 is post-antique); Buitron 1973 (ditto); Hafner 1978–80: 134 (ditto); Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 38 (1: ancient); Hundsalz 1985: pls. 36–37 (1–3); Moreno 1988a: 259–61, figs. 1, 7 (4); Himmelmann 1989: color fig. 35 (1), 135 (1 is post-antique), 148 (2 is a fake), 180; Ridgway 1990: 115, 139 n. 14; Stewart 1990: 189, fig. 565 (1).

Pella Alexander-Pan

Marble statuette, Pella Museum ΓΛ 43 (fig. 99).

Select bibliography: *ADelt* 18 (1963), Χρονικά: 205, pl. 242; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 153, color pl. 25; Laubscher 1985: 340; Andronikos et al. 1988: no. 258; Ridgway 1990: 124–25, pl. 66; Smith 1991: 238, fig. 289 (identifies as Pan only).

Pergamon Alexander

Marble head, Istanbul inv. 1138, from Pergamon (figs. 128–29).

Select bibliography: Ujfalvÿ 1902: pl. 22; Schreiber 1903: 7–8, 85–86, 281; Bernoulli 1905: 81–82, figs. 23–24; F. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon* 7 (1908): no. 131, Beibl. 21, pl. 33; Mendel 1912–14: no. 538; Johnson (1927)1968: 221; Gebauer 1939: 56–57, K47; Kleiner 1940: 43–46; Kleiner 1951: 208, 219–21; Bieber 1964: 63–64, figs. 71–72; Hölscher 1971: 10, 30, 55, pl. 6; Robertson 1975: 514, 526, pl. 162d; Radt 1981; Pollitt 1986: 20–21, 29, 110, 274, fig. 5; Killerich 1988: 59; Smith 1988: 62; Ridgway 1990: 121–22; Stewart 1990: 347, fig. 699.

Priene Alexander: see Magnesia Alexander.

Rondanini Alexander

Munich, Glyptothek 298, formerly in the Palazzo Rondanini, Rome (figs. 10, 12). Marble statue, formerly restored as an athlete; all restorations have now been removed except for the right leg.

Select bibliography: Koepp 1892: 16–19, fig., pl. 2; Ujfalvÿ 1902: 84–88, pls. 10–11; Schreiber 1903: 82–83, 272–77, fig. 33; Bernoulli 1905: 44–51, fig. 10, pl. 5; Gebauer 1939: 72–73, 102, K68; Kleiner 1951: 212–14, figs. 1, 2, 14; Bieber 1964: 25–26, figs. 6–8; Richter 1965: vol. 3: 255, fig. 1729; Hölscher 1971: 10, 25, 30, 32, 33, 35–37, 49, pl. 2; Schwarzenberg 1975; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 370–79, no. 33, figs. 180–88; Palagia 1980: 45–48, figs. 62–65; Smith 1988: 61–62; Himmelmann 1989: 33, 62, 95–98, figs. 31–32, 100, 102; Ridgway 1990: 113–16.

Schwarzenberg Alexander

1. Vienna (Schwarzenberg), reportedly from Tivoli (figs. 40–41).
2. Switzerland (private). Unpublished. Face missing.
3. Myra, rock relief: warrior and family (figs. 42–43).

The following may be versions of this type:

a. Silesia (private), from Rome, lost in 1945: *Notizie degli scavi* 5.5 (1908): 243, fig. 13; Arndt and Bruckmann 1900: no. 921; Bamm 1968: 64, fig. (false provenance, with later history).
b. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 12 45 07, from Tivoli (fig. 126).
c. Bergama. Right side of hair only; diademed?
d. Athens, Akropolis 2348. Top of head only. Unpublished; photo: DAI Athens 83/121.

Select bibliography: Brunn-Bruckmann no. 705 (b); Kleiner 1940 (b); Kleiner 1951: 222, fig. 7 (b); Schwarzenberg 1967 (1); Hölscher 1971: 10, 30–31, 54–55, pls. 7–8 (1, c); Schwarzenberg 1976: 255–56, fig. 1 (1); Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 2 (1); Bruns-Özgan 1987: 132–37, pl. 26 (3); R. Belli Pasqua, in A. Giuliano, ed., *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le sculture* 1. 9 (Rome, 1987), no. 31 (b); Nielsen 1987: 157–59, figs. 3, 4 (1, 3); Smith 1988: 61–62; Himmelmann 1989: 33, 87, fig. 29 (1), 92–94, 98, 102, 216, no. 10 and color pl. 10 (1), 218, no. 11 and ill. (b); Ridgway 1990: 123, 135; Stewart 1990: 189, fig. 561 (1).

Stanford Alexander (replicas and reversals)

1. Bronze statuette, Stanford 75.47 (fig. 39).
2. Bronze statuette, Paris, Louvre Br. 821.
3. Fresco, Pompeii (color pl. 6; fig. 59).

4. Bronze statuette, Treviso 148. Legs reversed.
5. Bronze statuette, Munich, Antikensammlung 4353. Legs reversed, cloak omitted.
6. Bowls of L. Avilius Sura, Arezzo and elsewhere (figs. 62–63; text fig. 8). Legs reversed.
7. Bronze statuette, Chicago (Oikonomedes), from Egypt. Head, arms reversed.
8. Bronze statuette, Baltimore, Walters 54.1045, supposedly from Egypt. Head, legs reversed.
9. Bronze statuette, Aquileia, from Grado. Arms, legs reversed.

Not hitherto identified as a type. Adaptations: Dioskouros on tetradrachms of Eumenes II and statue of C. Ofellius Ferus, Delos: Himmelmann 1989: figs. 46, 52; Stewart 1990: fig. 839 (Ferus, reconstructed—though he should be carrying a sword); in addition, no. 6 could be Augustus.

Select bibliography: von Lorentz 1935 (9); Dragendorff 1935 (6); L'Orange (1947)1982: 26, fig. 10 (9); Dragendorff and Watzinger 1948: 160–61, pl. 33 (6); Bieber 1964: 65, fig. 77 (9); V. Galliazzo, *Bronzi romani del Museo Civico di Treviso* (Rome, 1979), 39, no. 1 (4); Andronikos et al. 1980, Boston Supplement: nos. 7, 9 (1, 8); San Francisco Supplement: nos. S-4, 7, 8 (7, 1, 8); New Orleans Supplement S-5 (8); Moreno 1987b: 161–62, fig. 154 (3); Lagi de Caro 1988 (3); Reeder 1988: no. 61 (8); Himmelmann 1989: 135, color fig. 36 (8); Smith 1991: 20, fig. 2 (8).

Tarsos Alexander

Colossal marble head, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 445 (fig. 140).

Select bibliography: Ujfalvÿ 1902: 121, fig. 35; Schreiber 1903: 124–28, pl. 11; Poulsen 1954: no. 57; Bieber 1964: 73–74, figs. 92–93.

Thasos Alexander

Marble head, Thasos Museum Λ3719 (fig. 96).

Select bibliography: *BCH* 109 (1985): 874–79, fig. 6; Andronikos et al. 1988: no. 178. Over-life-size (0.41 m).

Volantsa Alexander

Marble head, Olympia Λ 245 (BE 99), from Volantsa (fig. 127).

Select bibliography: Gebauer 1939: 79, 105, K80; Buschor 1971: 26, 32, fig. 23; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 7 and color pl. 3; Killerich 1988: 55, fig. 3.

Yannitsa Alexander

Marble head, Pella Museum ΓΛ 15, from Yannitsa (fig. 97).

Select bibliography: Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou 1971: 63 n. 5, pl. 63δ; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 155 and color pl. 25; Pollitt 1986: 21, fig. 6; Andronikos et al. 1988: no. 257; Killerich 1988: 55, fig. 4; Smith 1991: 238, fig. 288.

B. PAINTING AND MOSAIC

Alexander and Roxane

Fresco, Pompeii, Regio VI, Insula Occidentalis 42 (color pls. 7–8, figs. 59–60).

Select bibliography: Moreno 1987b: 161–62, fig. 145; Lagi de Caro 1988; Mack 1991.

Alexander Mosaic

Mosaic, Naples 10020, from the House of the Faun at Pompeii (color pls. 4–6).

Select bibliography: Koepp 1892: 14, fig.; Ujfalvÿ 1902: 123–26, pl. 18; Schreiber 1903: 73, fig. 11; Bernoulli 1905: 31–34, fig. 4; Winter 1909; Fuhrmann 1931; Kleiner 1951: 224–25, fig. 11; Rumpf 1962 (*realia*); Bieber 1964: 46–48, figs. 28–29; Hölscher 1971: 30–31; Hölscher 1973: 122–69, pls. 10–13; Scheibler 1974 (color theory); Robertson 1975: 497–503, pl. 155; Andreae 1977 (best pictures); Gage 1981 (color theory); Nylander 1983 (standard); Pollitt 1986: 45–46, 191–92, fig. 2; Moreno 1987b: 125–28, figs. 27, 110, 137, 194, 197–200, 212–13, 216; Lauter 1988: 723–34, pl. 4; Salviat 1988; Smith 1988: 60; Messerschmidt 1989: 82–85; Stewart 1990: 194–95 (though I have changed my mind about its relation to the Darius Painter's vases).

Apulian Vases

1. Volute krater, Naples 3256, from Ruvo: Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982: 18/40 (figs. 25–26; text fig. 4). A. Neck: Oinomaos and Myrtilos pursue Pelops and Hippodameia; body: rape of Kore, Korybantes in pursuit(?), gods above. B. Neck: Helios, Eos and Tithonos (?), and Selene in chariots; body: Alexander pursues Darius, gods above.
2. Amphora, Naples 3220, from Ruvo: Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982: 18/47 (fig. 27). A. Shoulder: Boreas rapes Oreithyia; body, above: Alexander pursues Darius; body, below: youths, women, Erotes. B. Shoulder: head in Phrygian cap between two dancing women; body, above: Dionysos and Ariadne in chariot drawn by panthers, with thiasos; body, below: youths and women.
3. Amphora fragment, Copenhagen Nationalmuseet 13.320: Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982: 18/88 (fig. 28). Nikai crown Hellas, chariot (of Darius?) below.
4. Lost vase, ex-Hamilton collection, known from a drawing by Tischbein (*Collection of Engravings,* vol. 2 [London, 1795], pl. 1, 2), whence text fig. 5. Alexander pursues Darius, gods above.

Select bibliography: Heydemann 1883: pl. 1 (2, 4); Fuhrmann 1931: 88–91 (with earlier bibliography); Curtius 1937: figs. 1–3 (3); Metzger 1967: figs. 1, 2 (2, 3); Hölscher 1973: 174–77 (with earlier bibliography), pl. 14. 1 (2); Moret 1975: vol 2: 8, 100, pls. 81–83 (1: best photographs of both sides; 4); Giuliani 1977: figs. 1, 2, 3, pl. 10. 6 (all four); Moreno 1979: 516–17, pl. 66 (2); *LIMC,* s.v. "Hellas," nos. 4, 6, 7, pls. 385–86 (1, 3); Moreno 1987b: 153–54, 196–97, figs. 124, 155 (2: only photo of B), 192–93 (1); Messerschmidt 1989: 83–84; Trendall 1989: 89, fig. 201 (2).

C. COINS

Aesillas and Sura (Macedonia)

Silver tetradrachms and drachms, perhaps minted in Thessalonike (fig. 123). Ca. 95–75 B.C. Three types, distinguished by legends. Obv.: head of Alexander with Ammon's horn (right), legend sometimes CAE PR ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (1), usually ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (2–3). Rev.: money chest (*fiscus*), club, quaestor's chair (*sella*); legend ΑΕΣΙΛΛΑΣ (1–2) or, rarely, SVVRA LEG PRO Q (3), all within wreath.

Select bibliography: Head 1911: 240, fig. 153; Lewis 1962: 296–99; Bieber 1964: 70, fig. 87; Thompson 1973; Boehringer 1975; Göbl 1978: nos. 689–91; Mattingly 1979; Burnett 1985; Crawford 1985: 197, fig. 77; Fisher 1985; Bauslaugh 1987; Mørkholm 1991: 167–68, pl. 40. 605.

Agathokles (Baktria)

Silver tetradrachms, minted at unidentified location(s) in Baktria (fig. 121). Ca. 175–150 B.C. Obv.: head of Alexander (right) wearing lion-skin headdress; legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Rev.: Zeus enthroned (left), holding scepter in left hand, eagle in right, legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Select bibliography: *BMC Bactria and India* 10, pl. 4. 1; Schreiber 1903: 176–77; Head 1911: 837–38; Tarn (1951)1985: 446–51; Narain 1957: 54–57, 60–61; Bieber 1964: 64, fig. 75; Mitchiner 1975: 66, 78, type 142; Göbl 1978: no. 2245; Holt 1984: 73–74; Price 1991b: 33.

Agathokles (Syracuse)

Gold stater, probably minted in Syracuse (fig. 87). Ca. 310/309 B.C. Obv.: head of Alexander (?) (right) in elephant scalp, with Ammon's horn and aegis. Rev.: legend ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ; winged Athena Promachos striding (right) with owl (in field to right). Three known; iota interpolated on Basel example to make legend ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ.

Select bibliography: Evans 1894: 238, pl. 8. 6; Svoronos 1908: 14–15; Head 1911: 181; Giesecke 1923: 91–92, no. 8, pl. 21. 7; Babelon 1924: 101–2, pl. 18. 9; Kuschel 1961: 15–16, pl. 1. 12; Sjöqvist 1962: 319, pl. 86. 5; Hadley 1964: 36–37, 147; Michel 1967: 41; Buda 1969–70: 200 (A), 205–6; Goukowsky 1978: 207, fig. 8; *LIMC*, s.v. "Athena," no. 160, pl. 722; *Auktion Bank Leu AG* 42 (1987): 133; Cahn et al. 1988: no. 511, pl. 47: Ierardi 1990: 11–14.

Alexander (quasi-autonomous issues)

1. Silver "dekadrachms" (probably 5-shekel pieces), minted in Babylonia or Susiana (figs. 68–69). Ca. 326–323 B.C. Obv.: Alexander, standing (left) in armor, holding spear or scepter in his left hand and thunderbolt in his right; Nike flies in (from left) to crown him. Monogram AB (in field to left). Rev.: Alexander, armored and on horseback (right), attacking a retreating elephant with two riders. The foremost rider holds a goad and stabs at him with a spear. Monogram Ξ (in the field above).

Select bibliography: Head 1911: 832–33; *BMC Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia* (London, 1922), 191, no. 61; Neuffer 1929: 9–10, 29, 37, 43; Fuhrmann 1931: 313–14, 349–50; Gebauer 1939: 18; Whitehead 1943: 70; Kleiner 1951: 222; Kaiser 1962: figs. 1–4; Bellinger 1963: 27, pl. 1. 13; Bieber 1964: 36–37, fig. 22 (an afterthought, overlooking the thunderbolt!); Guépin 1964: 129, figs. 2–3; Michel 1967: 29, pl. 8. 4–5; Goukowsky 1972: 477–80; Goukowsky 1978: 61–66, figs. 1–3; Hölscher 1973: 172–74; Scullard 1974: 70, 75–76; Mitchiner 1975: 8–9, 20, type 21; Price, *Coin Hoards*, vol. 1 (London, 1975), 14, no. 38; Göbl 1978: no. 656; Andronikos et al. 1980: 109, no. 21; Price 1982b: pls. 9–11; von Bothmer et al. 1983: 209–10, no. 101 (best illustration); Vidal-Naquet 1984; Bernard 1985b: pl. 1; Price 1985: 244–45; Kienast 1987: 323–24; Hollstein 1989: figs. 1–2; Mørkholm 1991: 52–54, pl. 3. 44; Price 1991a: 65–66, 70, nos. 9–13, pl. 15; Price 1991b: 451–53, pl. 159, G–H.

2. Bronze units, minted in Naukratis (fig. 51). Ca. 330 B.C. Obv.: woman's head (right); legend NAY. Rev.: male head (right); legend ΑΛΕ.

Select bibliography: Newell 1938b: 61–62, pl. 4B; Price 1981: 33–35, fig. 7.

3. Bronze fractions, minted in Memphis (fig. 51). Ca. 330 B.C. Obv.: young male head (right) in Phrygian helmet. Rev.: forepart of Pegasos (right); above right, A; below, wreath.

Select bibliography: Price 1981: 32–33, figs. 1–4; Price, in Martin 1981: 162–63, pl. 46, nos. 173–75; Price 1985: 245–46; Price 1991b: 496–97, no. 3960.

Lysimachos (Thrace)

Gold staters, silver tetradrachms and drachms, minted at numerous locations in Macedonia, Thrace, and W. Asia (color pl. 8; fig. 117). Ca. 297–281 B.C. Obv.:

head of Alexander (right) wearing Ammon's horn and diadem. Rev.: seated, armed Athena Nikephoros (left); Nike crowns the Λ of Lysimachos's name on the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

Select bibliography: Newell, unpublished manuscript in the archives of the American Numismatic Society; Schreiber 1903: 159–60; Head 1911: 284–85, fig. 170; Bieber 1964: 53–54, figs. 43–46; Guépin 1964: 131–32, pl. 1. 1–2 (Dionysiac!); Kraay and Hirmer 1966: pl. 176, nos. 580–82; Thompson 1968: 163–82, pls. 16–22; Hölscher 1971: pl. 12. 5; Hadley 1974a: 55, pl. 7k; Göbl 1978: pl. 49, nos. 736–37; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 16; Pollitt 1986: 26, fig. 14; Smith 1988: 40, 60, pl. 74. 5–6; Mørkholm 1991: 81–82, pl. 11. 178–82.

Ptolemies (Egypt)

1. Silver tetradrachms, minted in Alexandria (figs. 76–77). Ca. 321–315 B.C. Obv.: head of Alexander (right) with elephant-scalp headdress and Ammon's horn. Rev.: seated Zeus (left), legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

Select bibliography: Schreiber 1903: 167–68; Head 1911: 847; *BMC Ptolemies,* nos. 1–5, pl. 1. 1; Svoronos 1904: pl. 1. 15–18; Babelon 1924: 98–101, pl. 18. 5; Kuschel 1961: 7–16, pl. 1. 3; Kraay and Hirmer 1966: pl. 217, no. 796; Michel 1967: 31–34; Zervos 1967: 1–16 (series B), pls. 2. 12–13; 3. 14–18; Goukowsky 1978: 206–7; Göbl 1978: pl. 70, no. 1293; Smith 1988: 37, 40–41, 60, pl. 74. 1; Mørkholm 1991: 63–64, pl. 6. 90; Price 1991b: 33–34.

2. Gold staters, silver tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, hemiobols, and bronze units, minted in Alexandria and Sidon (color pl. 8; figs. 76, 78–79). Ca. 315–283 B.C. Obv.: head of Alexander (right) with elephant-scalp headdress, Ammon's horn, "diadem" (actually a Dionysiac *mitra*), and aegis. Replaced on silver issues by Ptolemy himself after 300. Rev.: seated Zeus (left) (series C) or fighting Athena (right) (series D); legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (C, D), ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ (D only); rarely, prow or eagle.

Select bibliography: Schreiber 1903: 167–68; Head 1911: 848–49, figs. 373–74; *BMC Ptolemies* nos. 6–16, 19–36, pl. 1. 1–3, 5–6, 8, etc.; Svoronos 1904: pls. 1. 12–14, 22–23, 29–35; 2. 5–7, 10–15, 17–24, 26–28; 4. 8–12, 23–31; 5. 5–24; 6. 1–15, 19–20; Babelon 1924: 98–101, pl. 18. 4, 6–8, 10–12; Kuschel 1961: 7–16, pl. 1. 5–11; Bieber 1964: figs. 40–42; Kraay and Hirmer 1966: pl. 217, nos. 797–98; Michel 1967: 31–34; Zervos 1967: 1–16, pls. 3. 19–20; 4. 21–26; Goukowsky 1978: 206–7; Göbl 1978: pl. 70, no. 1294; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 31; Pollitt 1986: 26–28, fig. 15a; Smith 1988: 37, 40–41, 60, pl. 74. 2; Mørkholm 1991: 63–64, pl. 6. 91–95; Price 1991b: 33–34, 496.

3. Bronze units, minted in Alexandria (fig. 76). Ca. 315–283 B.C. Obv.: head of Alexander (right) with Ammon's horn and *mitra*: (i) with short hair, reverse

legend ΑΛΕ; (ii) with long hair, reverse legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Rev.: eagle on thunderbolt.

Select bibliography: (i) *BMC Ptolemies,* nos.17–18, 37–40, pl. 1. 4 and 7; Svoronos 1904: pl. 2. 25, 29–30; (ii) *BMC Ptolemies,* nos. 62–73, 85–88, pl. 2. 1 and 5; Svoronos 1904: pls. 4. 13–17; 5. 25–26; 6. 16–18.

4. Gold staters and half-staters, minted in Alexandria and Cyrene (fig. 76). Ca. 305–283 B.C. Obv.: head of Ptolemy I (right), diademed and wearing aegis. Rev.: Alexander in elephant quadriga (left), wearing aegis and holding thunderbolt in right hand; legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

Select bibliography: Head 1911: 870; *BMC Cyrenaica*, pl. 28. 6–11; *BMC Ptolemies*, nos. 93–94, pl. 2. 10–11; Svoronos 1904: pls. 4. 1–7, 18–22; 5. 1–4; Mørkholm 1991: 65, pl. 6. 96.

5. Bronze fractions, minted in Alexandria. Ca. 261–222 B.C. Obv.: head of Alexander (right) with elephant-scalp headdress, Ammon's horn, diadem, and aegis. Rev.: eagle on thunderbolt.

Select bibliography: Svoronos 1904: pls. 10. 24; 11. 3, 9–10, 13, 21; 12. 25; 13. 25–26; 14. 10, 12–14; 17. 14–16, 20; 23. 23; 29. 14–15, 24, 26; Mørkholm 1991: 105–7, pl. 19. 305.

Seleukos (Media and Persis)

1. Gold double darics and bronze units and half-units of Seleukos I, minted at Ekbatana (fig. 114). Ca. 305–301 B.C. Obv.: head of Alexander (right) with elephant-scalp headdress. Rev.: gold: Nike (left) holding *stylis* and wreath above horned horse's head; bronze: legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ with anchor or anchor and horned horse's head or Nike (left) holding wreath above anchor or Nike (left) holding *stylis* and wreath above horned horse's head.

Select bibliography: Newell 1938a: 112 and nos. 291, 294–97, 459–60, pls. 22. 10–11, 14–20; 25. 4–5; Hadley 1974a: 52–53, pl. 7e, f, g; Houghton 1980: 5–14; Smith 1988: 41, 60, pl. 74. 3; Mørkholm 1991: 72, pl. 8. 137.

2. Silver tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, and obols, minted at Susa; later imitated in Baluchistan (figs. 115–16). Ca. 305–301 B.C. Obv.: head of Alexander (right) in helmet covered by panther's skin and embellished with bull's horn and ear, wearing panther's skin knotted around his neck. Rev.: Nike (right) crowning trophy; legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ.

Select bibliography: Head 1911: 757, fig. 332; Newell 1938a: 156–61 and nos. 300–302, 304–6, 413–27, pls. 23. 1–18; 33. 6–9; Hadley 1974a: 55–57, pl. 71; Hadley 1974b: 9–13; Kraay and Hirmer 1966: pl. 204, no. 740; Göbl 1978: pl. 64, no. 1166; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 23; Houghton 1980: 5–14; Houghton 1983: nos. 1022–25, 1037, 1103–19; Smith 1988: 60, pl. 74. 4; Mørkholm 1991: 72, pl. 8. 139–40.

3. Silver drachms and hemidrachms, minted at Ekbatana. Ca. 293–280 B.C. Obv.: head of Herakles (right) wearing lion-skin headdress. Rev.: man (presumably Alexander) with flying chlamys and horned helmet, riding a horned horse (right); legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ.

Select bibliography: Newell 1938a: nos. 481–82 and pl. 36. 9–18; Mørkholm 1991: 73 and pl. 8. 142–43.

D. ENGRAVED GEMS, CAMEOS, AND GLASS PASTES

Full-Figure

Alexander, Aigiochos type

Cameo, formerly in Cammin (Kamien Pomorski): see Section A above, Alexander Aigiochos, no. 16 (fig. 82).

Alexander (or imitators) standing, holding thunderbolt and spear

1. Cornelian, St. Petersburg.
2. Gem, whereabouts unknown.
3. Gem, once Blacas collection.

Select bibliography: Furtwängler 1900: pl. 48. 4 (3); Gebauer 1939: 27, G32–33, pl. 4. 12–13 (1, 2).

Alexander standing, diademed, holding thunderbolt, aegis, and sword

Red cornelian inscribed ΝΕΙΣΟΥ, St. Petersburg, Hermitage inv. 609 (color pl. 8; figs. 66–67).

Versions

a. Cameo, formerly Arundel and Marlborough collections. Claudius as Jupiter.
b. Cornelian, St. Petersburg. Domitian (?) as Jupiter.

Select bibliography: Furtwängler 1900: 164–65, 302, pls. 32. 11 (1); 48. 3 (b); 65. 48 (a); Schreiber 1903: 205–7; Bernoulli 1905: 133–34, pl. 8. 2 (1); Neuffer 1929: 44; Gebauer 1939: 27, G31 (1); Bieber 1949: 384; Kaiser 1962: 233–35, 239; Bieber 1964: 37–38; Michel 1967: 28–29; Neverov 1976: 61, no. 53, pl. 53 (1: best reproduction, in color); Zazoff 1983: 201; Pollitt 1986: 22–23, fig. 10 (1); Megow 1987: 202, A84, pl. 27. 2 (a).

Heads and busts

Head of Alexander (so-called Lysippic type) with *anastolē* only, occasionally also a chlamys

Select bibliography: Furtwängler 1900: 164–65, pl. 32. 2, 3, and 5; Gebauer 1939: 26, 81–82 (G1–4), pl. 4. 1–4; Richter 1968: no. 598; Schwarzenberg 1976: fig. 3; Zazoff 1983: 197, pl. 46. 3–4.

Head of Alexander with diadem, occasionally also a chlamys

Select bibliography: Furtwängler 1900: pls. 31. 16, 17, 19, 20; 32. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 28; 59. 7; Gebauer 1939: 26, 28–30, 82–83 (G5–30), pl. 4. 5–11; Richter 1968: nos. 599, 605–6; Schwarzenberg 1976: fig. 5; Boardman and Vollenwieder 1978: no. 281, pl. 43; Zazoff 1983: 321, pl. 95. 6.

Head of Alexander with diadem and Ammon's horn (figs. 118–19)

Select bibliography: E. Babelon, *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1897), no. 222; Gebauer 1939: 29, 83 (G35–40), pl. 4. 14–15; Richter 1968: no. 597; Boardman 1970: no. 998; Boardman and Vollenwieder 1978: no. 280, pl. 43; Zazoff 1983: 199–200, pl. 46. 10; Pollitt 1986: 26.

APPENDIX 5

THE GETTY FRAGMENTS: A CATALOGUE

Preliminary note: the isotopic analysis of the marble was performed by Susan Lansing and Norman Hertz, using a Finnegan Mat Spectrometer, on May 3, 1989, and checked on July 11, 1989. The values given are percentage probabilities.

HEADS

1. Head of Alexander the Great: 73.AA.27. Color pl. 2; figs. 16, 146–49.

Marble: 59.8% Parian, 40.2% Ephesian.
Dimensions: H 29.1 (max.), 27.5 (head); W 25.9; D 27.5. Face from chin to hairline 20.0; inner corners of eyes to mouth 7.2; between outer corners of eyes 9.4; mouth 4.8; left ear 7.0.

Neck broken just below chin, anterior chipped. Chin, center of lower lip, part of upper lip, left side and ridge of nose battered away. Left eyebrow, some locks of hair chipped. Minor abrasions on face. Face polished, sides and back of neck rasped. Mouth, right nostril, and inner corners of eyes discreetly recut in antiquity, eyelids redrawn. Coiffure shortened and substantially reworked: locks at front and side, some severely weathered, redrawn with a 3-mm running drill, then worked over with flat chisel and rasp. Excess hair at sides removed with point, right earlobe and left ear abraded. Curls around nape of neck shortened and retouched with drill, point, flat, and rasp and demarcated from neck by a 3-mm drill channel.

The head, set on a massive neck, is turned and inclined towards the figure's (raised) left shoulder. The modeling appears to be symmetrical, though the axes of the eyes and mouth converge towards the (withdrawn) left side; the *anastolē* is also displaced towards this side, slightly distorting the central axis of the face.

The face is a heavy oval, and the features large: undulating lips, a powerful nose, and deep-set eyes with deep lower lids and strongly curved eyeballs that look out and up to the subject's left. The right eye still preserves the fine incision that originally demarcated the pupil. The temples are slightly hollowed, and the lower part of the forehead projects in a strongly articulated "Michelangelo bar" over the bridge of the nose. The ear is thick and fleshy. Though the hair is recut, its original form is easily detectable: waved back from a central V-shaped *anastolē*, the locks fall in long S curls down to the angle of the jaw and the nape of the neck. Full and bushy, these were each divided into two or three strands. Behind this thick halo of hair, that on the crown was flatter, composed of schematic, snaky locks parted in the center and meandering rather aimlessly over the surface of the skull.

B. Fredricksen, *The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1975), 26–27, ill.; *JPGM Guidebook* (Malibu, 1976), 47–48, ill.; ibid. (1978), 29–30, ill.; Frel 1979: no. 20; Andronikos et al. 1980: 101, no. 6, color pl. 2; Vermeule 1980: 55, 59, 126, fig. 71A; Frel 1981a: 68–69, no. 19, ill.; Vermeule 1981: 132, no. 101, ill.; Frel, "Ancient Repairs to Classical Sculptures at Malibu," *JPGM Journal* 12 (1984): 81, no. 23; *JPGM Handbook* (Malibu, 1986), 32, ill.; Smith 1988: 47, 67, 158, no. 16, pl. 12. 6; Ridgway 1990: 116; Stewart 1990: 191–92, fig. 576.

2. Head of a youth ("Hephaistion"): 73.AA.28. Figs. 150–54.

Marble: 60.9% Parian, 39.1% Ephesian.
Dimensions: H 27.0; W 20.7; D 24.2. Face from chin to hairline 18.3; inner corners of eyes to mouth 7.0; between outer corners of eyes 8.9; mouth 4.5; ears 6.5.

Neck broken at chin, edges of break chipped. Tip of nose, most of nostrils, part of upper and much of lower lips, chin battered away. Both eyebrows, left cheekbone, both ears chipped. Face polished, sides and back of neck rasped. Eyelids and eyeballs discreetly worked over in antiquity with flat chisel and rasp, hair and tops of ears recut with same tools, channel 5–7 mm wide cut in hair 6 cm back from hairline, presumably for narrow metal fillet (though no attachment holes drilled). Crown of head added in separate piece of marble, hair crudely carved with point and flat, join concealed by modern plaster.

The head is turned and inclined slightly to its right. The modeling is symmetrical, though the axes of the eyes and mouth converge slightly to the figure's (withdrawn) right side. The face is narrower than Alexander's, the muscles less obtrusive, the features generally less emphatic, and the expression quite neutral and blank. The forehead undulates imperceptibly but has no "Michelangelo bar." The hair is coiffed into two rows of corkscrew curls, blending into S curls at the temples. Behind the cutting for the fillet the hair is flatter and cruder, like Alexander's, meandering rather aimlessly over the surface of the skull.

B. Fredricksen, *The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1975), 26–27, ill.; *JPGM Guidebook* (Malibu, 1976), 47–48; ibid. (1978), 29–30; Frel 1979: no. 21; Andronikos et al. 1980: 105, no. 13, color pl. 2; Vermeule 1980: 55, 59, 126, fig. 71B; Frel 1981a: 68–69,

no. 20, ill.; Vermeule 1981: 133, no. 102, ill.; Frel, "Ancient Repairs to Classical Sculptures at Malibu," *JPGM Journal* 12 (1984): 81, no. 23: *JPGM Handbook* (Malibu, 1986), 32, ill.; Smith 1988: 47, 67, 158, no. 16, pl. 12. 5; Ridgway 1990: 116; Stewart 1990: 191–92, fig. 577.

3. Head of a woman: 73.AA.29. Figs. 155–59.

Marble: 65.3% Parian, 34.7% Ephesian.
Dimensions: H 33.0 (max.), 25.7 (head); W 19.5; D 23.3. Face from chin to hairline ca. 16.5; inner corners of eyes to mouth 6.2; between outer corners of eyes 8.5; mouth 4.3; ears 5.8.

Neck broken across at shoulder height; break chipped around back and on both sides; part of right side of neck split away. Nose, most of mouth, chin battered away. Minor chipping on left cheek, eyelid, and ear. Polish on face slightly weathered on right. Eyes and eyelids redrawn with fine chisel, then rasped, though smoothed area of pupil of left eye still clearly visible. Ears drilled with holes (diam. 2 mm) for earrings. Entire surface of hair reworked in antiquity with bull-nosed chisel.

The head, poised on a long, slender neck, is turned and inclined slightly to the woman's left. The eyes also look leftward, and their axis and that of the mouth converge to this side, though the modeling of the face is all but symmetrical. Two Venus rings are discreetly indicated on the neck. The face forms a tight oval and is subtly modeled, with neat, compact features and elastic flesh surfaces, tight-drawn over the cheekbones, temples, and brow. The eyes and eyebrows resemble those of the flute player, no. 4. The brow undulates very slightly over the eyes and the bridge of the nose. The hair is coiffed in a fashion akin to the so-called melon coiffure: the plaited tresses (here, twenty in number) are gathered high on the skull in the form of a multilobed cylinder and then braided in a thick circle around the top.

JPGM Guidebook (Malibu, 1976), 47; ibid. (1978), 29; Frel 1979: no. 22; Frel 1981a: 69, fig. 98; Smith 1988: 47, 67, 158, no. 16; Ridgway 1990: 116; Stewart 1990: 191–92.

4. Head of a boy flutist: 73.AA.30. Fig. 160.

Marble: 29.5% Usak, 24.6% Aphrodisias.
Dimensions: H 26.1 (max.), 22.1 (head); W 17.0; D 10.4. Face from chin to hairline 15.1; inner corners of eyes to mouth 6.0; between outer corners of eyes 7.9; mouth 4.3; ear 5.2.

Neck broken across below Adam's apple; entire left side and back of head split away. Nose, left eye, and left cheek battered, some scarring on brow. Hair and helix of right ear substantially recut with flat chisel, leaving slight ridge of uncarved and unpolished marble around top of forehead and ear, and roughly channeled with same tool ca. 5 cm behind hairline, presumably to receive a metal fillet. Some rasping around ear and on hair, where locks only blocked out with point. Face polished, some secondary rasping around lids and inner corners of eyes. Mouth never completely

carved since covered by a (painted) *phorbeia* for securing the flutes,[1] which were inserted into two holes, 2 mm wide and 7 mm deep, drilled between lips.

The head, belonging to a boy in his early teens, was turned and inclined somewhat to its right. The neck is quite strongly modeled, the face still has a trace of youthful puppy fat, though it nevertheless sports a prominent brow ridge. This pushes forward strongly over the left eye, a calculated asymmetry that together with the convergence of the axes of the eyes and mouth towards the right strongly reinforces the movement and the (presumed) viewpoint from this side.

The eyes look up to the right, the lips are tightly closed, and the cheeks are distended from the effort of blowing the double pipe. The hair, worked over in antiquity, is modeled into rough S curls that surround the brow in a dense halo and lie flatter on the skull behind the cutting for the fillet.

JPGM Guidebook (Malibu, 1976), 47; ibid. (1978), 29; Frel 1979: no. 23; Frel 1981a: 69, fig. 97; Smith 1988: 47, 67, 158, no. 16; Ridgway 1990: 116; Stewart 1990: 191–92.

LIMBS

5. Right elbow and partially draped upper arm (f.): 78.AA.309. Figs. 161–63.

Marble: 53.4% Parian, 46.6% Ephesian.
Dimensions: L 20.4; W 12.6; joining surface, 11 by 7 preserved.

Broken across just below point of elbow. Posterior and part of inner faces also battered and partially broken away above elbow, around rectangular tenon hole (3.0 by 1.3 cm across and 5.5 cm deep). Upper surface tooled flat with point and rasp. Drapery rasped along ridges and valleys of folds and unfinished on inner face, where crisscrossing rasp work also replaces polish of flesh surfaces.

The arm was flexed at a right angle. The tooling, weathering, and direction of the tenon hole show that the upper arm hung close to the figure's right side and was secured to it by a metal dowel; the forearm was parallel to the ground and extended forward. The hand pouring a libation, no. 11, could well belong to the same figure, which, to judge from the soft modeling and barely perceptible transitions, was certainly female. The drapery is quite thin and presses close to the flesh; the folds run at right angles to the direction of the arm.

Frel 1979: no. 39.

6. Right forearm, partially draped (f.): 77.AA.2.4. Figs. 164–65.

Marble: 65.4% Parian, 34.6% Ephesian.
Dimensions: L 10.7; W 13.7 (drapery), 8.6 (arm); joining surface, 14.0 by 11.5.

1. See A. Bélis, "La phorbeia," *BCH* 110 (1986): 205–18.

Broken across some way above the wrist; elbow end cut flat in preparation for a join, rasped, and pierced at center by rectangular tenon hole, 2.6 by 1.5 cm across and 6.5 cm deep. Drapery cut by 3-mm running drill, then rasped along ridges of folds; light rasping on interior surface of arm; slightly weathered, folds battered.

The upper part of the forearm is covered by drapery. The flesh modeling is again very unemphatic; the drapery is thick and its crisscrossing folds quite deeply cut. The hand pouring a libation, no. 11, preserves too much of the forearm to form part of the same limb, as suggested by Frel.

Frel 1979: no. 37.

7. Right forearm and wrist (f.), with twisted bracelet: 77.AA.2.3. Fig. 166.

Marble: 50.4% Ephesian, 49.6% Parian.
Dimensions: L 12.6; W 8.2 (bracelet), 7.2 (wrist).

Broken across just below wrist and halfway up forearm, just above bracelet. Flesh polished all round; base of thumb, bracelet, and skin immediately adjacent lightly rasped.

The modeling is again soft, delicate, and clearly feminine. The hand seems to have been at least partially open. The bracelet is of Macedonian type, carved in an identical manner to that worn on the hand no. 9, but simpler in design. It terminated in snake heads, now battered.

Frel 1979: no. 38.

8. Left hand (m.), holding two attributes: 88.AA.145. Figs. 167–69.

Marble: not tested.
Dimensions: L 16.1; W 13.3 (hand), 9.2 (wrist).

Broken across just below the wrist; most of thumb, tips of index and second fingers broken away, joints of all fingers battered; attributes broken away where they leave the hand. Some weathering and scarring all over the surface; original polish preserved on back of hand towards wrist. Base of thumb rasped towards palm of hand, attribute lying along length of hand roughly faceted with flat chisel and separated from third finger by 3-mm running drill channel.

The hand was relaxed and bent very slightly back from the forearm. The modeling of the back of the hand and the side opposite the thumb is extremely schematic and flat, suggesting that the arm was lowered next to the body and the hand was held thumb outwards, so that the palm and its attributes faced the observer.

The two attributes cross in the middle of the palm. Gripped between the index and second fingers and extending up the hollow of the hand to the wrist is a knobby, vertically faceted tubular object, ca. 4.5 cm across at its center, that widens out in three stages to cover nearly the entire width of the wrist (8.7 cm). Too asymmetrical

and rough to be an artifact like a sword hilt, torch, *bacchos*, or cornucopia and too big to be a palm branch or a flower, this looks like a club, held with its narrower end down, so that the thicker part, now lost, rested against the inner side of the forearm: a grip that is almost a mannerism in later fourth-century art.[2]

Emerging at an angle from beneath this "club" and gripped by the thumb and index finger on one side and by the third and fourth fingers on the other is a thick, flattish object that tapers as it crosses the palm, from a cross section of ca. 6.0 by 4.5 cm on the outside (by the thumb) to ca. 4.5 by 3.5 cm on the inner side. Its identity is problematic, but it could just be an animal's tail or leg: since it tapers, it is unlikely to be a fillet or filletlike attribute such as the Amazon's girdle or Kerberos's leash. Herakles drags the lion by its tail or its leg on a Gnathia vase of around 300, on coins, on sarcophagi, and in a number of marbles in the round.[3]

The hand is quite massive and thick, more so than any other in the ensemble: with fingers uncurled it would have been at least 21 cm long. Since in fourth-century sculpture, as in life, the length of a man's hand usually equals the height of his face, this piece must belong to a very large figure, equaling or even surpassing Alexander in height—presumably, given the club, Herakles.

Unpublished.

9. Left hand and part of forearm (f.), wearing a twisted bracelet: 76.AA.35. Figs. 170–71.

Marble: 63.0% Parian, 37.0% Ephesian.
Dimensions: L 18.5; W 11.5 (hand), 8.2 (wrist); joining surface, 5.3 by 5.5 preserved.

Fingers and thumb broken away; broken across lower forearm; part of joining surface, tenon hole, and bracelet preserved (bisected by joining surface). Joining surface carefully smoothed by fine claw (3 teeth/6 mm) and pierced by rectangular tenon hole, 2.5 by 1.2 cm across and 6 cm deep. Hole, palm of hand, and adjacent underside of wrist rasped, skin folds lightly chiseled; all other modeled surfaces highly polished.

The modeling is soft and rather pulpy; the hand was lightly flexed with the palm open but away from the spectator, and the thumb on top. The twisted bracelet, of Macedonian type,[4] ends in a ram's head, battered but still just perceptible.

Frel 1979: no. 33.

2. Cf., for instance, the votive relief to Herakles Alexikakos, NM 2723: Stewart 1990: fig. 489; numerous South Italian vases: e.g., Trendall 1989: figs. 151, 179, 188–89, 210, and 230; also the Neisos gem, color pl. 8.

3. P. Moreno, "Iconografia lisippea delle Imprese di Eracle," *MEFRA* 96 (1984): 117–24, esp. 122–24, figs. 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, d, e; Moreno 1987a: 203–10, figs. 124–25, 128–30; cf. G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari* (Milan, 1930): 24–25, no. 44, pl. 30; E. Loeffler, *Marsyas* 6 (1954): 8–24, esp. 11–12, pls. 5. 1 and 6. 1. Coins: *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 28 (1910): 39 (type 4), 81–84, pls. 2. 11 and 4. 8–9.

4. See, among others, Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 57.

10. Left hand (f.?): 76.AA.28. Fig. 172.

Marble: 54.0% Parian, 46.0% Ephesian.
Dimensions: L 9.0; W 8.4 (hand), 6.1 (wrist).

Broken across at wrist; all fingers and thumb missing. Back of hand highly polished, palm chiseled and rasped exactly as no. 9.

The hand was held open with the thumb extended forward; it is slightly smaller than no. 11 and so could belong to a girl or to the flute player, no. 4. Probably carved by the sculptor of no. 9.

Frel 1979: no. 34.

11. Right wrist and hand (f.): 79.AA.2.2. Fig. 173.

Marble: 58.8% Parian, 41.1% Ephesian.
Dimensions: L 14.1; W 12.5 (hand), 7.2 (wrist).

Broken across above wrist; fingers and thumb missing. Finely polished all round, though rasping on palm of hand and inside of wrist still clearly visible. Drill hole 1.6 cm deep by 0.6 cm across in palm of hand between base of index finger and thumb.

The modeling and polish are exactly like no. 9 and again show that the subject was a woman. The drill hole was presumably to fix a libation bowl or phiale to the open palm of the hand.

Frel 1979: no. 36.

12. Right hand (f.), holding part of a jug: 77.AA.2.1. Figs. 174–77.

Marble: 28.8% Usak, 23.8% Aphrodisias.
Dimensions: L 12.4; W 10.5. Ht. of head ornament on jug handle, 4.6.

Broken across back of hand and around neck and spout of jug. Right side of head ornament split away, together with rim of jug, except for a fragment adjacent to left side of head. Hand finely polished, much secondary rasping on handle and neck of jug, between fingers, and across fingertips, which have been crudely trimmed away. Hair of head ornament and adjacent part of handle coarsely cut with point.

The hand grasps the handle of the jug with the fingers curled around it and thumb laid on top. On the other side of the handle, however, the lower two phalanges of the fingers are completely inorganic, rotated ninety degrees so as to lie at right angles to the thumb. This cannot be due to the recutting (for insufficient marble would remain to change their position so radically) but must be a mistake on the part of the original carver. Also crudely retooled, this area must have been invisible to the spectator. The hand seems to be feminine; the scale is identical with that of no. 10, and the polish and patina with those of no. 7.

Frel 1979: no. 32.

13. Fingertip: 78.AA.301. Fig. 178.

Marble: not tested.
Dimensions: L 4.3; W 2.0.

Broken across just above the last joint. Highly polished; traces of rasping on underside.

The fingertip is bent upwards, as if pressing down on something. The patina is the same as that of nos. 7 and 12.

Frel 1979: no. 35.

14. Part of a left lower leg (m.): 77.AA.2.6. Figs. 179–80.

Marble: 54.2% Parian, 45.8% Ephesian.
Dimensions: H 21.7; W 13.3.

Broken above and below calf muscle. Traces of burning on lower part of break and adjacent modeled surface on back. Some rasping in this area.

The difference in width between this piece and no. 15, if not fortuitous, could suggest that if they belong to Alexander and "Hephaistion," nos. 1 and 2, this goes with the latter; his left leg was evidently engaged.

Frel 1979: no. 26.

15. Right lower leg (m.): 77.AA.2.7. Figs. 181–82.

Marble: 56.1% Parian, 43.9% Ephesian.
Dimensions: H 21.0; W 14.0.

Broken above and immediately below the calf muscle; the shinbone mostly split away. Some encrustation on breaks and in small patches on modeled surfaces. Lightly polished at front and sides; back rasped.

The scale could suggest that this belongs to the Alexander, no. 1, whose left leg must have been relaxed and right leg engaged; the calf muscle is tense, strengthening the attribution.

Frel 1979: no. 27.

16. Right ankle (m.): 77.AA.2.12. Figs. 183–84.

Marble: 59.8% Parian, 41.1% Ephesian.
Dimensions: H 10.7; W 9.3; D 13.0.

Broken somewhat above and immediately below ankle; rasped around Achilles tendon and under anklebone on interior.

Modeled with great vigor, the ankle was pressed forward onto the foot; it could therefore belong to "Hephaistion," no. 2, whose right leg was probably relaxed.

Frel 1979: no. 31.

17. Left foot on a high plinth (m.): 77.AA.2.8. Figs. 185–86.

Marble: 30.5% Usak, 23.4% Aphrodisias.
Dimensions: L 32.0 (plinth), 27.6 (foot); W 13.5; H 18.0. Ht. of plinth, 6.5 (front), 7.5 (back); wth. of foot behind toes, 13.3.

Plinth broken from front to back just inside inner edge of foot. Foot broken diagonally from instep to heel, tip of big toe split away, together with exterior of little toe and lateral section of arch immediately behind. Bottom of plinth very crudely picked, and outer side roughly anathyrosed: above, 1-cm band smoothed by oblique claw chisel strokes; below, rough dressing by short strokes of pointed chisel. Upper surface, support for foot, and sides of toes cut by bull-nosed chisel, then rasped. Foot distinguished from support by chisel line on exterior, demarcation vague on interior. Polish on upper surface of foot fades into fine rasping beyond first joints of toes.

Only the toes and ball of the foot touch the ground. Were the marble not completely different, the scale and movement would strongly suggest an attribution to the Alexander, no. 1, whose left leg was probably relaxed and withdrawn. The modeling is bold and powerful, with prominent veins behind the toes.

Frel 1979: no. 25.

18. Left heel (m.), surrounded by drapery, on a low plinth: 77.AA.2.11. Figs. 187–91.

Marble: 65.6% Parian, 34.4% Ephesian.
Dimensions: L 26.1, 12.4 (heel); W 15.7; H 20.3 (max.), 13.1 (heel), 3.0–3.5 (plinth); joining surface, 11.0 by 10.0 preserved.

Broken all around plinth except for narrow strip at top of outer side; breaks weathered. Heel broken just above ankle, break extends to drapery behind and on exterior. Forepart of foot attached separately. Joining surface rasped flat and pierced by vertically aligned tenon hole, 2.5 by 1.5 cm across and 6.5 cm deep. Drapery and heel demarcated from plinth by chisel line, rasped all over; heel demarcated from drapery by running drill channel 5 mm wide on interior, 3 mm wide on exterior.

The foot rests flat on its plinth and is partially covered by swirling drapery that has collapsed onto the ground to the right of the heel, then rises to curl behind it and up the shin, while another fold drapes around the outside of the ankle and over the instep to cover the join to the forepart of the foot. The folds are thick and woolly, bolder than on no. 6, but similarly textured with the rasp. The tooling follows the direction of the folds, as on nos. 5, 6, and 19. Since the garment terminates just to the right of the heel, it is presumably a long cloak falling from the subject's left shoulder or arm; the figure could therefore be male. The rasping over the interior of the heel suggests that it was invisible to the spectator.

The next fragment, no. 19, apparently belongs to the same foot.

Frel 1979: no. 30.

19. Forepart of a left foot (m.) on a low plinth, partially covered with drapery: 77.AA.2.9. Figs. 189–91.

Marble: 69.2% Parian, 30.8% Ephesian.
Dimensions: L 15.3; W 10.8, 10.5 (behind toes); H 11.8. Ht. of plinth, 3.0 (back), 1.9 (front); joining surface, 9.0 by 11.0 preserved.

Broken around plinth except for small section at right rear; breaks badly weathered. Left upper part of drapery split away, with little toe, tip of second toe, and outer part and tip of big toe. Bottom of plinth secondarily trimmed with point, especially towards front; drapery and arch of foot rasped exactly as no. 18, forepart of foot polished. Big and second toes separated by 3-mm drill channel; this and cavities between other toes lightly rasped. Joining surface also rasped, pierced by vertically aligned rectangular tenon hole, 2.5 by 1.1 cm across by 6.2 cm deep.

The foot rested flat on the ground and is evidently male. Though the tenon hole is slightly narrower than on no. 18, a test with a styrofoam tenon showed that this fragment and no. 18 may well belong together: the folds continue from one to the other, and the scale and rasping technique are identical. To separate the two would entail a second figure, identically poised and similarly draped, with his left foot segmented at exactly the same place. When assembled, the foot is exactly the same length as no. 20.

This piece was clearly reset in antiquity.

Frel 1979: no. 29.

20. Right foot on a low plinth (m.?) with remains of back support: 77.AA.2.10. Fig. 192.

Marble: 69.8% Parian, 30.2% Ephesian.
Dimensions: L 28.5 (plinth), 26.0 (foot); W 14.0; H 10.1. Ht. of plinth 3.0; wth. of foot behind toes, 11.2.

Plinth broken away on both sides and back, foot broken diagonally from instep to near base of heel; toes battered, little toe split away. Back support mostly lost. All breaks except this one weathered, modeled surfaces chipped but mostly retain original polish. Underside of plinth dressed with point, in short strokes; upper surface of plinth, sides of foot, and gaps between toes rasped. Entire top of foot towards interior faceted with flat chisel. Big and second toes separated by 2-mm drill; this and some tooling around sides of foot perhaps secondary.

The foot rests flat on the ground and was originally supported by a rough marble strut at the back, of the type known from late classical monuments such as the Daochos group.[5] The modeling is not as emphatic as on no. 17, but the quite thick

5. Ridgway 1990: pl. 22; Stewart 1990: fig. 553.

toes and prominent vein behind them identify the subject as male. The similar degree of finish on both sides suggests the figure was frontal.

Frel 1979: no. 28.

DRAPERY

21. Drapery fragment: 77.AA.2.5. Figs. 193–94.

Marble: not tested.
Dimensions: L 13.0; W. 6.0; D 3.1.

Broken at top, bottom, and down the back, where a second fold is partially preserved.

The fold hangs vertically and was rasped along its length just like nos. 5, 6, 18, and 19.

Frel 1979: no. 40.

ANIMALS AND BIRDS

22. Head of a lion: 73.AA.31. Figs. 195–97.

Marble: 30.1% Usak, 23.8% Aphrodisias.
Dimensions: H 21.4; W 24.1; D 21.7; joining surface at back, 22.4 by 16.5 preserved.

Slightly weathered. Right lower jaw and adjacent area of cheek missing; left upper lip, top and part of left side of mane split away; tongue battered. Some chipping on muzzle, especially between right nostril and cheekbone. Back of head tooled flat for joining surface with fine point, pierced by rectangular tenon hole 4.5 by 3.0 cm across by 6.5 cm deep. Hole in center of forehead between *anastolē* of mane and joining surface, 3.3 by 2.0 cm across by 6.0 cm deep, evidently for pi-clamp to relieve strain on tenon. Nostrils cut with 3-mm running drill. Mane, left lower lid, and muzzle reworked with flat chisel; face rasped all over; mouth recut, especially on left, where 3-mm running drill used to separate teeth.

The head, crowned by a flaring mane, is big-boned and heavily muscled, with thick, knobby surfaces separated by deep transitions. The eyes recall Alexander's but are completely overhung by a baggy skin fold towards their outer corners. The nostrils and mouth are quite schematic (and rendered more so by the reworking). The lips form a flat horseshoe around the corners of the mouth, which displays two molars and four incisors on each side, framing the out-thrust tongue. The joining surface is not quite at ninety degrees to the nose, so that the head angles very slightly to its left.

The head is not a gargoyle, nor is it part of an empty lion skin, for it is not

hollowed out in any way. The lolling tongue, clenched teeth, and curling lips suggest an animal not long dead. An association with the hand holding a club, no. 8, is possible.

JPGM Guidebook (Malibu, 1976), 47; ibid. (1978), 29; Frel 1979: no. 24; Smith 1988: 47, 67, 158, no. 16; Ridgway 1990: 116; Stewart 1990: 191–92.

23. Right upper foreleg of a goat or ram: 77.AA.2.13. Fig. 198.

Marble: 39.2% Usak, 25.4% Aphrodisias.
Dimensions: H 16.5; W 13.2.

Broken below shoulder and above knee joint; hair roughly carved with flat chisel.

Clearly the leg of a caprine (goat or ram). The hair is more varied and more detailed on the outside of the leg than on the inside, where the modeling is also flatter.

Frel 1979: no. 41.

24. Standing dove with averted head: 77.AA.2.14. Fig. 199.

Marble: 65.4% Parian, 34.6% Ephesian.
Dimensions: L 17.0; H 16.5.

Both legs, left side of marble base, tail, and part of right wing broken away. Rectangular support (L 8.0, W 4.5, H 4.0) under tail, demarcated from body by 4-mm running drill channel. Feathers and eyes reworked with chisel, entire surface rasped.

The dove is standing and turns its head back towards its tail, covering it with its right wing.

Frel 1979: no. 42.

25. Crouching dove: 77.AA.2.15. Fig. 200.

Marble: 66.2% Parian, 33.8% Ephesian.
Dimensions: L 22.5; H 10.5.

Head missing, also front of feet. Sits on a rough, shallow base extending from feet to tail (L 13.5, W 7.5, H 3.5). Body partially demarcated from base by 4-mm running drill channel. Feathers reworked with chisel, entire surface rasped. Traces of pigment between tail feathers.

The dove was crouching with its head raised and turned to its right.

Frel 1979: no. 43.

26. Standing dove: 77.AA.2.16. Fig. 201.

Marble: not tested.
Dimensions: L 19.6; H 8.5.

Neck, legs, and plinth broken away, part of left wing split off, together with corner of tail. Features reworked with chisel, and entire surface rasped.

The dove was standing with its head lowered and turned to its left.

Frel 1979: no. 44.

MISCELLANEOUS

27. Large pomegranate (?): 77.AA.2.17. Fig. 202.

Marble: 75.3% Pentelic, 24.7% Naxian.
Dimensions: H 9.0; diam. 8.5.

Stem broken off and navel flattened with point; remainder rasped. Traces of orange pigment around stem.

Clearly different in form from the two apples, nos. 29–30, but nevertheless not immediately identifiable at first glance. If this is a pomegranate, as suggested by Frel, the lobes around the stem are much simplified.

Frel 1979: no. 45.

28. Small pomegranate (?): 77.AA.2.18. Fig. 203.

Marble: not tested.
Dimensions: H 9.0; diam. 8.5.

Stem broken off; entire surface rasped, though less heavily than no. 27. Many traces of orange pigment.
Perhaps a pomegranate: see no. 27.

Frel 1979: no. 46.

29. Large apple: 77.AA.2.19. Fig. 204.

Marble: not tested.
Dimensions: H 7.7; diam. 8.2.

Flattened below with a point; lightly rasped all over.

Frel 1979: no. 47.

30. Small apple: 77.AA.2.20. Fig. 205.

Marble: not tested.
Dimensions: H 7.0; diam. 7.7.

Patches of light rasping over entire surface.

Frel 1979: no. 48.

31. Corner fragment of base: 77.AA.2.21. Figs. 206–7.

Marble: 34.4% Usak, 24.1% Aphrodisias.
Dimensions: H 18.5; W 14.0; D 8.5.

Part of bottom and two adjoining sides preserved. Bottom picked with fine point. Sides anathyrosed: 4.5-cm band around edges, smoothed with abrasives, encloses slightly sunken panel dressed with short strokes of pointed chisel.

Frel 1979: no. 49.

DUBITANDA

32. Veiled female head: 73.AA.26. Figs. 208–11.

Marble: not tested.
Dimensions: H 27.0 (max.); W 21.0; D 21.2. Face from chin to hairline 16.0; inner corners of eyes to mouth 6.0; between outer corners of eyes 8.0; mouth 4.0; left ear 5.1; right ear 4.9.

Broken diagonally across neck; chin, tip and right side of nose, and hair above right temple battered away. Edge of veil broken away all round. Minor chipping on break of neck, upper lip, left cheek, eyelids, left eyebrow, and around hairline. Hair behind ears (where originally covered with veil) roughly planned with point, separated from left ear by a 4-mm drill channel and overlaid with vertical chiseling behind right ear and on back of neck. Nostrils cut with 3-mm drill. Hair roughly chiseled in flat facets on right side, more regularly and carefully cut on left, perhaps secondarily. Face and hair polished, perhaps after cleaning with acid and some retooling, leaving light abrasion marks around join of chin and neck, between lips, and in eyes; veil unpolished, leaving rasp marks all over, running parallel to its folds. No root marks or encrustation.

The head, turned to the girl's right, is covered by a veil that leaves the front and side hair visible, together with the lower part of each ear. The veil curves in and rounds off at the nape of the neck; though its edges are broken at this point, the tooling on the neck and hair immediately adjacent to the break proves that little of it is missing and that it did not splay out across the shoulders. The face is symmetrical, though the axes of the eyes and mouth converge towards the figure's right.

The modeling of the face is simplified: the corners of the mouth, the naso-labial furrow, the cheeks, and the forehead are barely articulated. The lips pout, and the eyes are heavy-lidded; they are cut flat with virtually no internal modulation. The eyebrows and transitions from the lids to the eyes and cheek are sharp and schematic. The tragus of the ear does not connect with the conch of the ear proper. The hair is waved stiffly back from a central part, and a loop of hair hangs before each ear; the locks, however, have no connection with those of the hair above.

This head is either Roman eclectic work or (perhaps less likely) a modern forgery.

The pose, facial type, and veil seem to be modeled on the "Mourning Penelope" type of ca. 460, and the hair on contemporary pieces like the "Aspasia/Sosandra" type and the Frankfurt Athena.[6] The veil was clearly not a himation lifted up and draped across the head, as normal in antiquity, but was gathered like a kerchief near the break of the neck. The sharply demarcated brows and eyes are classicizing, and the delicate mouth and cheeks recall late Hellenistic work, perhaps prompting the date ca. 120 repeatedly proposed by Frel in his publications of the piece. This mixture of Severe, classicizing, and late Hellenistic could indicate an Augustan date, though the unparalleled combination of waves and hanging loops in the hair and the absence of encrustation and root marks are problematic, if not downright suspicious, and could still indicate a forgery.[7]

B. Fredricksen, *The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1975), 26–27, ill.; *JPGM Guidebook* (Malibu, 1976), 47–48, ill.; ibid. (1978), 29–31, ill.; Frel 1979: no. 103; *JPGM Handbook* (Malibu, 1986), 32, ill.

6. Robertson 1975: pls. 61a, 63c, 113c; Boardman 1985: figs. 26, 62, and 75; cf. Stewart 1990: figs. 290 and 488.

7. Veil: John Pollini draws my attention to further examples on the so-called Ahenobarbus Ara and related monuments: H. Kähler, *Seethiasos und Census* (Berlin, 1966), pls. 14, 18, 20, 21. Mouth, etc.: cf., for example, Smith 1991: figs. 107, 324. Pollini tells me that he feels that it might be either Augustan or a forgery; my colleague Jacques de Caso sees no obvious relation between it and nineteenth-century academic sculpture; and Amanda Claridge wonders whether it might have been made early this century, perhaps with no intention to deceive.

APPENDIX 6

HEPHAISTION

According to Pliny (T 109) and Tatian (*Contra Graecos* 55, p. 121 Worth), Lysippos and Philon both made portraits of Hephaistion, and according to Lucian (T 69), Aetion included him in his picture of Alexander's marriage to Roxane. Members of the court sought Alexander's favor by commissioning chryselephantine images of Hephaistion after his death in October 324 (Diod. 17. 115), and he was presumably represented somewhere on his own tomb at Babylon (ibid.) and on the hero shrine that Alexander commanded Kleomenes to build for him in Alexandria (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 26. 6–7). Finally, T 93 perhaps implies that heroic statues of him could be seen in Greece in 322.

The following candidates have been proposed:

(A) Greek Originals

1. Male head from the Getty Alexander fragments (figs. 150–54; see Appendix 5, no. 2). Ca. 325–320 B.C.
2. Three men on the Alexander Sarcophagus, from Sidon (Appendix 4). Ca. 320–310 B.C. (i) Central rider (von Graeve 1970: no. 9) on long battle frieze (A): von Graeve 1970: 135, 151–52, pls. 25, 28–29, 53; here fig. 102. (ii) Rider behind lion on long hunting frieze (C): von Graeve 1970: 138, 151–52, pls. 25, 39, 55. 1; here fig. 105. (iii) Diademed rider (usually identified as Alexander) on long hunting frieze (C): von Graeve 1970: 151 n. 134, pls. 25. 2; 36–38; 48; suggested by Gebauer 1939: 101; here figs. 105–6.
3. Votive relief to the hero Hephaistion, Thessalonike (fig. 72). Ca. 324–300 B.C. E. Mitropoulou, *Libation Scenes with Oinochoe in Votive Reliefs* (Athens, 1975), 14–15, no. 2; Vermeule 1980: pl. 72. Inscribed ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝΙ ΗΡΩΙ.
4. Colossal bronze head, Madrid, Prado 99, from Rome. Arndt and Bruckmann 1900: nos. 491–93; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 12; Moreno 1988b: 254–55, pl. 69. 9; Smith 1988: 66–67, 157, no. 13, pl. 11. 3–4.

5. "Alexander" head in Istanbul, from Kos, and a head now in Budapest, unprovenanced. Ca. 150–100 B.C. "Alexander": Bieber 1925: pls. 6–8; Gebauer 1939: K48; Bieber 1964: 59–60, figs. 57–60; Kraft 1965: 17–32, esp. 30, and pl. 4. 6; Pollitt 1986: 29, fig. 16; Nielsen 1988: 221, figs. 1–2. Budapest head: A. Hekler, *Museum der bildenden Künste in Budapest: Die Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* (Budapest, 1929), 48, no. 36; as perhaps Hephaistion: Frel 1979: 7.
6. Male head, Istanbul inv. 387, from the Kyme Alexander group (fig. 136; see Appendix 4). Ca. 100 B.C.
7. Companion to Alexander, Demetrio statuette (fig. 145; see Appendix 4). First century B.C.?

(B) Roman Copies

8. Helmeted Macedonian, Naples. Roman, copy of a Hellenistic original. Arndt and Bruckmann 1900: nos. 333–34; *contra*, Schreiber 1903: 120–21; Gebauer 1939: 101; T. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern* (Mainz, 1965), pl. 10. 5; von Graeve 1970: 151 n. 134.
9. Head in the Munich Antiquarium (Residenz), inv. 233. Much reworked and restored. *EA* 975–76; Arndt and Bruckmann 1900: 487–88; Schreiber 1903: 119–20; Bernoulli 1905: 113; Gebauer 1939: 69, 101; von Graeve 1970: 151–52, 151 n. 134; E. Weski and H. Frosien-Leinz, *Das Antiquarium der Münchener Residenz: Katalog der Skulpturen* (Munich, 1987): no. 82, pl. 122.
10. Basalt head, Venice, Museo Archeologico 58. G. Traversari, *Museo Archeologico di Venezia, I Ritratti* (Rome, 1968), no. 2; Smith 1988: 67, 158, no. 14, pl. 11. 5–6; Moreno 1988b: 254–55, pl. 68. 8.
11. Man to right of center on the Alsdorf relief, Art Institute of Chicago inv. 1983.584, supposedly from Antioch (fig. 15). Vermeule 1971: 176, pl. 45; Koch 1975: 142, no. 168, and pl. 133a; Koch 1978: 116–35 (Meleager); Giuliano 1978: 34, no. 3, pl. 34. 82 (reversed); Palagia 1980: 46 n. 245, fig. 66; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 40; Koch and Sichtermann 1982: 401–2, 458, fig. 432; Donderer 1988: 794–95; Moreno 1988b: 255, pl. 69. 11; Ridgway 1990: 116. Dated to ca. A.D. 170 by Giuliano; to 220–50 by Koch.

Of these, only (3) is absolutely secure; unfortunately, it is a generic ephebe type with no distinctive portrait characteristics. The next most likely are the three that are clearly pendants to portraits of Alexander: the Getty head (1), the Kyme head (6), and the Demetrio statuette (7). The claims of the central rider on the long battle frieze of the Alexander Sarcophagus (2) have been considered in Chapter 10. 1, and those of the man on the Alsdorf relief (11) in Chapter 4. 3.

As to the others, the identification of (5) is entirely hypothetical and seriously undermined by Kraft 1965, who demonstrates that the entire notion of an Alexander-Ares wearing a Corinthian helmet is based upon a sixteenth-century misunderstanding of his gold staters (fig. 29). In any case, as Kraft aptly notes, Ares is the god of *destructive* war, so an inept choice for portraits intended to flatter. For further comments see the footnotes to the Epilogue. Nos. (4), (8), (9), and (10) are also pure

guesswork, though there is general agreement that the first and last of these may represent the same person; a groove is cut into the hair in each case for some sort of headband or crown.

In the present state of our knowledge, then, we can hardly speak of a tradition of Hephaistion portraiture in antiquity: either there never was one or it is now lost to view. Neither would be particularly surprising, since Hephaistion only shined in Alexander's reflected glory, and the texts suggest a strong demand for his likeness only between his death in October 324 and Alexander's own demise in June 323. He was hated by many of Alexander's marshals, who would have had little incentive to honor him after this date. The Getty (1), Kyme (6), and Demetrio (7) portraits suggest that each sculptor made up his own Hephaistion, to harmonize with his own particular conception of Alexander. Attempts to identify him on physiognomic grounds in our extensive corpus of disembodied and decontextualized Hellenistic portrait heads are therefore likely to be a waste of time.

APPENDIX 7

ALEXANDER AND THE SUCCESSORS: A CHRONOLOGY (336–275 B.C.)

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
336		Philip murdered; Alexander becomes king of Macedon and *hēgemōn* of League of Corinth	Darius III becomes Great King		
335	Alexander conquers Thrace; Thebes revolts, is destroyed				
334		Alexander appoints Antipatros regent	Alexander invades Asia; defeats Persians on the Granikos (May); conquers Ionia, Karia, Lykia, and Pamphylia		

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
333	Tarentines invite Alexander the Molossian to Italy; he defeats Italian tribes		Alexander reaches Gordion, descends via Kappadokia into Kilikia, defeats Darius at the Issos (Nov./Dec.)		
332	Taras breaks with Alexander the Molossian	Spartans campaign in Crete, recruit mercenaries		Abdalonymos king of Sidon; Alexander besieges Tyre (Jan.–Aug.), occupies Egypt (Nov.)	
331	Battle of Pandosia; Alexander the Molossian murdered	Spartans declare war on Macedon ("Agis's War")	Battle of Gaugamela (Oct. 1); Babylon and Susa occupied	Alexander visits Siwah (Jan.), founds Alexandria (April), marches north	
330		Agis defeated and killed at Megalopolis (spring); Sparta sues for peace, forced to join the League of Corinth	Persepolis burnt (May); Alexander pursues Darius; Bessos murders Darius (July), proclaims himself Great King; Alexander adopts diadem and "mixed" costume; conspiracy of Philotas, murder of Parmenion		

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
329					Alexander invades Baktria; Ptolemy captures Bessos; Alexander crosses Jaxartes into S. Russia (July); Baktrian revolt begins
328					Bessos executed; Alexander campaigns against Baktrians, murders Kleitos
327					Alexander marries Roxane, attempts to introduce *proskynēsis*; Pages Conspiracy; Kallisthenes arrested and later executed; Alexander visits Nysa, takes Rock of Aornos

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
326					Alexander invades India, is welcomed at Taxila, defeats Porus at the Hydaspes (May), reinstates him as king, advances to the Hyphasis; army mutinies (July); Alexander returns to Hydaspes, sails down Indus
325		Lykourgos dies in Athens (archon year 325/324)	Alexander crosses Gedrosian desert (Oct.–Nov.); revel in Karmania; Alexander reaches Pura (Dec.); executions of generals and satraps begin; Harpalos flees		Massacres of Indians; Alexander reaches Patala (July), turns west Colonists begin revolt in Baktria Philip, satrap of Taxila, murdered; Alexander appoints Eudamos in his place, enlarges Porus's kingdom

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
324		Harpalos arrives in Athens (July), is jailed; Exiles Decree announced at Olympia (Aug.); Harpalos flees to Crete, where Thibron murders him (Oct.) Deification debate at Athens (Dec.)	Alexander arrives in Pasargadae (Jan.), then Susa (Feb.); Harpalos arrives in Kilikia, then sails west; mass marriages at Susa Mutiny and banquet at Opis; Alexander demobilizes veterans, appoints Krateros to lead them home, and to replace Antipatros; Hephaistion dies (Oct.); Kassandros arrives in Babylon		
323		Hypereides prosecutes Demosthenes and others over Harpalos affair (Mar.) Lamian War (Greek revolt) begins (Sept.)	Alexander receives envoys in Babylon, prepares conquest of Arabia, falls ill (May 29), dies (June 10); Perdikkas takes control, distributes satrapies; Roxane gives birth to Alexander IV		

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
322		Lysimachos arrives in Thrace Battle of Krannon (Aug.); Athens surrenders; new constitution imposed (fall); Aristotle dies; Krateros marries Antipatros's daughter Phila (winter)	Perdikkas invades Kappadokia, installs Eumenes as satrap; Krateros leaves Kilikia for Greece (Mar.) Perdikkas marries Antipatros's daughter Nikaia (winter)	Ptolemy arrives in Egypt Ptolemy murders Kleomenes, installs vassal Ophellas in Kyrene	
321		Antipatros and Krateros campaign against Aitolians Antigonos joins Antipatros and Krateros (Nov.?)	Perdikkas invades Pisidia Eurydike marries Philip Arrhidaios; Arrhidaios takes Alexander's hearse west, met by Ptolemy in Damascus; Antigonos flees to Macedon (Nov.?); Perdikkas divorces Nikaia	Ptolemy diverts Alexander's hearse to Memphis (Nov.?)	
320		Antipatros regent, takes custody of Philip Arrhidaios, Alexander IV, and Roxane	Antipatros and Krateros invade Asia; Eumenes kills Krateros (May); marshals meet at Triparadeisos, confirm satrapies (July) Seleukos enters Babylon (Nov.?)	Perdikkas invades Egypt, is defeated and murdered (May)	Taxiles, Eudamos, and Porus confirmed

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
319	Agathokles returns to Syracuse, appointed general and guardian of the peace	Antipatros dies; Polyperchon regent	Antigonos besieges Eumenes in Nora (June), expels Alketas from Pisidia; Alketas commits suicide in Termessos	Ptolemy annexes Palestine	
318		Polyperchon declares freedom of the Greeks; democratic revolution in Athens (fall); Kassandros flees to Antigonos	Antigonos and Eumenes make terms; Eumenes allies with Polyperchon, flees from Kappadokia to Kilikia		Eudamos murders Porus, seizes his elephants, and marches west
317		Polyperchon campaigns in Greece; Kassandros in Piraeus, installs Demetrios of Phaleron as governor of Athens (July); Eurydike declares for Kassandros; Olympias and Polyperchon capture and kill her and Philip Arrhidaios (Oct.)	Eumenes invades Syria Eudamos and generals of Upper Satrapies expel Peithon from Parthia Antigonos invades Syria; Eumenes flees to Babylonia	Eumenes raids Phoenicia	
316		Kassandros invades Macedonia, defeats Polyperchon, besieges Olympias in Pydna	Eumenes joined by Eudamos and generals of Upper Satrapies, fights Antigonos at Paraitakene (Oct.)		

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
315	Agathokles elected *stratēgos autokratōr* at Syracuse	Olympias surrenders and is executed (spring); Kassandros interns Alexander IV and Roxane, marries Thessalonike, founds Kassandreia, refounds Thebes (fall), allies with Lysimachos against Antigonos	Antigonos defeats Eumenes at Gabiene (Jan.), executes him, Eudamos, and Peithon; Antigonos reorganizes eastern satrapies, enters Babylon; Seleukos flees to Ptolemy (Sept.)	Ptolemy joins alliance against Antigonos	
314		Antigonos organizes Island League; Seleukos campaigns against him in Aegean	Antigonos rejects ultimatum from Kassandros et al., occupies Syria	Antigonos invades Phoenicia, declares freedom of Greeks from camp at Tyre (Sept.), occupies Joppa and Gaza	
313		Antigonos's allies campaign in Greece		Antigonos takes Tyre (June)	
312	Carthaginians invade Sicily	Antigonos's lieutenant Polemaios expels Kassandros from Southern Greece		Ptolemy suppresses revolt in Kyrene (June), defeats Demetrios at Gaza (Dec.), occupies Phoenicia	

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
311	Agathokles defeated at Himera (June); Syracuse blockaded		Seleukos invades Babylonia (spring); Antigonos, Kassandros, Ptolemy, and Lysimachos sign Peace of the Dynasts (fall); Greek cities declared free and independent	Antigonos expels Ptolemy from Phoenicia (spring)	
310	Agathokles invades Africa (Aug.), defeats Carthaginians	Kassandros murders Roxane and Alexander IV; end of Argead dynasty	Ptolemy campaigns in Kilikia against Antigonos; Seleukos invades Media and Marthia; Antigonos sends Demetrios to invade Babylonia	Ptolemy annexes Cyprus	
309	Carthaginians abandon siege of Syracuse; Agathokles campaigns in Africa, allies with Ophellas of Kyrene	Polyperchon executes Alexander's bastard son Herakles; Lysimachos founds Lysimacheia	Demetrios abandons Babylonia; Ptolemy attacks Antigonos in Lykia and Karia	Birth of Ptolemy II Philadelphos	
308	Ophellas joins Agathokles (summer), is murdered (Oct./Nov.); Magas seizes Kyrene	Ptolemy in Greece, tries to revive League of Corinth	Seleukos expels Antigonos from Babylonia, forces him to cede Upper Satrapies		

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
307	Agathokles abandons Africa (Nov.)	Demetrios takes Athens, expels Demetrios of Phaleron (June), takes Megara	Seleukos begins reconquest of East		
306	Agathokles makes peace with Carthaginians		Antigonos assumes diadem, proclaims himself and Demetrios kings (spring)	Demetrios takes Cyprus, destroys Ptolemaic fleet (Jan.–Feb.) Antigonos invades Egypt, is repulsed	Seleukos invades Baktria
305	Agathokles defeats Syracusan exiles	Demetrios begins siege of Rhodes			Seleukos conquers Baktria
304	Agathokles assumes diadem	Demetrios withdraws from Rhodes, campaigns in Greece; Lysimachos and Kassandros assume diadem (by 302)		Ptolemy assumes diadem (Jan.–July)	Seleukos assumes diadem (by April), invades India, fails to defeat Chandragupta
303	Agathokles begins campaigns in Italy	Demetrios takes Sikyon, Corinth (Mar.), and most of Peloponnese (summer)			Seleukos and Chandragupta make peace; Seleukos withdraws with 500 elephants
302		Kasssandros and Lysimachos ally against Antigonos; Antigonos sets up new League of Corinth (April)	Seleukos returns to Babylonia, joins coalition against Antigonos; Lysimachos invades Troad; Seleukos invades Kappadokia	Ptolemy joins coalition against Antigonos, invades Palestine	

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
301		Demetrios in Corinth	Battle of Ipsos (Mar.), Antigonos killed, Demetrios flees; victors partition Asia	Ptolemy invades Phoenicia, besieges Sidon	
300	Agathokles takes Kerkyra		Demetrios campaigns against Lysimachos; Seleukos founds Antioch and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris (?); Ptolemy and Lysimachos ally	Ptolemy installs Magas in Kyrene	
299		Lysimachos marries Ptolemy's daughter Arsinoe (II)	Demetrios sends Pyrrhos to Ptolemy as a hostage		
298			Demetrios takes Kilikia, weds his daughter Stratonike to Seleukos	Demetrios raids Palestine	
297		Kassandros dies (May); Macedon divided between his younger sons; Ptolemy installs Pyrrhos in Epeiros as king	Lysimachos begins to take Demetrios's possessions in W. Asia	Demetrios of Phaleron in Alexandria	
296		Lachares tyrant in Athens (by 296)	Lysimachos, Seleukos, Ptolemy ally against Demetrios		

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
295		Demetrios recovers Athens (spring—or 294)	Lysimachos takes Demetrios's remaining possessions in Asia Minor; Seleukos takes Kilikia	Ptolemy takes Demetrios's possessions in Cyprus, except Salamis	
294		Demetrios proclaimed king in Macedonia (fall)			
293		Demetrios seizes Thessaly, founds Demetrias	Seleukos gives wife Stratonike to son Antiochos		
292		Thebans revolt	Seleukos appoints Antiochos viceroy of East		Antiochos begins governorship of Baktria, refounds 3 Alexandrias
291		Demetrios takes Thebes, attacks Aitolians and Pyrrhos			
290		Demetrios enters Athens in triumph (Sept.)			
289	Agathokles dies	Demetrios defeats Aitolians, plunders Epeiros, prepares to invade Asia; Pyrrhos raids Macedonia			

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
288		Lysimachos and Pyrrhos invade and partition Macedonia; Demetrios flees to Peloponnese		Ptolemy begins naval war against Demetrios	
287		Athens revolts (April/May); Demetrios briefly besieges Athens, then sails to Karia (fall); Antigonos Gonatas holds his citadels in Greece	Demetrios in Karia, marries Ptolemais, takes Lykia	Ptolemy takes Tyre and Sidon from Demetrios	
286			Lysimachos loses Ionia and Lydia to Demetrios; Lysimachos's son Agathokles compels Demetrios to retreat to Kilikia	Ptolemy acquires Island League, gains command of the sea	
285			Demetrios invades Syria (spring), falls ill, surrenders to Seleukos	Ptolemy chooses Ptolemy II Philadelphos over Ptolemy Keraunos as co-ruler (Mar./April); Philadelphos marries Arsinoe (I); Keraunos flees to Seleukos	
284		Lysimachos expels Pyrrhos from Macedonia			

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
283		Ptolemy Keraunos in Thrace, persuades Lysimachos to execute Agathokles for treason; Antigonos Gonatas takes royal title	Demetrios dies in captivity	Ptolemy I dies (summer); Ptolemy II sole ruler	
282	Tarentines harassed by Rome, ask Pyrrhos for help		Philetairos of Pergamon intrigues with Seleukos		
281		Pyrrhos prepares Italian expedition Arsinoe (II) flees to Kassandreia Ptolemy Keraunos proclaimed king of Macedon, marries Arsinoe (II), murders her children; she flees to Samothrace	Seleukos invades Anatolia, kills Lysimachos at Korypedion (Feb.), crosses to Europe; Ptolemy Keraunos murders him at Lysimacheia (Sept.)		
280	Pyrrhos invades Italy (May), defeats Romans at Herakleia, advances within 40 miles of Rome	Ptolemy Keraunos defeats Antigonos Gonatas, who flees to Corinth; Philokles of Sidon presides over Island League; Achaian League founded; Celts invade Macedonia	Antiochos suppresses rebellion in Syria, begins to reestablish Seleukid control in Asia Minor	Ptolemy II divorces first wife, Arsinoe (I)	

Date	*The West*	*Greece, Macedonia*	*Asia Minor, Syria, Iran*	*Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Kyrenaika*	*Baktria, India*
279	Pyrrhos defeats Romans at Asculum; Syracusans beg him for help against Carthage	Keraunos killed by Celts (Feb.), who desecrate royal tombs at Aigai; Aitolians repel Celts from central Greece	Ptolemy II takes Miletos	Arsinoe (II) returns to Egypt from Samothrace, marries brother Ptolemy II (before 274/273) First Ptolemaieia celebrated in Alexandria (Dec. 279–Feb. 278)	
278	Pyrrhos sails to Syracuse		Celts cross to Asia		
277	Pyrrhos takes most of Sicily from Carthage	Antigonos Gonatas defeats Celts at Lysimacheia (fall), hailed as king of Macedon	Celts occupy Galatia in eastern Phrygia		
276	Pyrrhos and Sicilians quarrel; he sails for Taras (fall)	Gonatas repairs royal tombs, regains Thessaly, marries Phila, daughter of Seleukos			
275	Romans defeat Pyrrhos at Beneventum; he withdraws to Epeiros (fall)		Philetairos of Pergamon fights Celts; Antiochos I defeats Celts	Magas of Kyrene attacks Egypt Second Ptolemaieia celebrated in Alexandria (Dec. 275–Feb. 274)	

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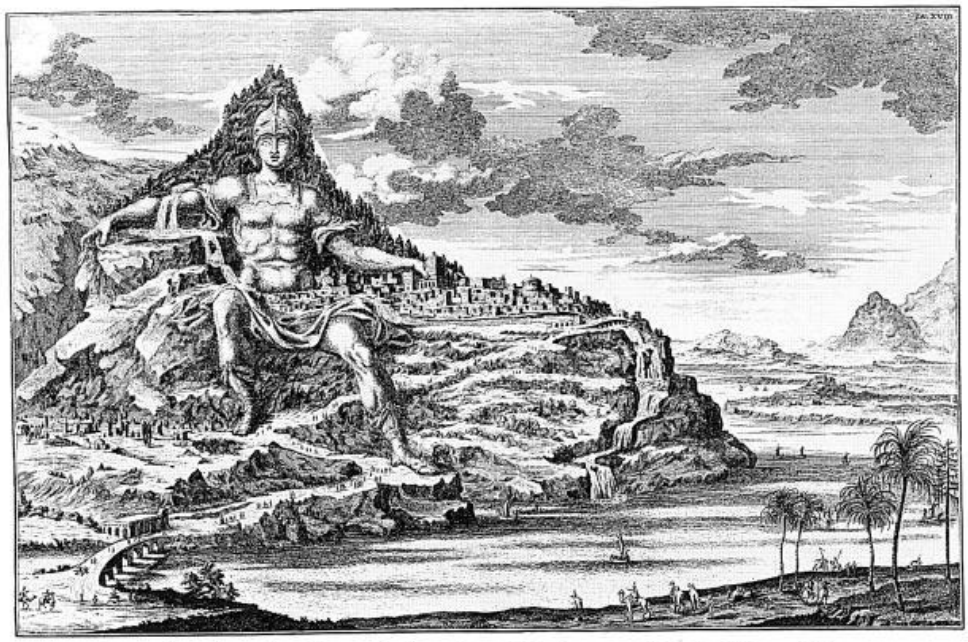
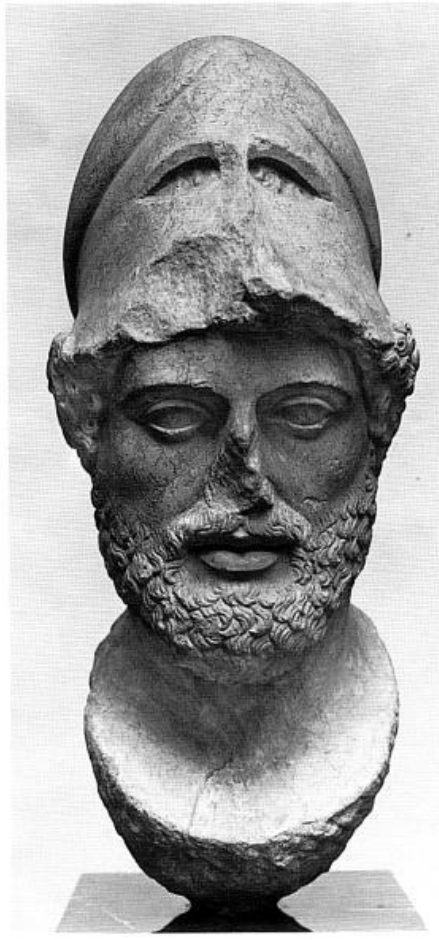
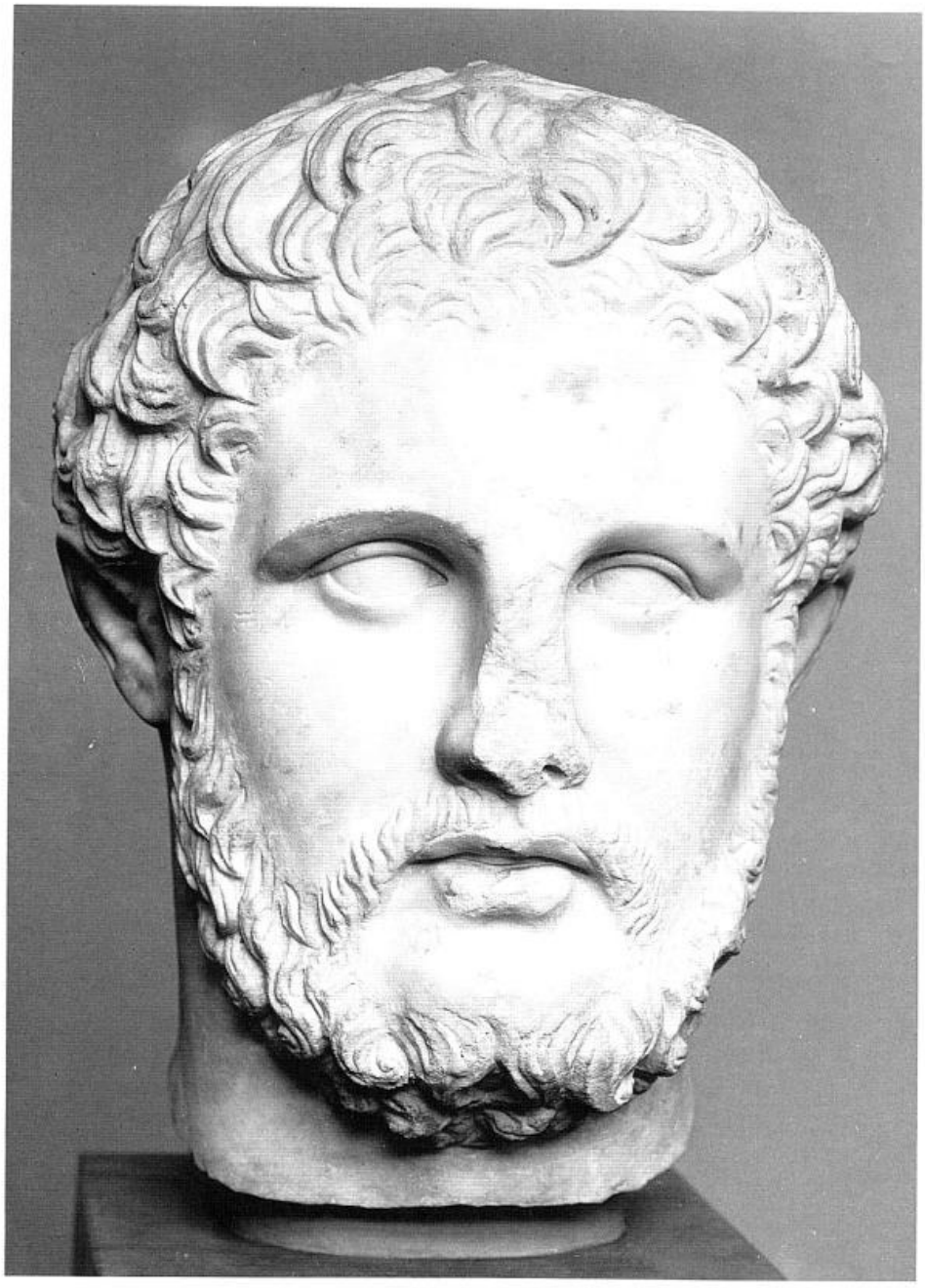


1. Stasikrates' project for Mount Athos, from Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurff einer Historischen Architectur* (1725).

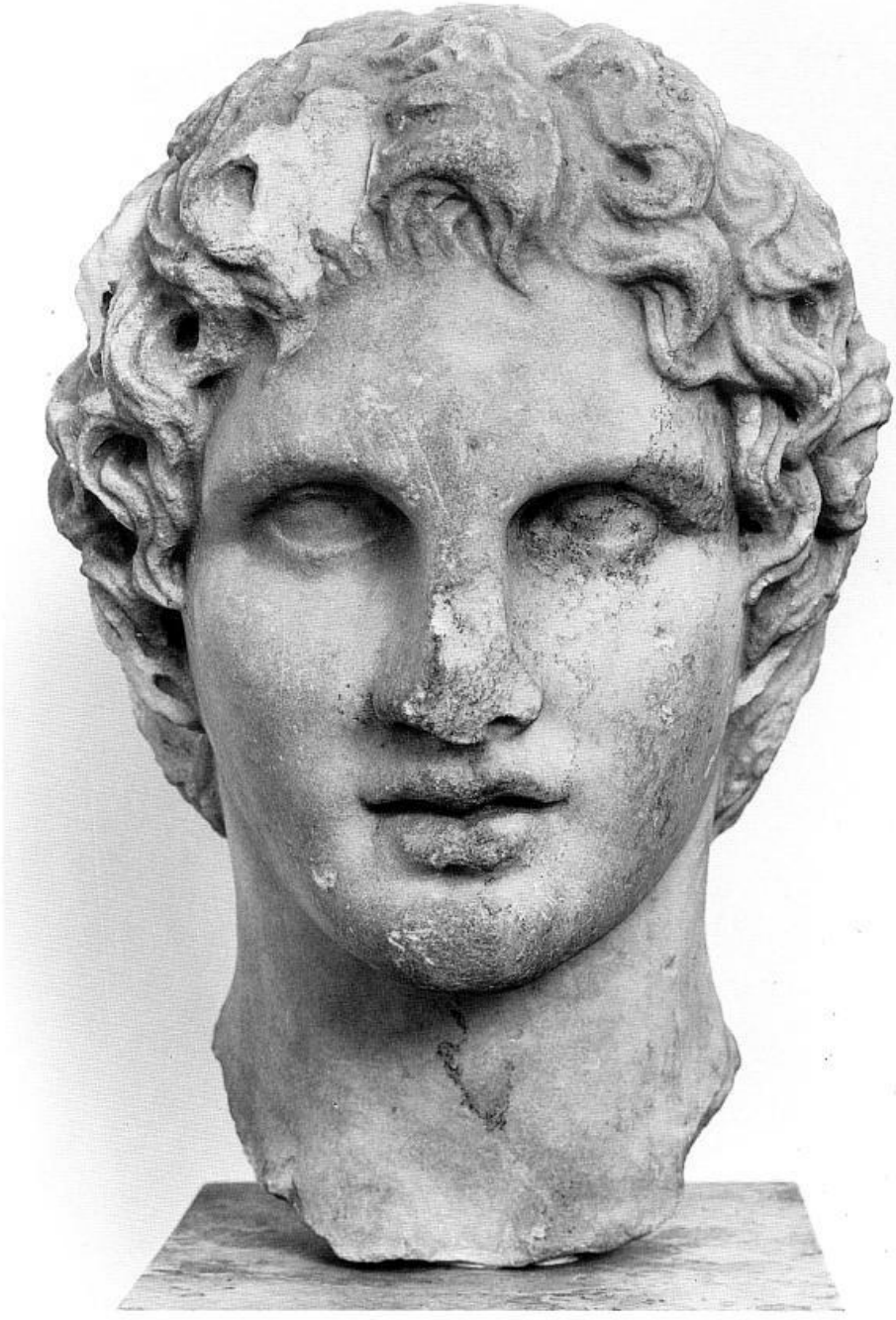


2. Perikles (Roman copy). Original, ca. 425 B.C. Berlin.

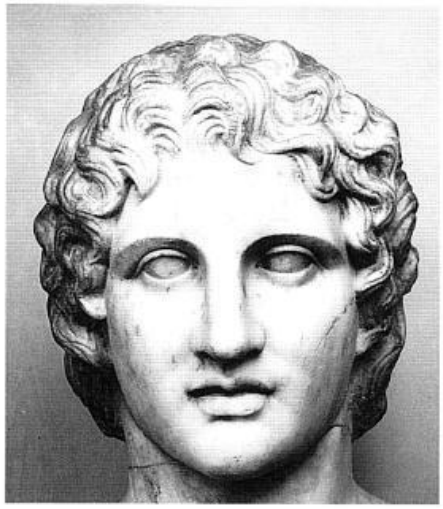
3. The Emperor Caracalla. Ca. A.D. 211–217. Naples.



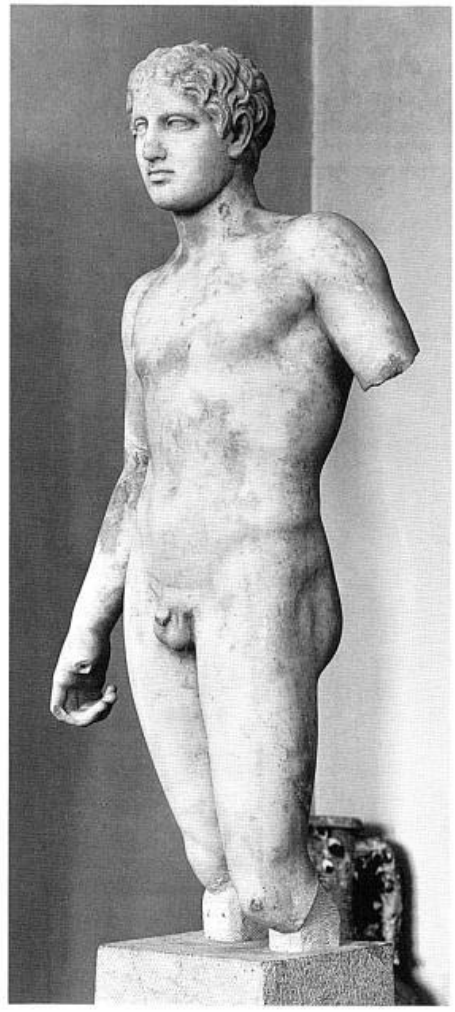
4. So-called "Alkibiades," perhaps Philip II of Macedon (Roman copy). Original, ca. 340–330 B.C. Copenhagen.



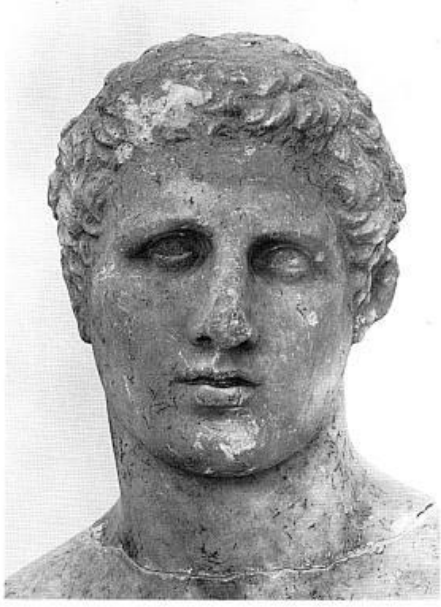
5. Akropolis Alexander (perhaps a copy) from the Athenian Akropolis. Ca. 338–330 B.C. Athens.



6. Erbach Alexander (Roman copy). Original, ca. 338–330 B.C. Schloss Erbach.



7. Funerary statue of a youth from Piraeus. Ca. 375–350 B.C. Piraeus.



8. Head of Agias from the votive monument of Daochos at Delphi. 337–332 B.C. Delphi.

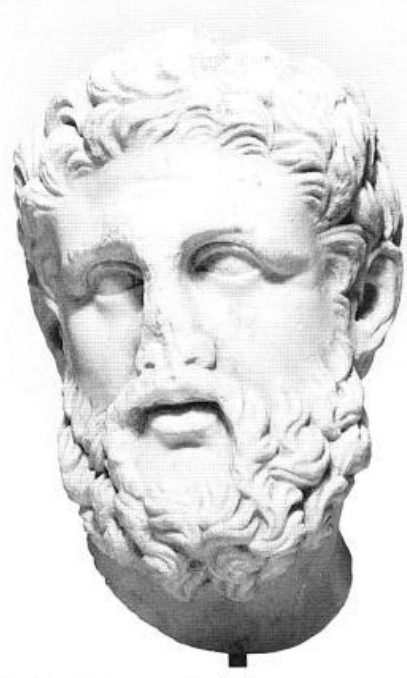
9. Dresden Alexander (Roman copy). Original, ca. 338–330 B.C. Dresden.

10. Rondanini Alexander (Roman copy). The right leg is restored. Original, ca. 320 B.C. Munich.

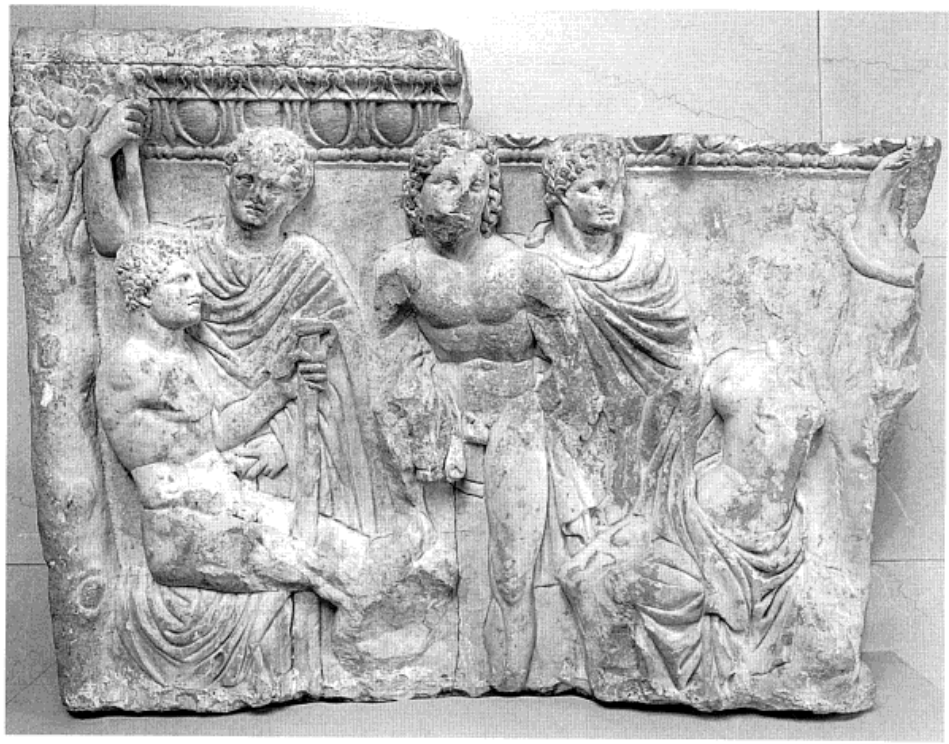
11. Detail of an Apulian volute krater: warrior in *naiskos*. Ca. 330 B.C. Naples.

12. Rondanini Alexander, detail of fig. 10.

13. So-called Eubouleus from Eleusis. Ca. 330 B.C. Athens.



14. Head from an Attic funerary monument. Ca. 320 B.C. Baltimore.



15. Panel from a Roman-period sarcophagus, allegedly from near Antioch. Herakles, hero, Meleager (Alexander?), hero, nymph, and horse. Ca. A.D. 220–250, perhaps after a composition of ca. 325–300 B.C. Chicago.

16. Getty Alexander, reportedly from Megara. Ca. 325–320 B.C. Malibu.

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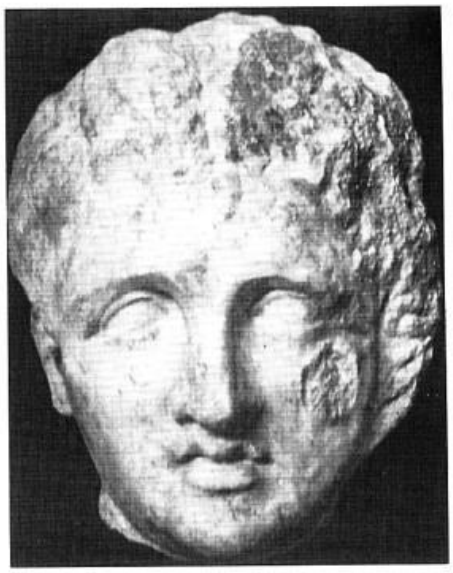
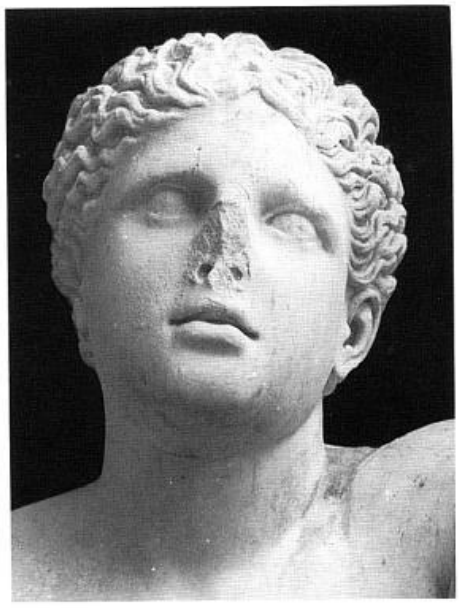
17. Rider from the west frieze of the Parthenon at Athens. 442–438 B.C. London.



18. Head from an Athenian funerary monument. Ca. 330–320 B.C. Athens.



19. Head of Pothos by Skopas (Roman copy). Original, ca. 340–330 B.C. Rome.

20. Side view of the "Eubouleus," fig. 13.

21. Alexander on horseback, Roman bronze statuette from Herculaneum. Original, ca. 330–320 B.C. Naples.

22. Roman bronze statuette of a horse, from Herculaneum. Naples.

23. Roman bronze statuette of an Amazon on horseback, from Herculaneum. Naples.

24. Torso of a rider from Lanuvium, from a group erected by Murena in 67 B.C.? Leeds.

25. Apulian volute krater from Ruvo. A. neck: Oinomaos and Myrtilos pursue Pelops and Hippodameia; body: rape of Kore, Korybantes in pursuit(?), gods above. B. neck: Helios, Eos and Tithonos(?), and Selene in chariots; body: Alexander pursues Darius, gods above. Ca. 330 B.C. Naples.

26. Detail of the volute krater, fig. 25: Alexander.

27. Apulian amphora from Ruvo. Alexander pursuing Darius. Ca. 330 B.C. Naples.

28. Fragment of an Apulian amphora. Nikai crown Hellas, chariot (of Darius?) below. Ca. 330 B.C. Copenhagen.

29. Gold stater minted by Alexander. Athena/Nike. Ca. 330 B.C. New York.

30. Silver tetradrachm minted by Alexander. Herakles/Zeus. Ca. 330 B.C. New York.

31. Bronze unit minted by Alexander. Herakles/club and quiver. Ca. 330 B.C. New York.

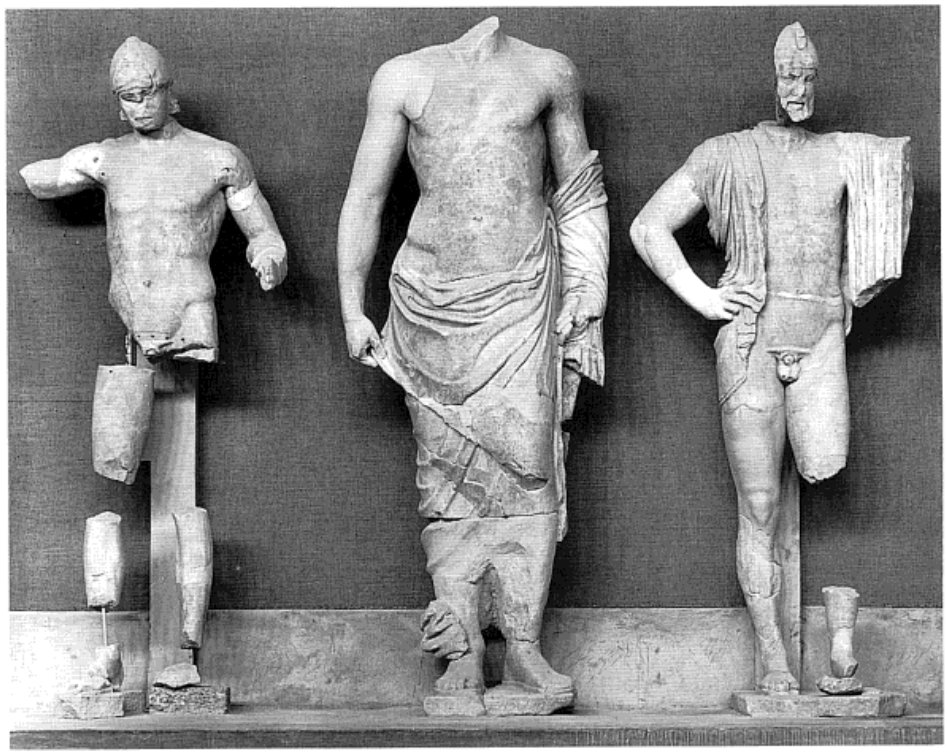
32. "Fouquet" Alexander, Hellenistic/ Roman bronze statuette from Lower Egypt. Original, ca. 330 B.C. Paris.

33. Painted wooden tondo from Antinoupolis. Two brothers, with Alexander/Antinous and Hermes/ Thoth. Ca. A.D. 130–150. Cairo.

34. Attic red-figured amphora from Vulci. Achilles. Ca. 440 B.C. Vatican.

35. "Nelidow" Alexander, Hellenistic/ Roman bronze statuette allegedly from Macedonia. Both legs are restored below the knees. Original, ca. 330 B.C. Harvard.

36. Warrior from "Bella" Tomb II at Vergina (Macedonia), ca. 300–275 B.C. Vergina.



37. Pelops, Zeus, and Oinomaos from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Ca. 470–460 B.C. Olympia.

38. Warrior (Alexander?) on the Luni Throne. Ca. A.D. 200–250. Turin.

39. "Stanford" Alexander, Hellenistic/Roman bronze statuette. Original, ca. 330 B.C. Stanford.

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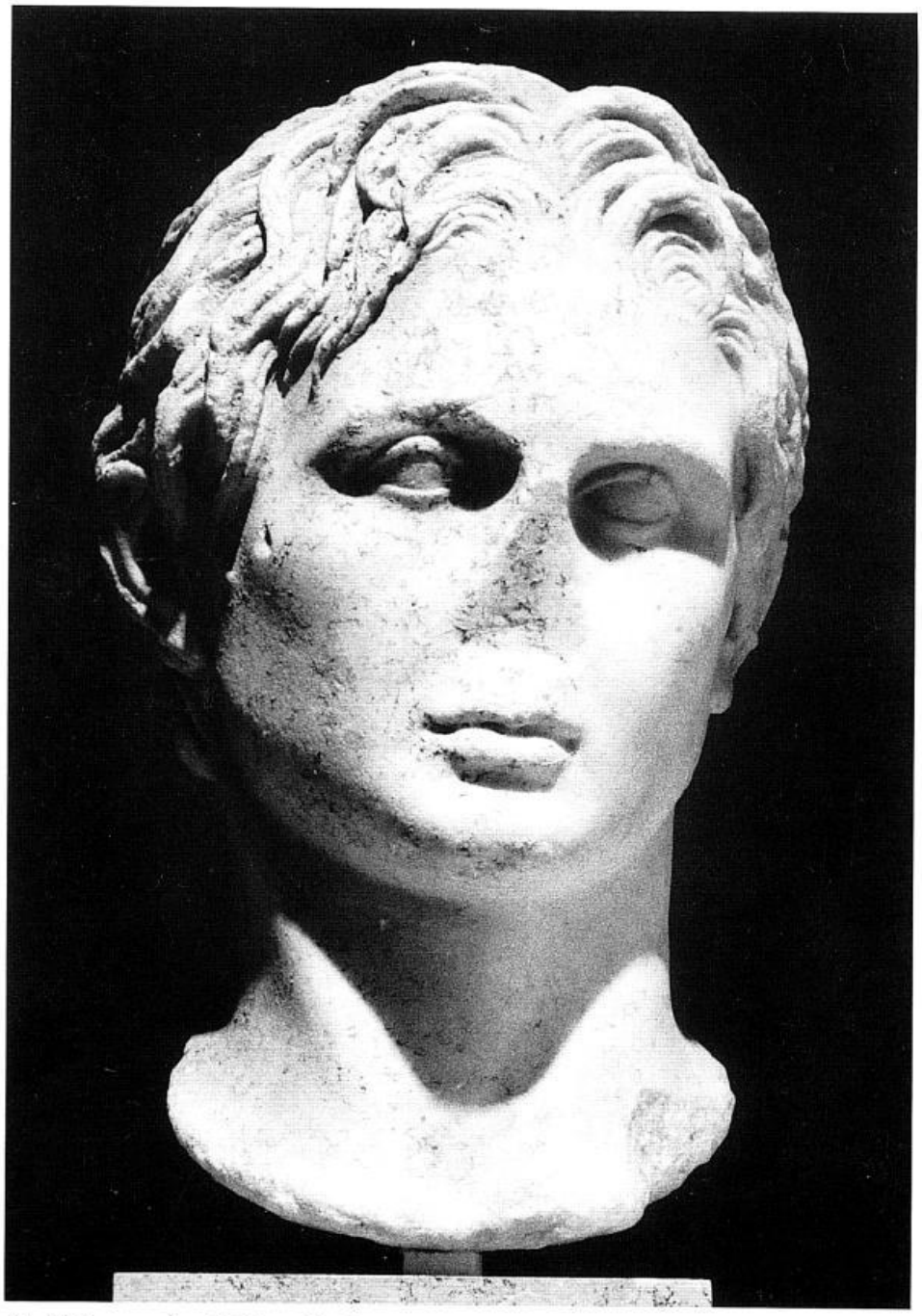
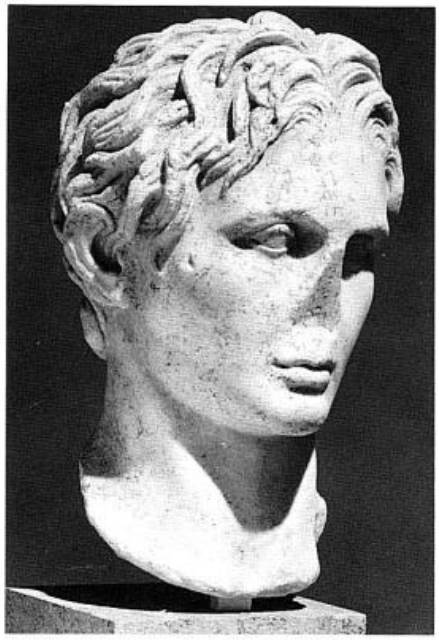
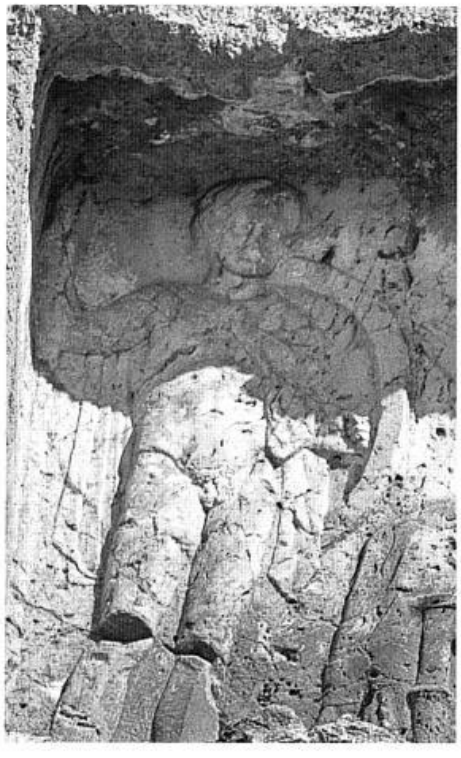


40. "Schwarzenberg" Alexander (Roman copy). Original, ca. 330 B.C. Vienna.



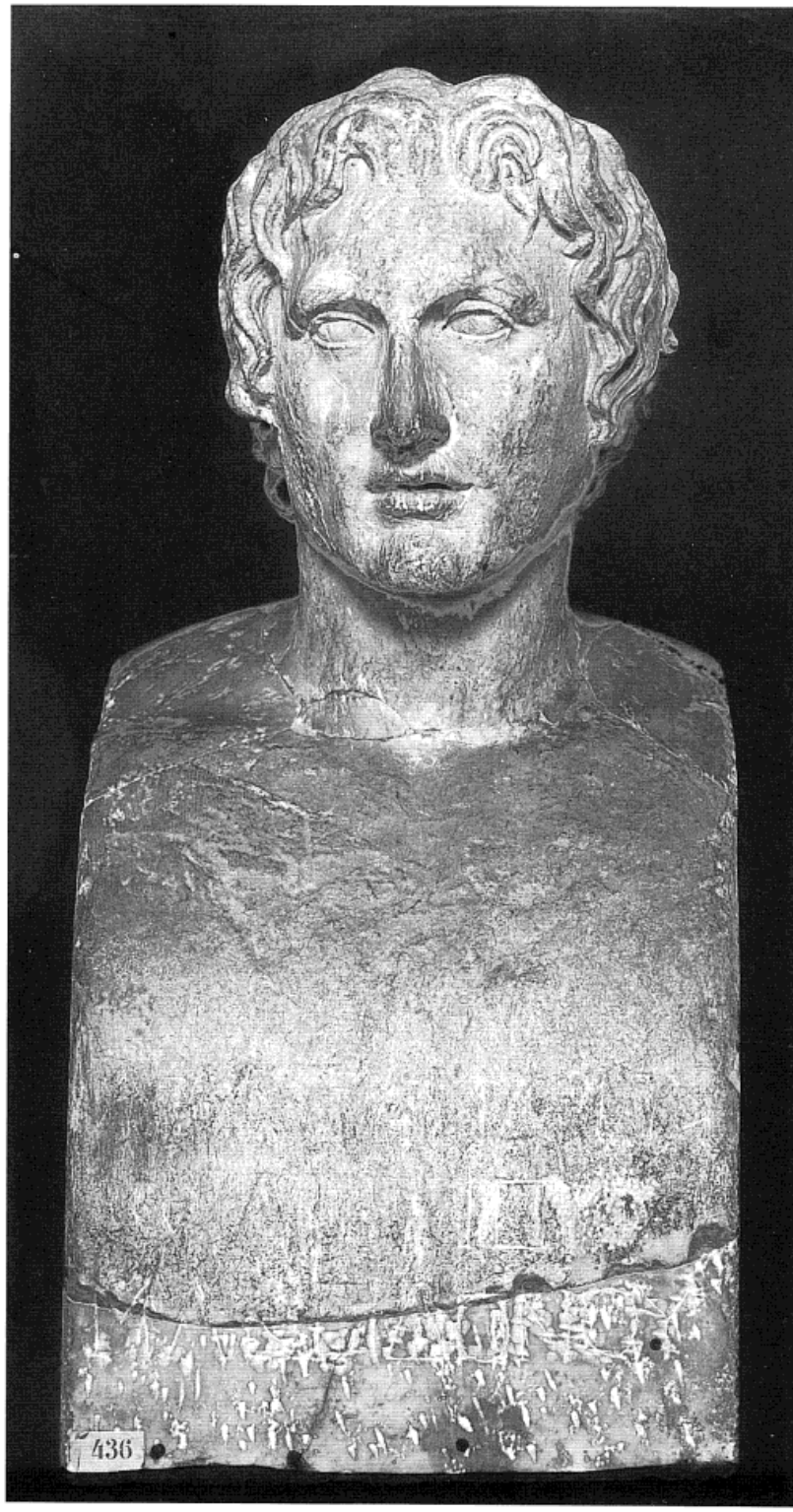
41. Another view of the Schwarzenberg head, fig. 40.

42. Head of a warrior on a rock relief at Myra. Ca. 330–300 B.C.



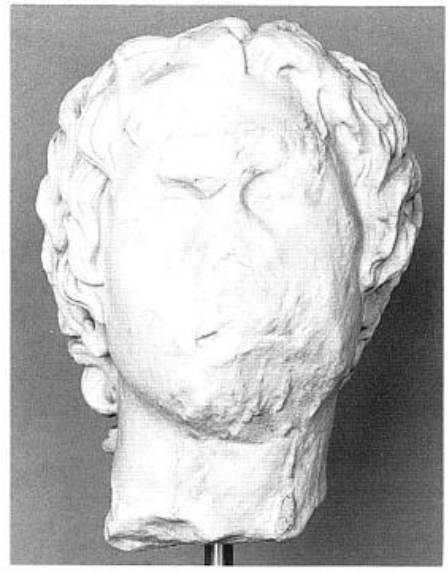
43. The warrior, fig. 42.

44. Lion from the Piraeus. Ca. 330 B.C. Piraeus.

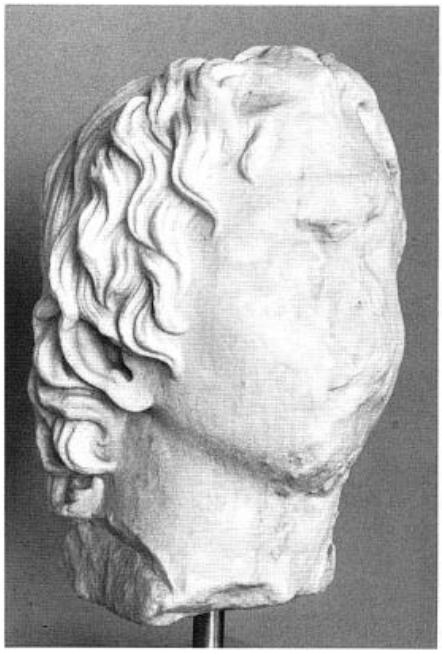


45. "Azara" Alexander (Roman copy). Inscribed with Alexander's name; the lips, nose, and eyebrows are restored. Original, ca. 330 B.C. Paris.

46. Profile view of the Azara herm, fig. 45.



47. Head of Alexander (Roman copy) from Genzano. Original, ca. 330 B.C. Rome.



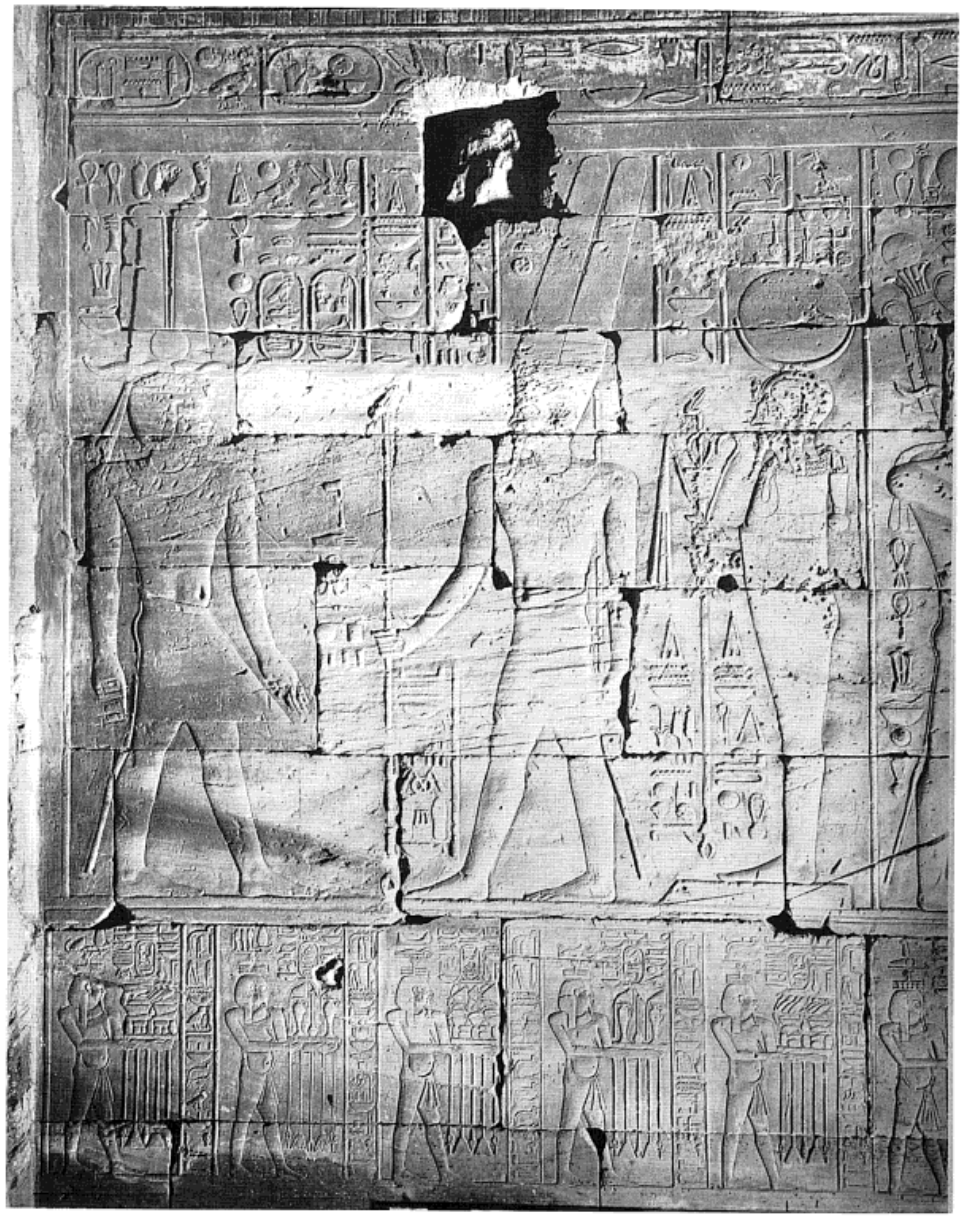
48. Another view of the head, fig. 57.

49. Ivory bust of Alexander, allegedly from Alexandria. Ca. 330–300 B.C. Baltimore.

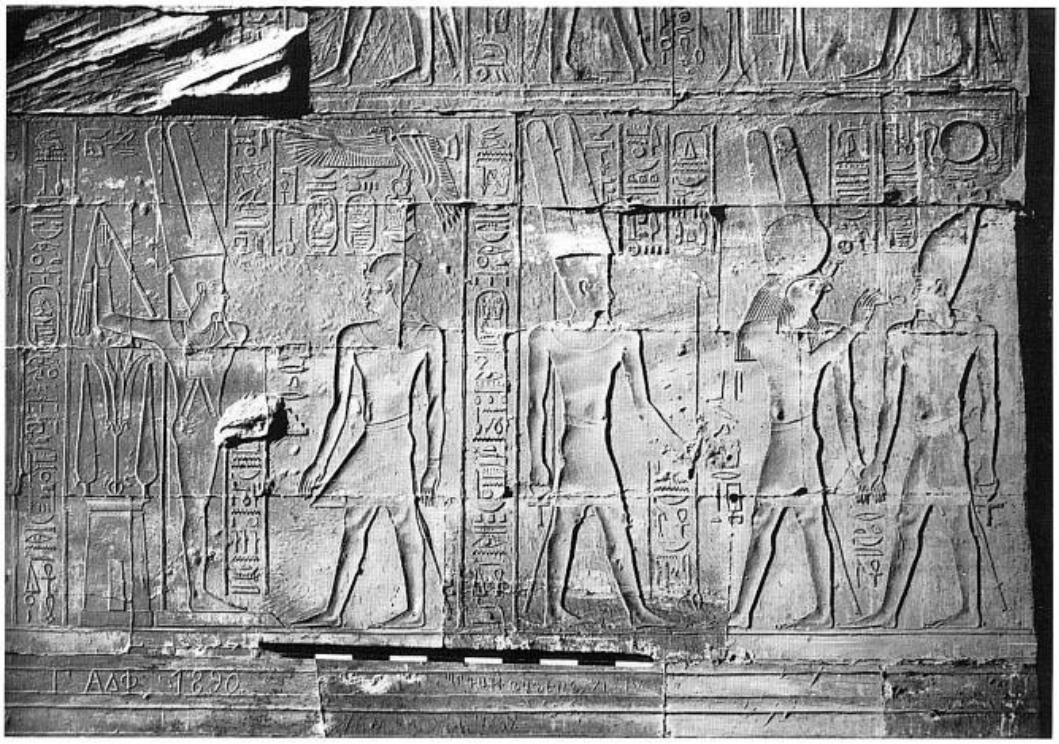
50. Silver tetradrachm minted by Philip II of Macedon. Zeus/rider. Ca. 340 B.C. London.

51. Bronze unit and fraction, minted in Naukratis and Memphis. Woman's head/Alexander(?). Alexander(?) in Phrygian helmet/Pegasos. Ca. 330 B.C. London.

52. Alexander, Hellenistic/Roman bronze statuette from Begram (Afghanistan). Original, ca. 330–300 B.C. Kabul.

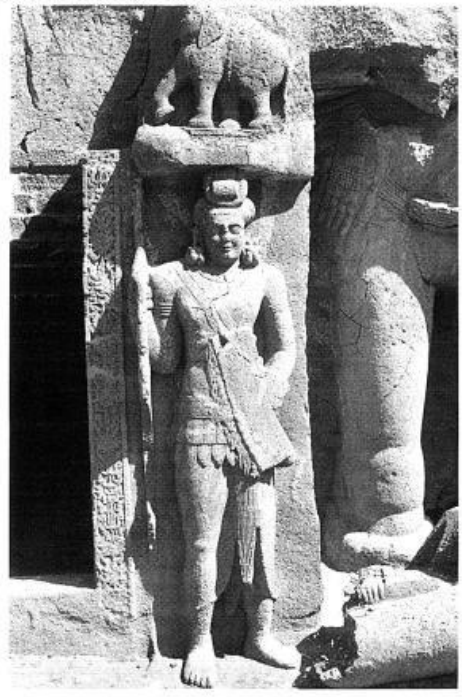


53. Shrine of the Bark in the Luxor temple: Alexander (left) before Ammon-Ra and Khonsu-Thot. Ca. 330–325 B.C. Luxor.



54. Shrine of the Bark in the Luxor temple: Alexander before Ammon-Khamutef (left); Monthu introduces Alexander to Ammon (right). Ca. 330–325 B.C. Luxor.

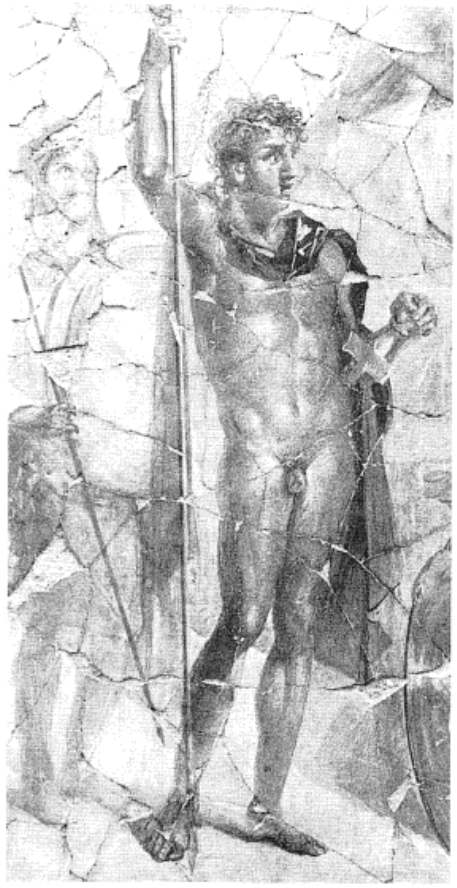
55. Vedika pillar with guardian figure, from the Great Stupa at Barhut (India). Ca. 100–70 B.C. Calcutta.



56. Rock-cut *dvārāpālā* guarding Cave 4 at Pitalkhora (India). Ca. 100–70 B.C.

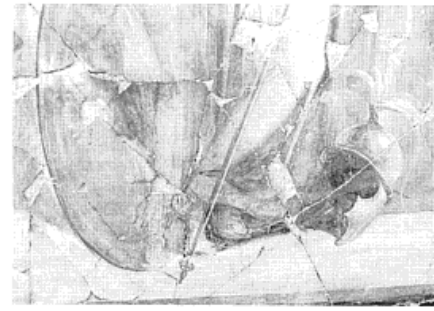
57. Wedding scene, Hellenistic fresco from Delos. Ca. 150–100 B.C. Delos.

58. "Aldobrandini Wedding" (Roman copy), fresco from Rome. Original, ca. 320–270 B.C. Vatican.

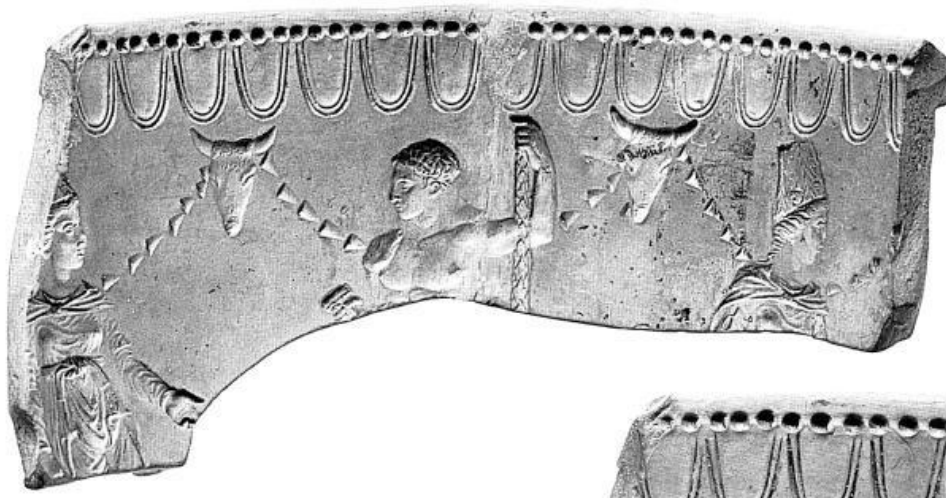


59. Detail from the fresco, color pl. 6: Alexander. Pompeii.

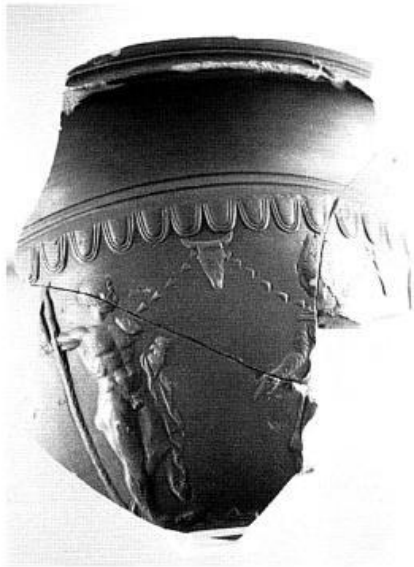
60. Dionysos and Ariadne, pendant to fig. 59. Pompeii.



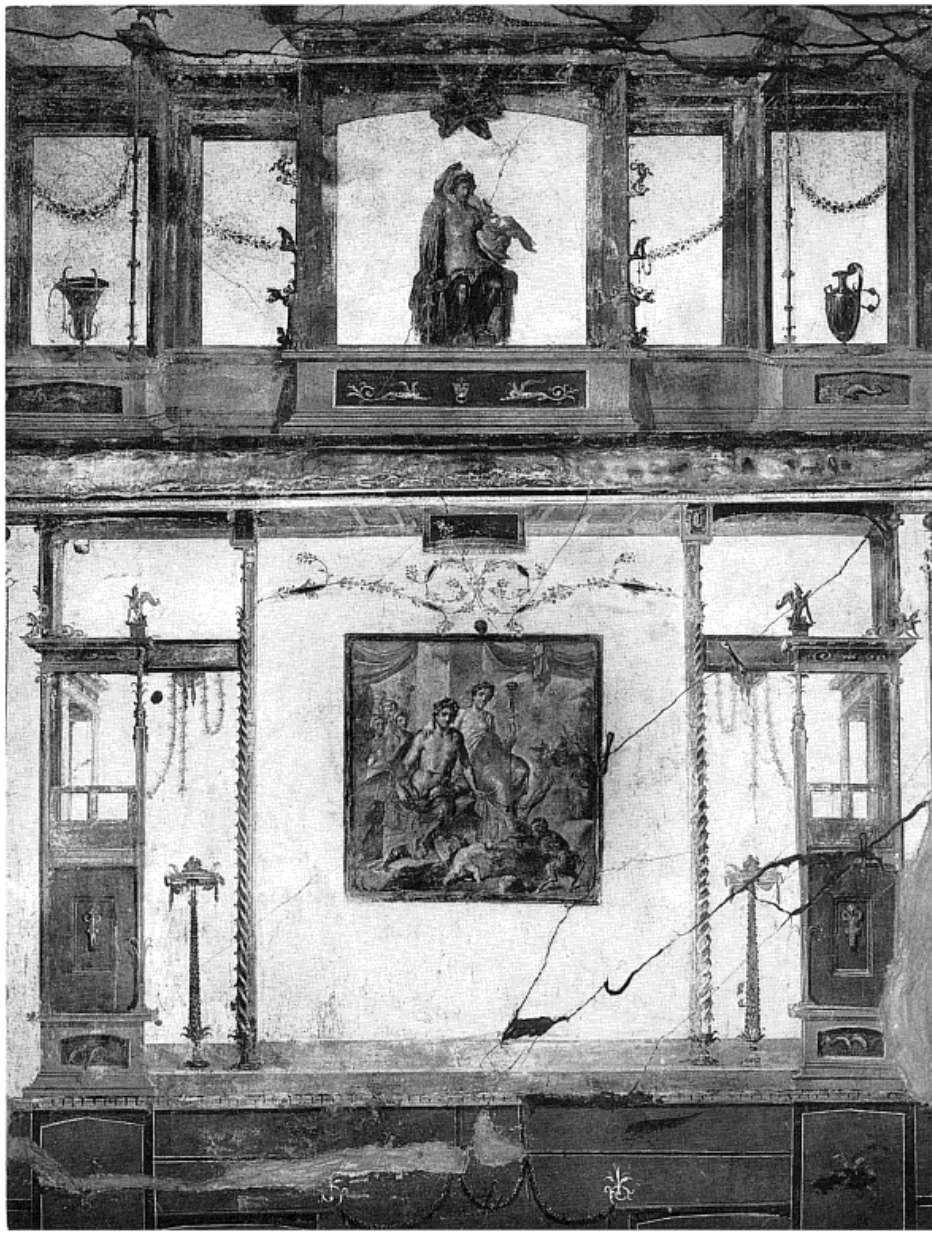
61. Detail from the fresco, color pl. 6: Alexander's shield and helmet. Pompeii.



62. Arretine mold fragments from the workshop of L. Avilius Sura. Warrior (Alexander or Augustus?) and Iranian princess. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14. Tübingen.

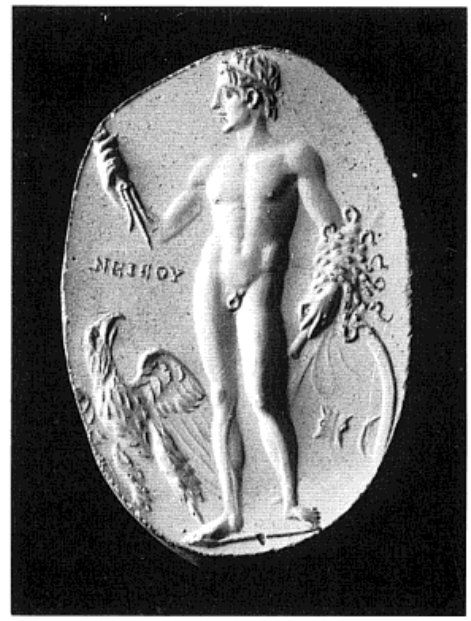


63. Arretine bowl fragment from the workshop of L. Avilius Sura. Warrior (Alexander or Augustus?) and Iranian princess. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14. Arezzo.



64. Winter triclinium of the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, south wall. Above, Leda; below, Eros wrestling Pan watched by Dionysos and Ariadne. A.D. 64–79.

65. Winter triclinium of the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, west wall. Zeus. A.D. 64–79.



66. Cast of the Neisos gem, fig. 67.

67. Red cornelian gemstone with Alexander holding a thunderbolt. Inscribed "Neisou." Ca. 300–250 B.C. St. Petersburg.

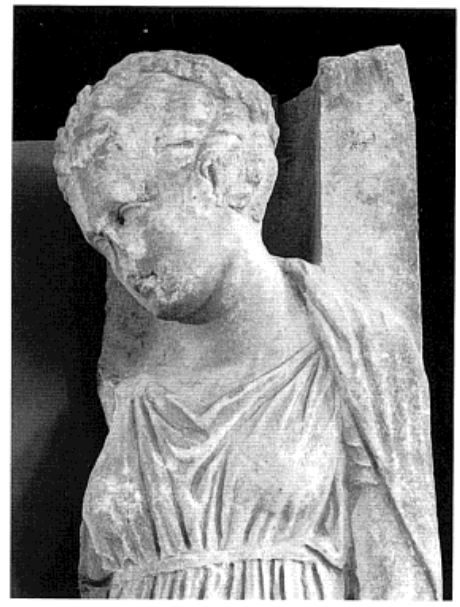
68. Silver five- and two-shekel pieces from Babylonia. Alexander holding thunderbolt, crowned by Nike/ Alexander pursuing Porus. Archer/ elephant. 326–323 B.C. London.

69. Silver five-shekel piece from Babylonia. Alexander holding thunderbolt, crowned by Nike/ Alexander pursuing Porus. 326–323 B.C. London.

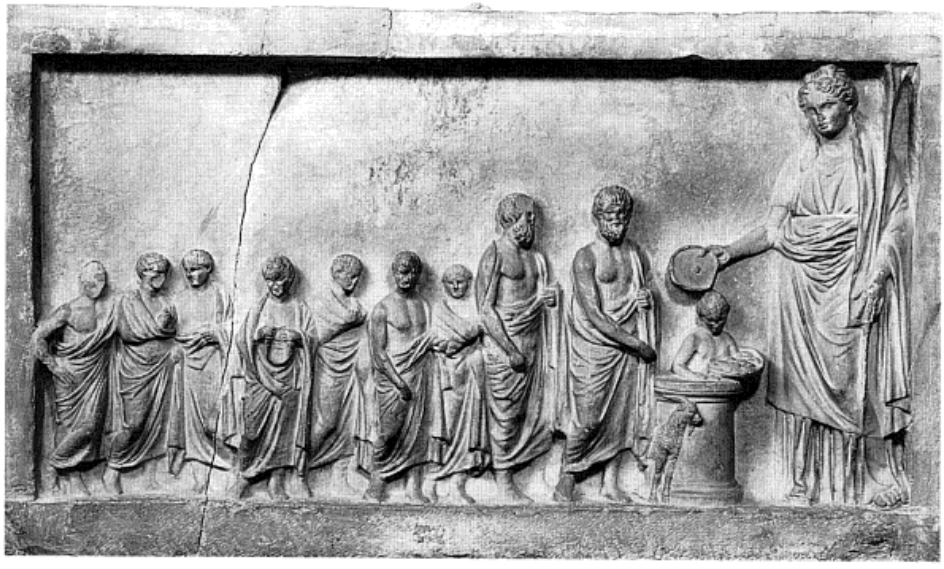
70. Alexander (?) with thunderbolt, Roman bronze statuette. Original, ca. 325–300 B.C.? Formerly on the Los Angeles market.

71. Young Herakles or Alexander, allegedly from Sparta. Ca. 330–320 B.C. Boston.

72. Votive relief to the hero Hephaistion. 323–ca. 300 B.C. Thessalonike.



73. Young woman from an Attic funerary relief. Ca. 320 B.C. Boston.



74. Votive relief to Demeter, from Athens. Ca. 350–330 B.C. Paris.

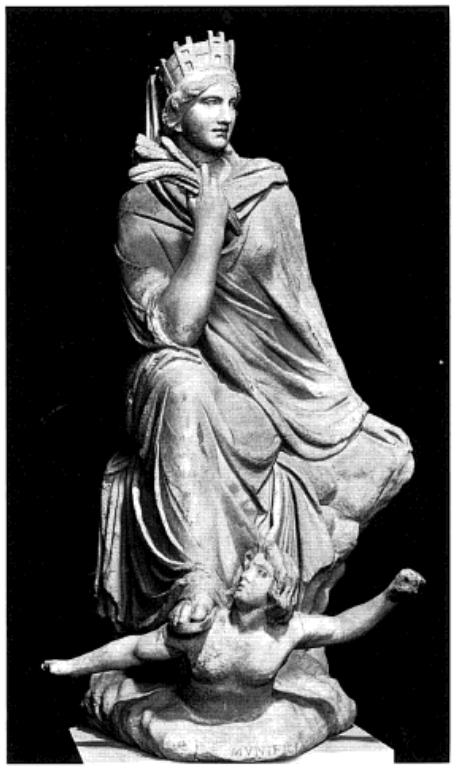
75. Alexander's hearse, provisional reconstruction by Stella Miller-Collett. Original, 323–321 B.C.

76. Four coins minted by Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt (casts). (a) Silver tetradrachm: Alexander/Zeus. (b) Silver tetradrachm: Alexander/Athena. (c) Gold stater: Ptolemy/Alexander in elephant quadriga. (d) Bronze unit: Alexander/eagle. 321–283 B.C. Originals in London.

77. Silver tetradrachm minted by Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt. Alexander/Zeus. Ca. 321–315 B.C. Private collection.

78. Silver tetradrachm minted by Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt. Alexander/Athena. Ca. 315–305 B.C. Formerly on the Swiss market.

79. Silver tetradrachm minted by Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt. Alexander/Athena. Ca. 315–305 B.C. Formerly on the Swiss market.

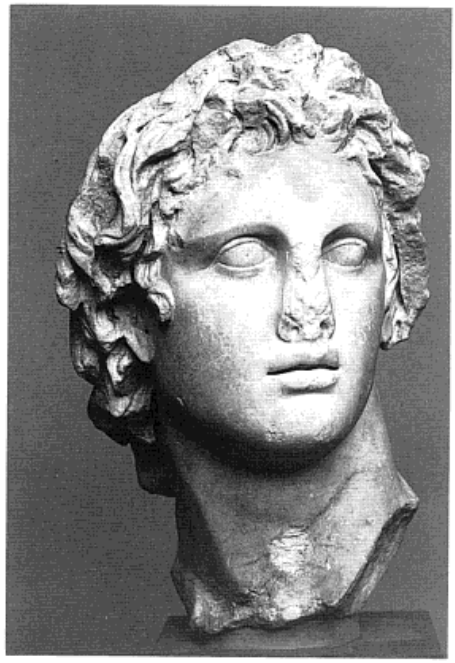


80. Statuette of the Tyche of Antioch by Eutychides of Sikyon (Roman copy). The head, though ancient, is from another statuette. Original, ca. 300–290 B.C. Vatican.

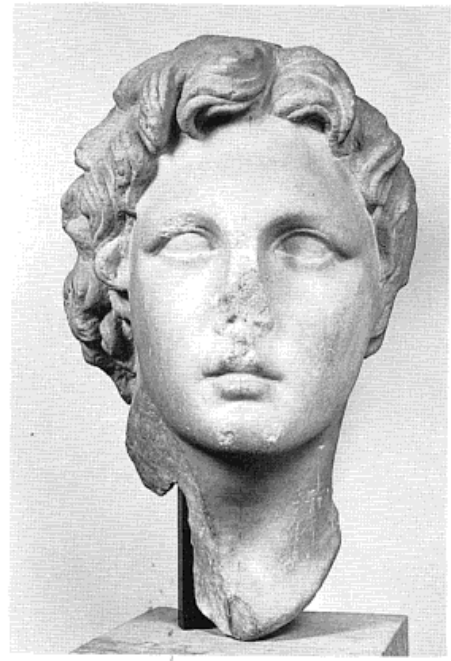
81. Bronze mirror case engraved with personifications of Korinthos and Leukas. Ca. 330–300 B.C. Paris.

82. Roman cameo showing an emperor (Caracalla?) as Alexander Aigiochos. Ca. A.D. 200 or later. Formerly in the Cathedral Treasury at Cammin (Kamien Pomorski); destroyed or stolen in 1945.

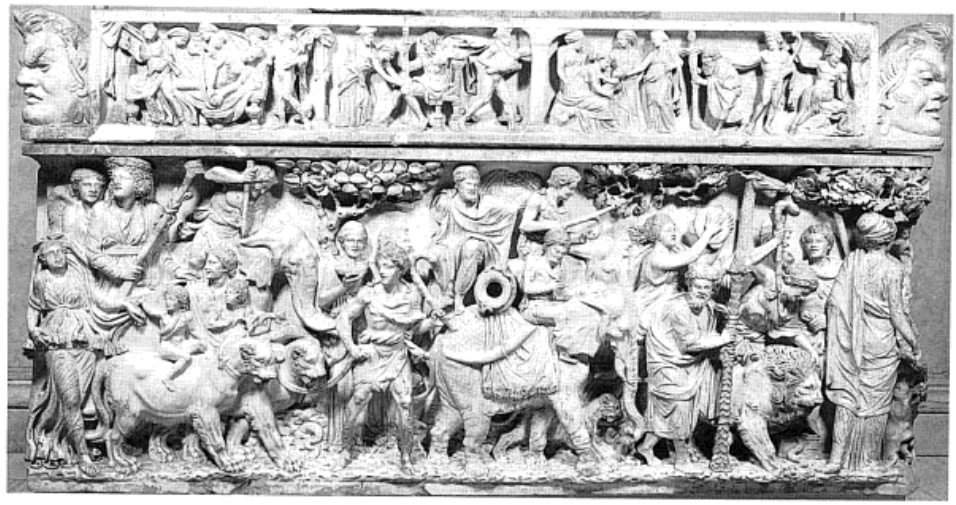
83. Alexander Aigiochos, Roman bronze statuette from Alexandria. Original, ca. 320–300 B.C. London.



84. Alexander, allegedly from Egypt. Ca. 330–300 B.C. Copenhagen.



85. "Guimet" Alexander, from Egypt. Ca. 300 B.C. Paris.

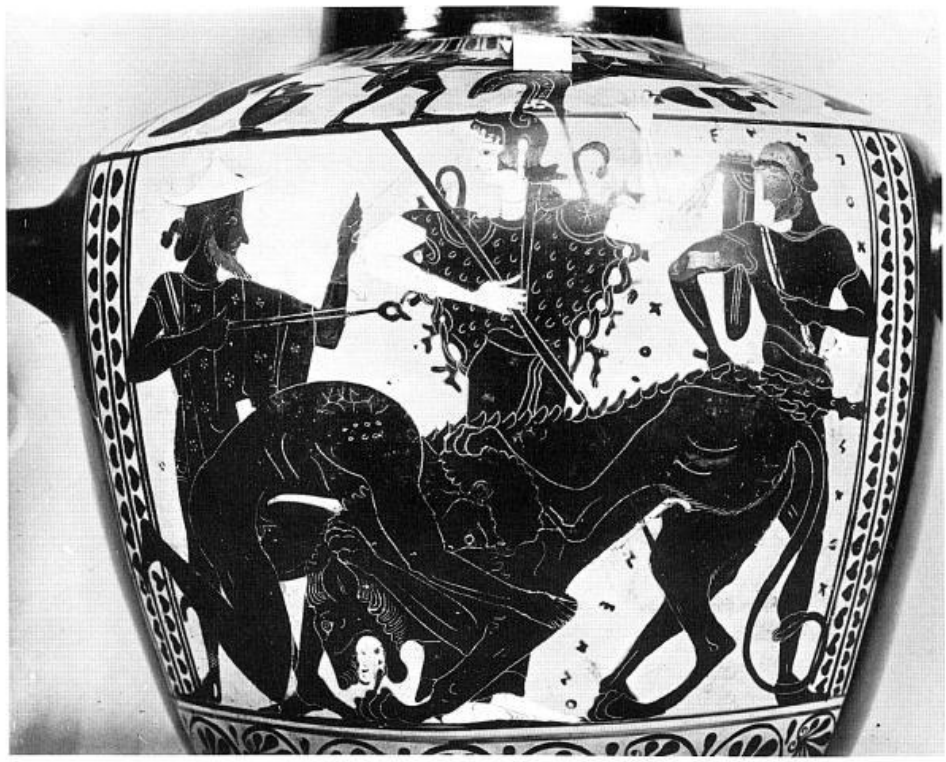


86. Roman sarcophagus with the Indian triumph of Dionysos. Ca. A.D. 170–200. Baltimore.

87. Gold stater minted by Agathokles of Syracuse. Alexander (?)/Athena. Ca. 310–305 B.C. Vienna.

•88. Metope from a funerary naiskos on the Via Umbria, Taranto. Warrior and barbarian. Ca. 275–250 B.C. Taranto.

89. Relief (part of a statue base?) from Messene. Krateros rescuing Alexander (?). Ca. 300–275 B.C. Paris.



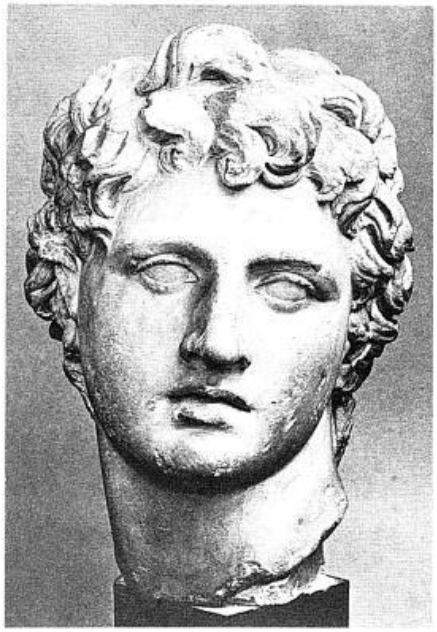
90. Attic black-figure hydria, allegedly from Corinth. Herakles and the Nemean Lion. Ca. 520–500 B.C. London.

91. Cast from an Arretine mold by M. Perennius Tigranus. Lion hunt. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14. London.

92. Mold for an Arretine bowl, from the workshop of M. Perennius Tigranus at Arrezzo. Lion hunt. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14. Boston.

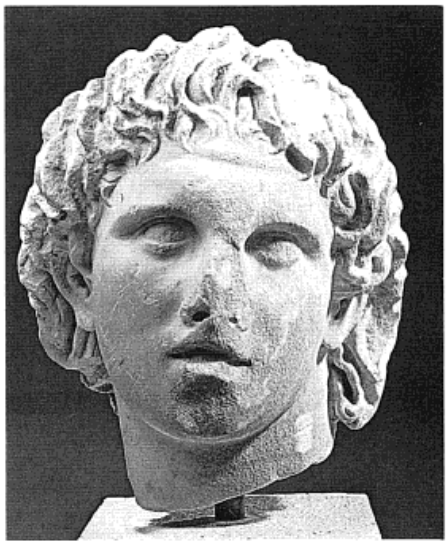
93. Mold for an Arretine bowl by M. Perennius Tigranus. Lion hunt. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14. Boston.

94. Mold for an Arretine bowl, from the workshop of M. Perennius Tigranus at Arrezzo. Boar hunt. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14. Boston.

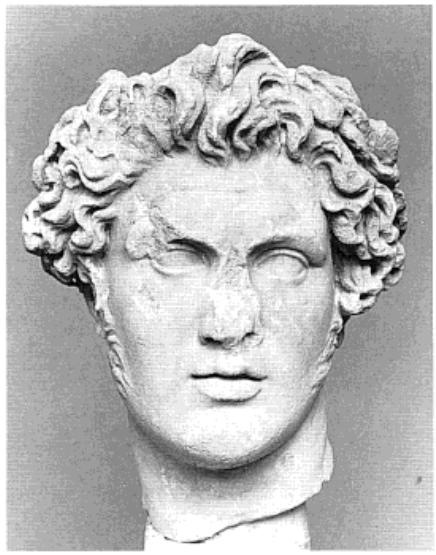


95. "Heyl" ruler (Roman copy). Original, ca. 320–300 B.C. Darmstadt.

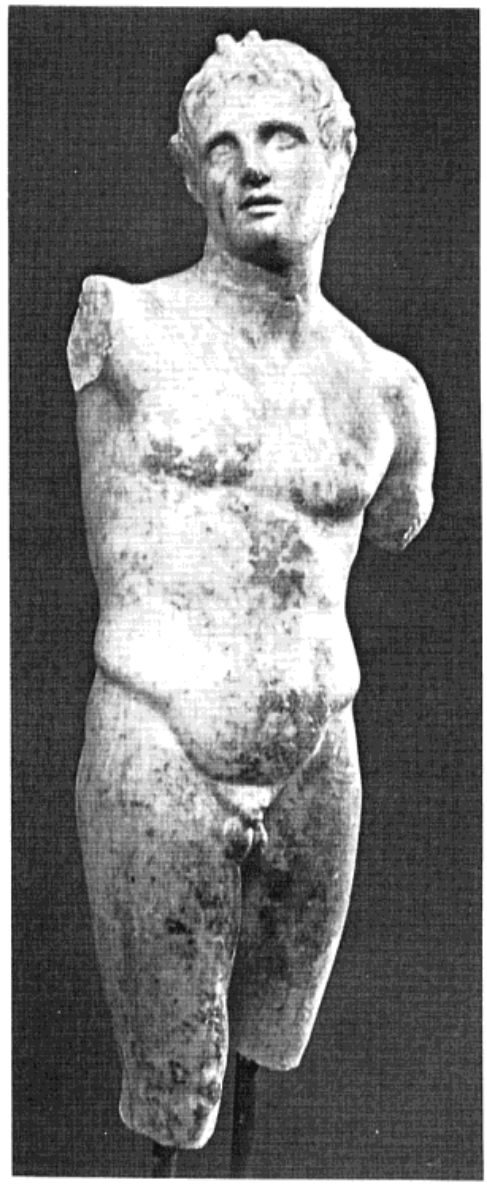
96. Alexander (Roman copy) from Thasos. Original, ca. 320–300 B.C. Thasos.



97. Alexander from Yannitsa (Macedonia). Ca. 300–270 B.C. Pella.



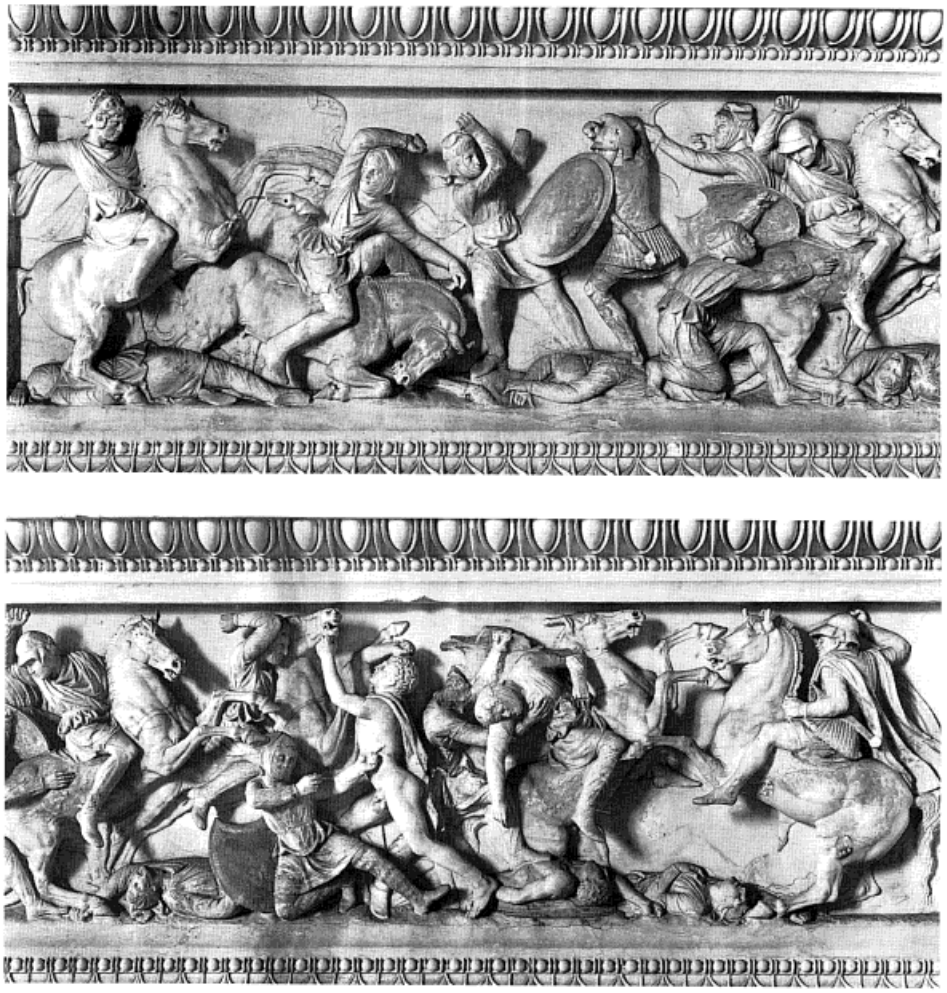
98. King Pyrrhos of Epeiros (Roman copy). Original, ca. 300–270 B.C. Copenhagen.



99. Statuette of Alexander-Pan, from Pella. Ca. 300–270 B.C. Pella.

100. Macedonian and eastern barbarian, fresco from the "Kinch" tomb at Naoussa (Macedonia), now destroyed. Third century B.C.

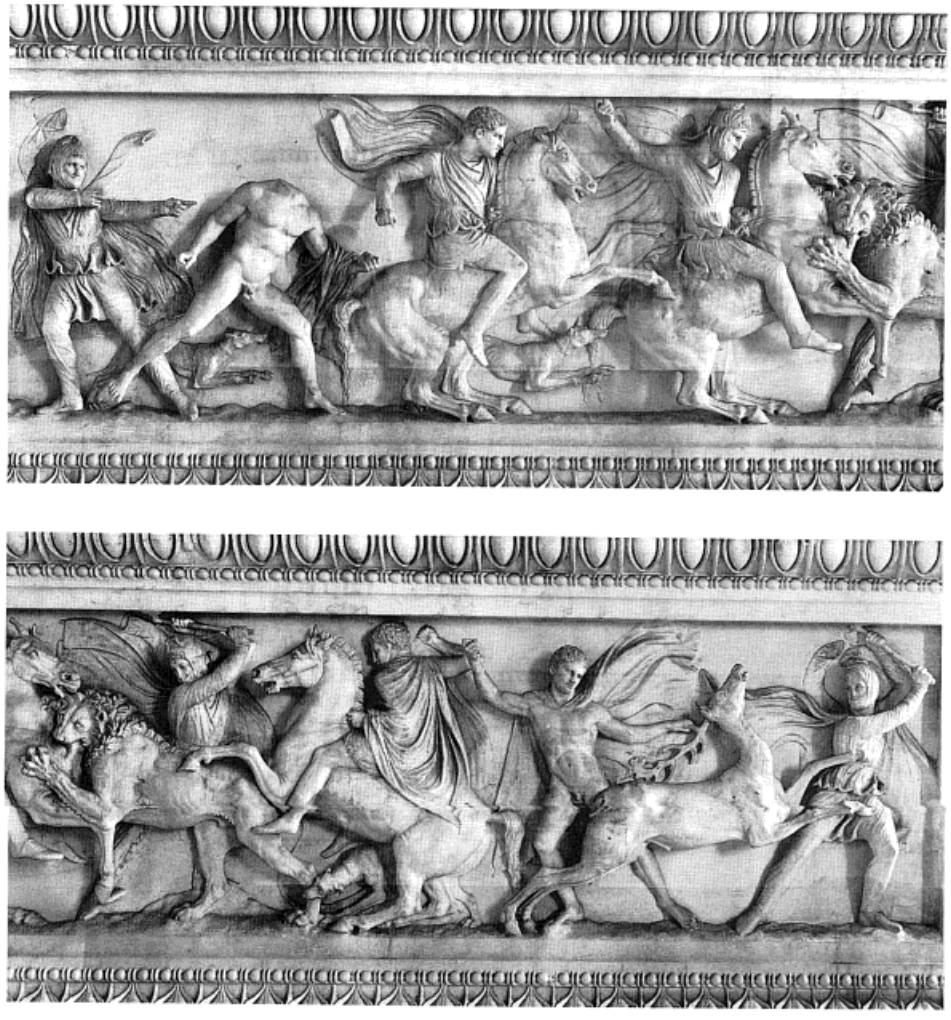
101. "Alexander" Sarcophagus, from the royal necropolis at Sidon. Ca. 320–310 B.C. Istanbul.



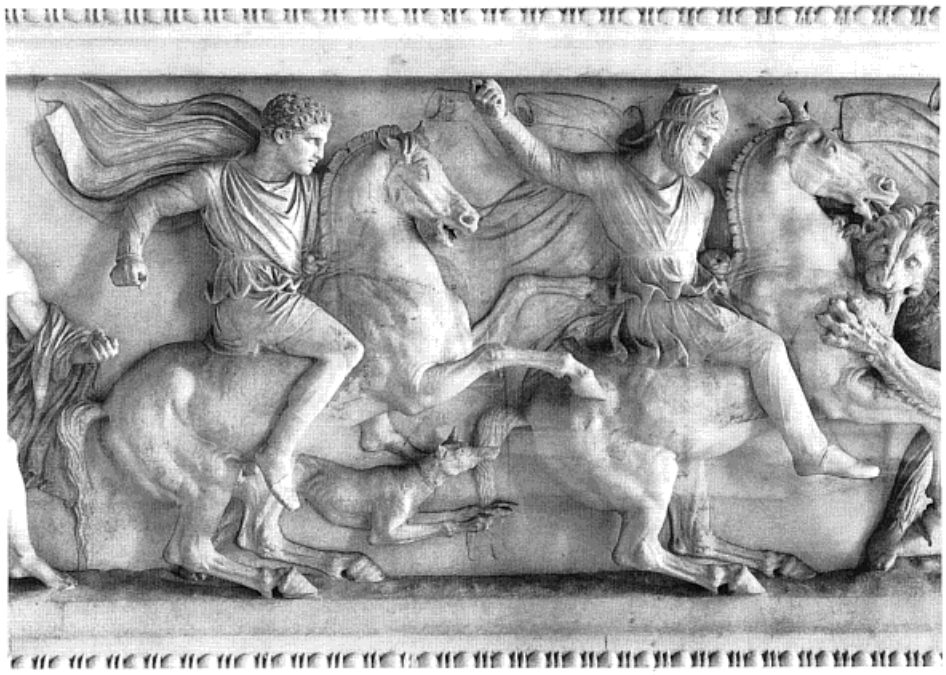
102. Long battle scene (battle of the Issos?) from the sarcophagus, fig. 101.

103. Detail of the long battle scene, fig. 102: Alexander.

104. Posthumous silver tetradrachm of Alexander, minted in Sidon under Philip III Arrhidaios. Herakles/Zeus. Dated year 15 (319/318 B.C.). New York.

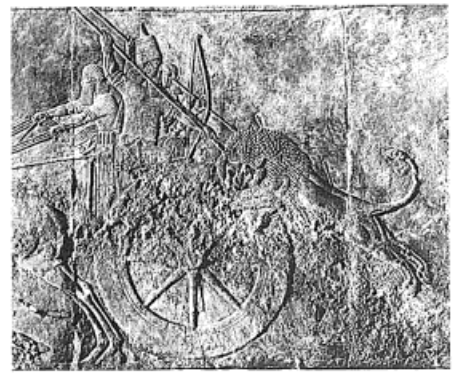


105. Long hunt scene from the sarcophagus, fig. 101.



106. Detail of the long hunt scene, fig. 105: Alexander or prince.

107. Alabaster relief from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh. Ashurbanipal hunting lions. Ca. 660–636 B.C. London.



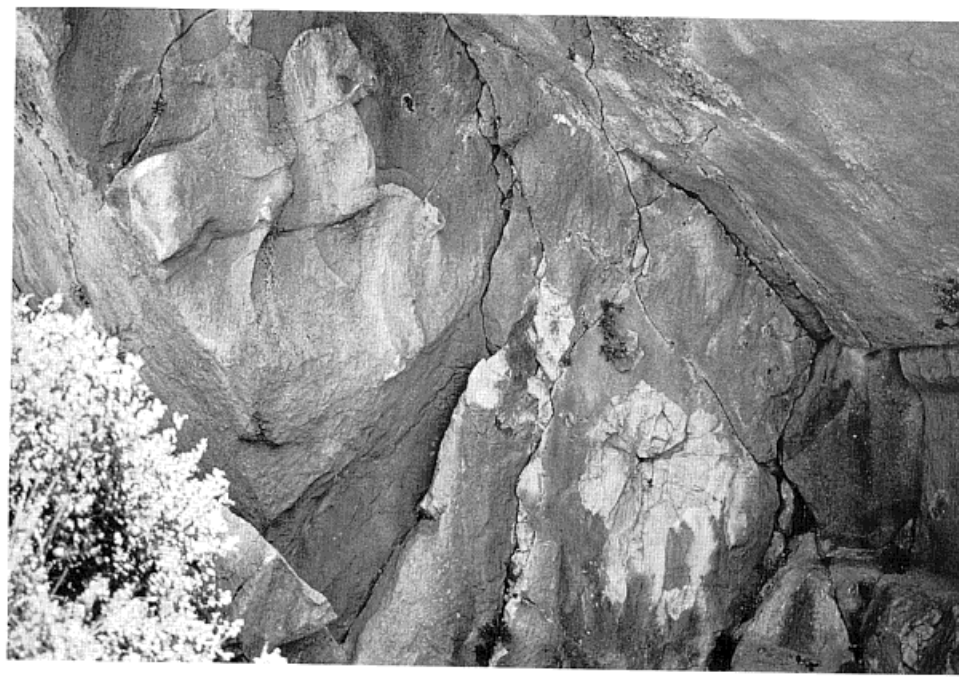
108. Alabaster relief from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh. Ashurbanipal hunting lions. Ca. 660–636 B.C. London.

109. Roman coin of Smyrna, minted under Philip the Arab. Philip/Alexander asleep, with two Tychai. A.D. 244–49. Istanbul.

110. Roman bronze coin of Apollonia Mordiaion (cast), minted under Elagabalus. Alexander. A.D. 218–22. London.

111. Roman bronze coin of Gerasa in Jordan (cast), minted under Elagabalus. Elagabalus/Alexander. A.D. 218–22. Paris.

112. Roman bronze coin of Sagalassos (cast), minted under Claudius II Gothicus, London. Claudius/Alexander, Zeus, barbarian. A.D. 268–70. London.



113. Rock-cut tomb of Alketas at Termessos: warrior on horseback. Ca. 319/318 B.C.

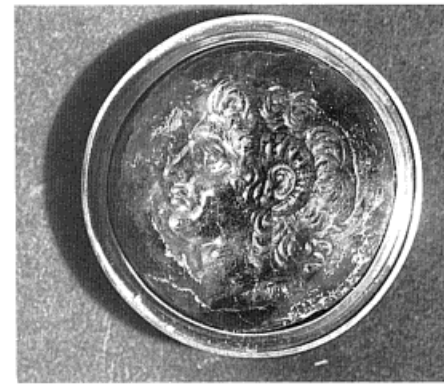
114. Silver tetradrachm minted by Seleukos I Nikator of Syria (cast). Alexander/Nike. Ca. 305–301 B.C. London.

115. Gold double daric minted by Seleukos I Nikator of Syria (cast). Alexander/Nike. Ca. 305–301 B.C. London.

116. Enlargement of another example of the coin type, fig. 114.

117. Silver tetradrachm minted by Lysimachos of Thrace. Alexander/Athena. 297–281 B.C. London.

118. Tourmaline gemstone, bought in Beirut. Alexander. Ca. 290–250 B.C. Oxford.



119. Cast of the gemstone, fig. 118.

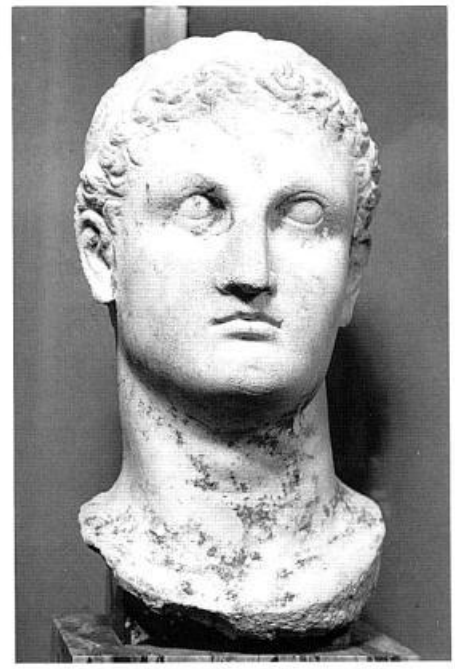
120. Posthumous silver tetradrachm of Alexander, minted in Sardis. Herakles/Zeus. Ca. 228–223 B.C. London.

121. Silver tetradrachm (so-called pedigree coin) of Agathokles of Baktria (cast). Alexander/Zeus. Ca. 190–170 B.C. London.

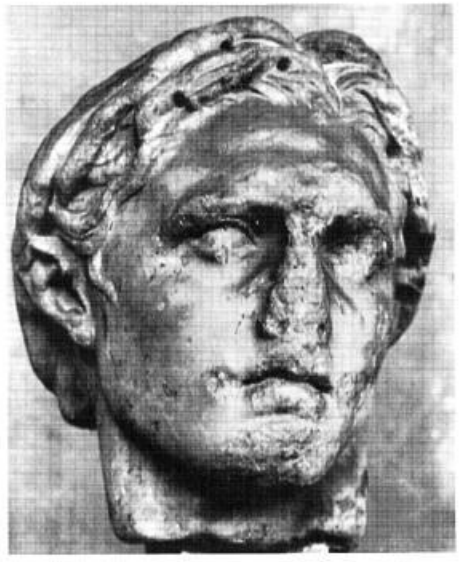
122. Posthumous gold stater of Lysimachos, minted in Byzantium. Alexander/Athena. Ca. 200–150 B.C. Formerly on the Swiss market.

123. Three silver tetradrachms minted by or under Aesillas, from Macedonia. Alexander/money chest, club, quaestor's chair. Ca. 95–75 B.C. New York.

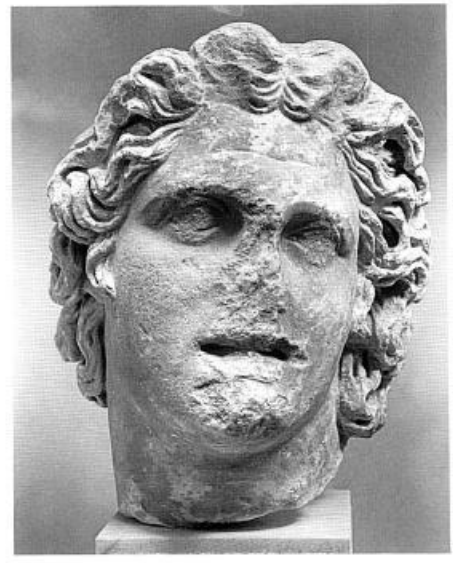
124. Alexander from Alexandria. Ca. 250 B.C. London.



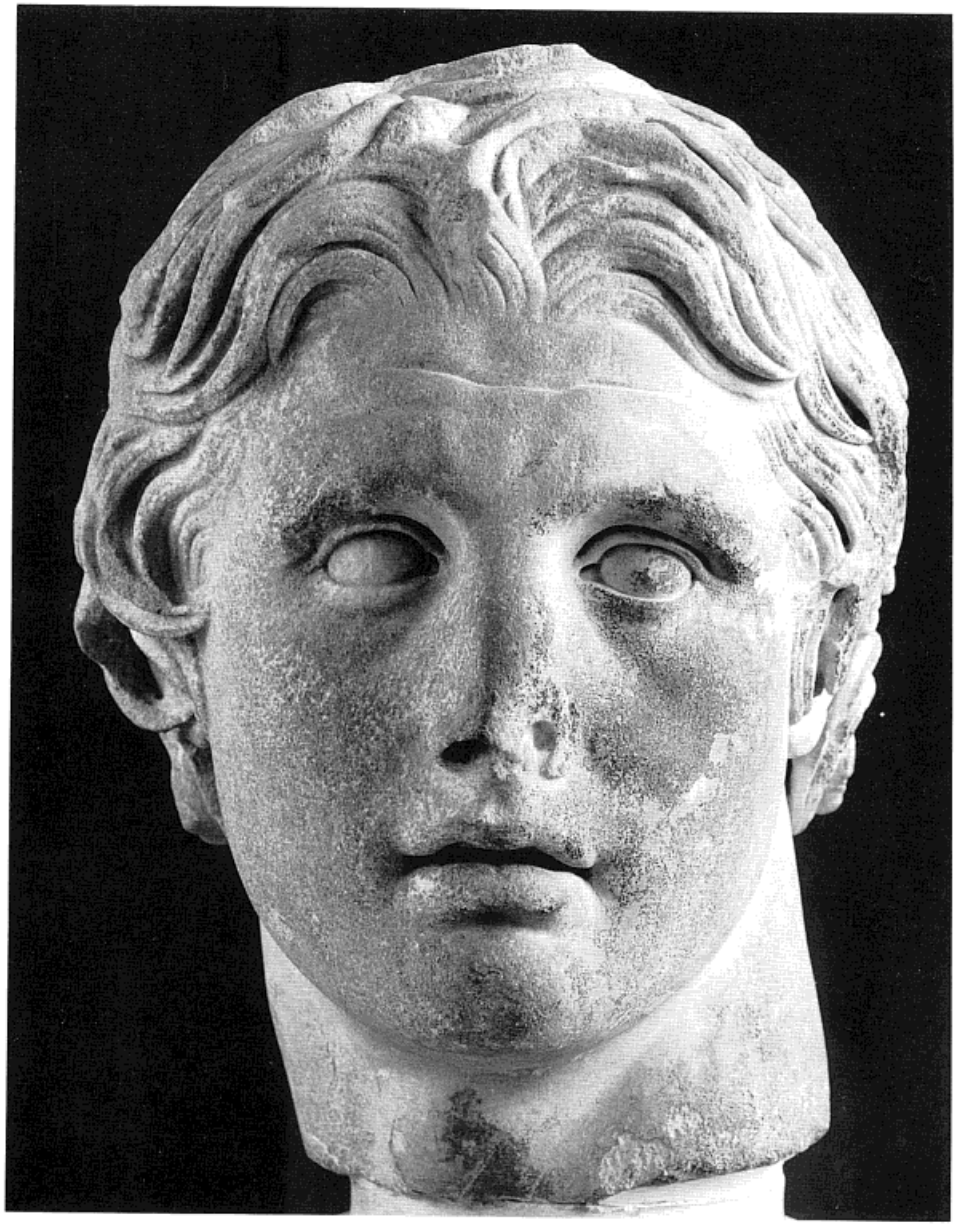
125. Ptolemy II Philadelphos from Egypt (Hermopolis?). 283–246 B.C. or later. Paris.



126. Alexander (Roman copy) from Tivoli. Original, ca. 230–200 B.C. Rome.



127. Alexander from Volantza. Ca. 200 B.C. Olympia.

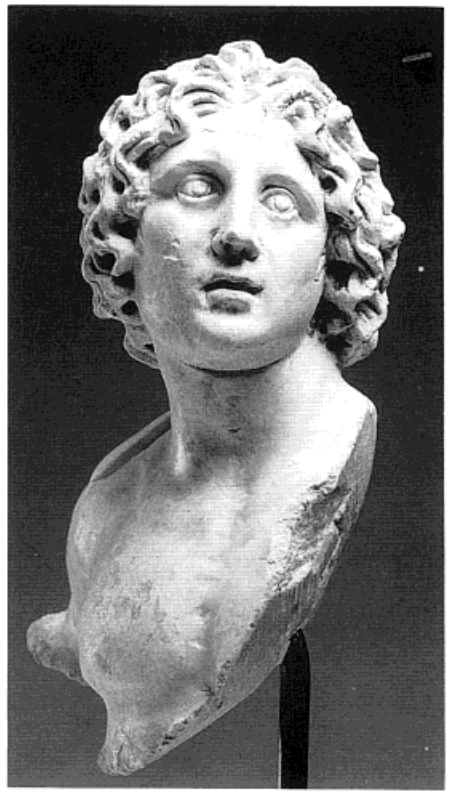


128. Alexander from Pergamon. Ca. 175–150 B.C. Istanbul.

129. Another view of the head, fig. 128.

130. Gold medallion from Aboukir (Egypt). Alexander. Ca. A.D. 230–250. Baltimore.

131. Colossal bust of Alexander (Roman copy) from Ptolemais Hermiou (Egypt). Original, ca. 150–100 B.C. Boston.



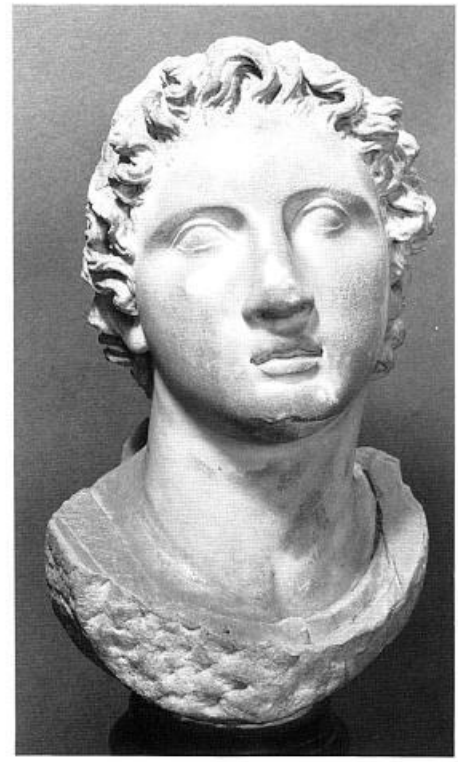
132. Alexander-Helios, Hellenistic or Roman alabaster statuette from Egypt. Ca. 150 B.C.–A.D. 100. Brooklyn.

133. Alexander from Magnesia-by-Sipylos. Ca. 175–150 B.C. Istanbul.

134. Statuette of Alexander from Priene. Ca. 175–150 B.C. Berlin.

135. Another view of the statuette, fig. 134.

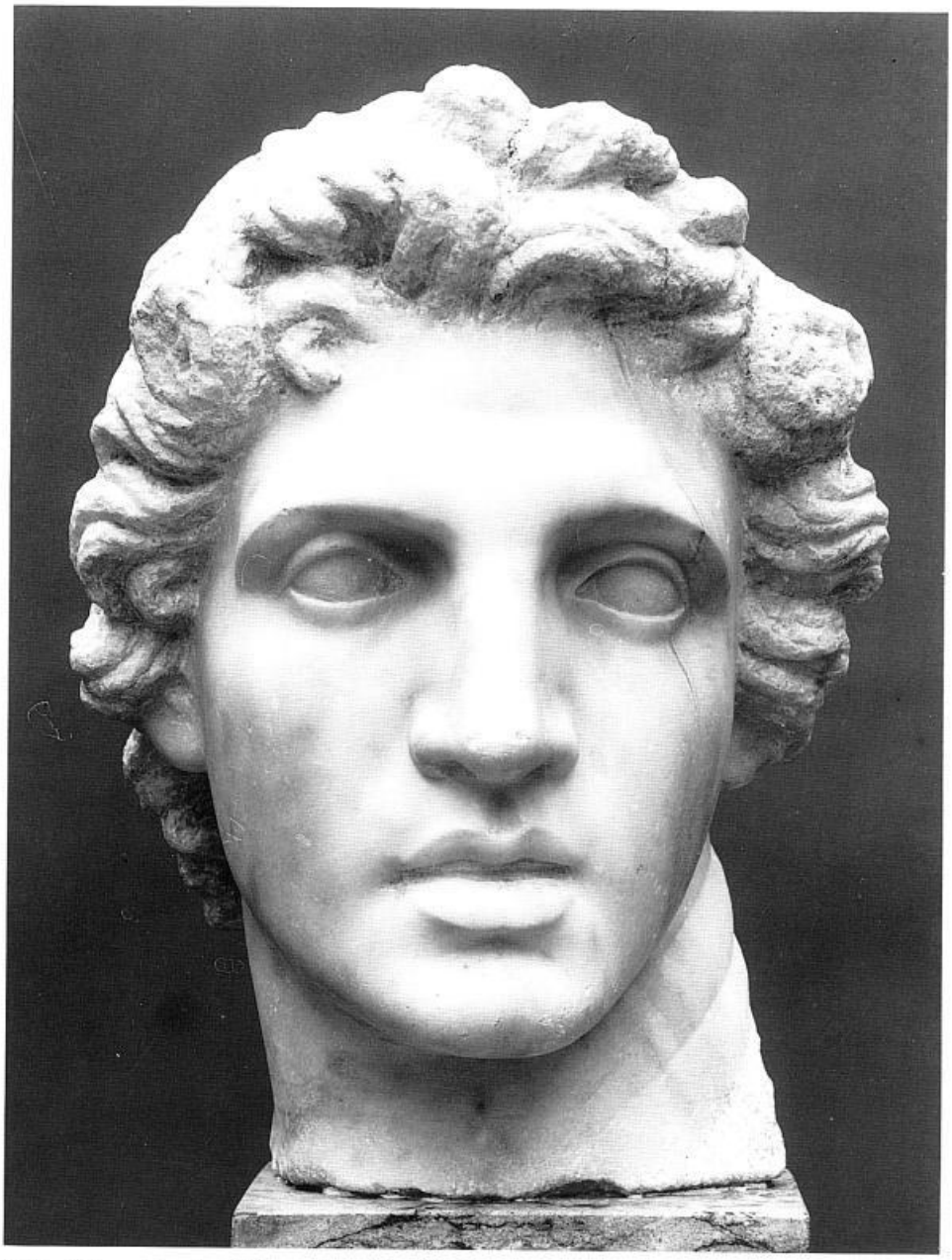
136. "Hephaistion" from Kyme in Aeolis. Ca. 125–75 B.C. Istanbul.



137. Alexander-Helios from Kyme in Aeolis. Ca. 125–75 B.C. Istanbul.

138. Another view of the Alexander, fig. 137.

139. Silver tetradrachm minted by Mithradates VI Eupator of Pontos. Mithradates. Ca. 88 A.D. London.



140. Colossal head of Alexander, allegedly from Tarsos. Ca. 100 B.C. Copenhagen.

141. Colossal head, probably of Ptolemy IX Soter II, from Memphis. Ca. 100–80 B.C. Boston.

142. Colossal head of Seleukos I Nikator of Syria, from Esen Tepe (near Iskenderun, Turkey). Ca. 100 B.C. Antakya.

143. Antiochos IX Kyzikenos of Syria, from Esen Tepe (near Iskenderun, Turkey). Ca. 114–95 B.C. Antakya.

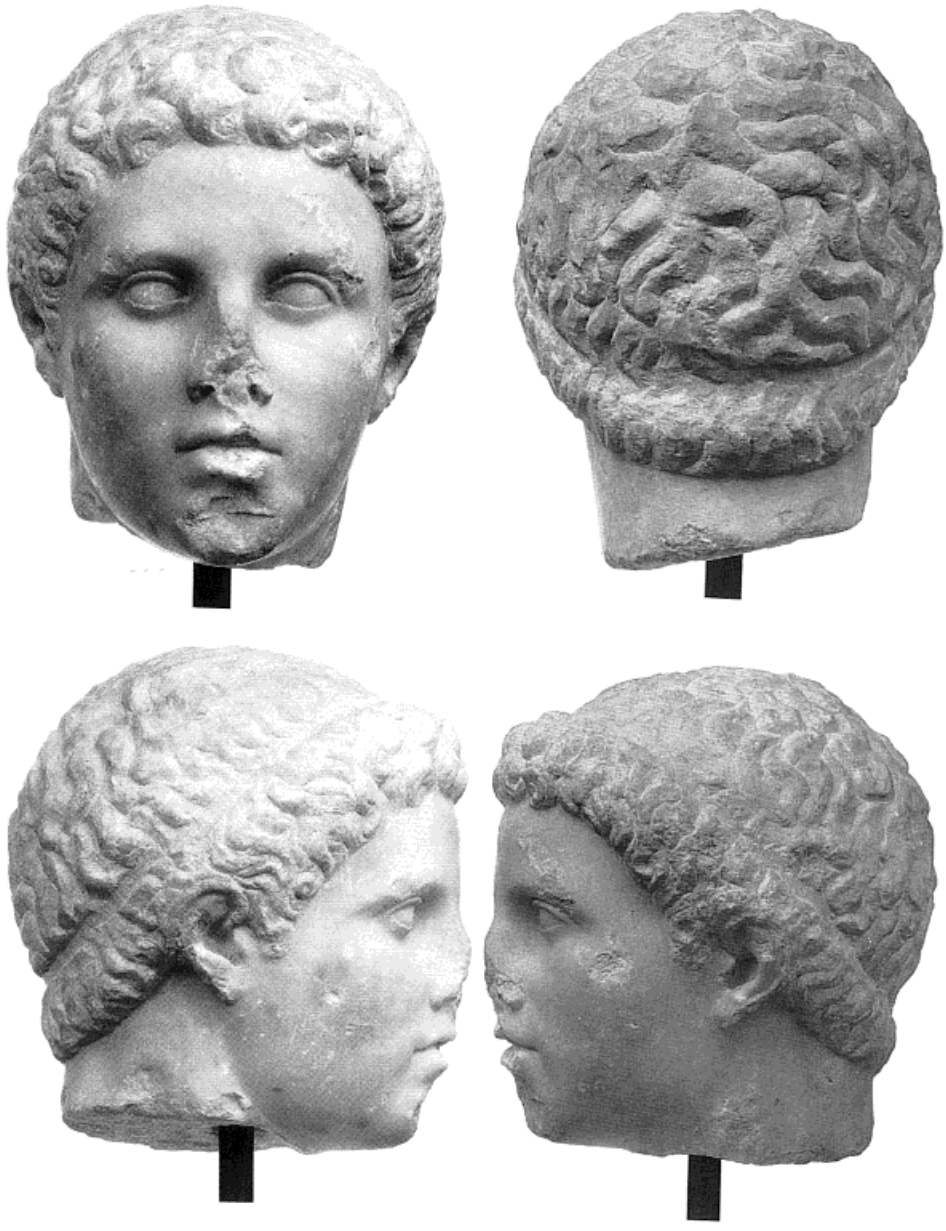
144. "Demetrio" Alexander, statuette from Egypt. First century B.C. (?) Athens.

145. "Demetrio" "Hephaistion," statuette from Egypt. First century B.C. (?) Athens.

APPENDIX OF PLATES: THE GETTY FRAGMENTS

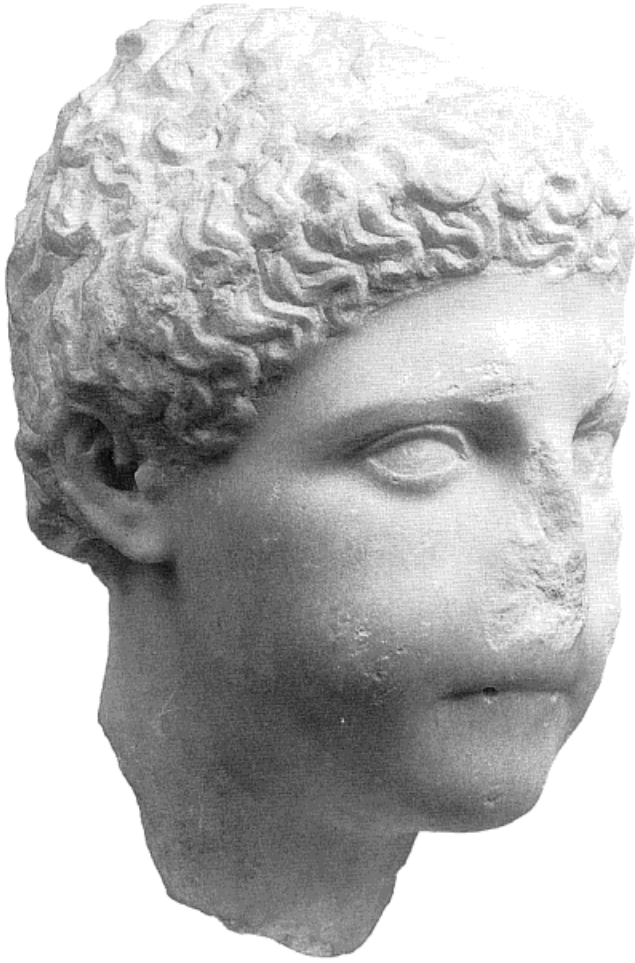
(All photographs courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum)

146–49. Head of Alexander, cat. no. 1



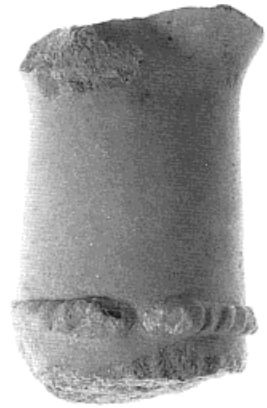
150–53. Head of a youth
("Hephaistion"), cat. no. 2

154–57. Head of a woman, cat. no. 3



158. Flutist, cat. no. 4

160. Right arm, cat. no. 6



161. Right arm with bracelet, cat. no. 7

162. Left hand holding two attributes, cat. no. 8

159. Right arm, cat. no. 5

163. Left hand with bracelet, cat. no. 9

164. Left hand, cat. no. 10

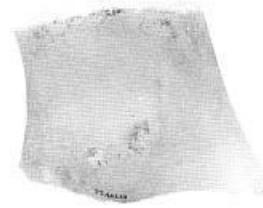
165. Right hand drilled for a phiale, cat. no. 11

166. Right hand holding a jug, cat. no. 12

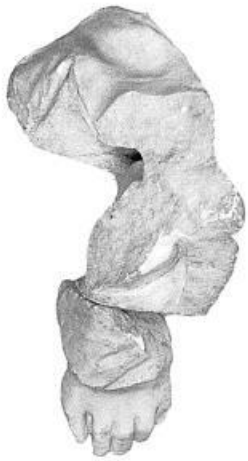
167. Finger, cat. no. 13

168. Left lower leg, cat. no. 14

169. Right lower leg, cat. no. 15



170. Right ankle, cat. no. 16



173. Left heel and drapery, cat. no. 18, with forepart of foot, cat. no. 19

171. Left foot, cat. no. 17

172. Left heel and drapery, cat. no. 18

174. Right foot, cat. no. 20

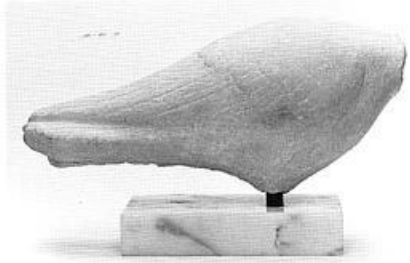
175. Drapery fragment, cat. no. 21

176–78. Head of a lion, cat. no. 22

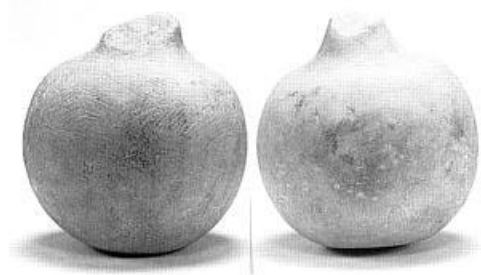
179. Leg of a goat or ram, cat. no. 23

180. Dove with everted head, cat. no. 24

181. Dove, cat. no. 25



182. Dove, cat. no. 26



183–84. Pomegranates (?), cat. nos. 27–28

185–86. Apples, cat. nos. 29–30

187. Fragment of a base, cat. no. 31

188–91. Veiled head of girl, cat. no. 32